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COLLECTIONS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR 1798.

THE CANDID ANSWER OF THE LATE EXCELLENT DOCTOR
KIPPIS TO THE LETTERS PUBLISHED IN THE COLLEC-
TIONS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR 1795, (PAGES
79, AND 156), RESPECTING AN ERROR IN HIS LIFE OF
CAPTAIN COOK.

N. B. These letters were reprinted in the *European Magazine* for August and September, 1795. The answer was first published in the same Magazine for September, just before the death of that learned, industrious, and truly amiable divine and historian; which happened on the 8th of October, 1795, in the 71st year of his valuable life.

To the Editor of the European Magazine.

SIR,

IN my life of Captain Cook, after having recited Dr. Franklin's requisition to the captains and commanders of American armed ships, not to consider that great navigator as an enemy, if he should happen to fall into their hands; I have said, that Dr. Franklin's orders were "instantly reversed, and that it was directed by Congress to seize Captain Cook, if an opportunity of doing it occurred." This representation I gave upon what I deemed unquestionable information and authority.

It appears however, from a letter addressed to me, by the Reverend Doctor Belknap, of Boston, in New-England, and from a number of other letters, inserted in the *Columbian Centinel* of May 13, 1795, that no such directions were given, by Congress, as I was led to believe. *I do, therefore, readily acknowledge the misinformation; and I assure you, that I have much greater pleasure in confessing, than in adhering to an error.*

The zeal expressed by so many gentlemen, on this occasion,
VOL. V. B

sion, for the honour of their country, gives me great satisfaction; and I regard it as an agreeable omen of the liberality with which, it may be hoped, that future wars will be conducted.

Thus much may be sufficient to say upon the subject at present; but I intend more fully to state the matter in the addenda, to be prefixed to the sixth volume of the Biographia.

I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

ANDREW KIPPIS.

Westminster, September 5, 1795.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE INDIANS OF NORTH-AMERICA ;
CONTAINING AN ANSWER TO SOME REMARKS OF DOCTOR RAMSAY, PUBLISHED IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR 1795, PAGE 99 ; IN A LETTER FROM GENERAL LINCOLN TO THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Hingham, October 29, 1795.

Reverend and dear Sir,

On reading the observations made by my learned and much esteemed friend, Doctor Ramsay, respecting the causes which have combined to check, in a great degree, the population of the Indian tribes; and on the impracticability of their being civilized; and that ere long they will cease to be a people; I was greatly pleased; but was sorry that he had not pursued the subject, and mentioned other reasons which have had, and continue to have, a check upon their population. I wish also that he had favoured the public with the reasons on which he had founded his opinion, that it was impracticable to civilize the Indian tribes; and that ere long they would cease to be a people; as truth would thereby have been promoted, causes unveiled, and effects stripped of that mystery in which they have been involved; thereby sentiments might be checked, which have been the parent of enthusiasm, and the nurse of errors; sentiments which have led the indolent mind to ascribe that to a miraculous interposition of providence, which would have clearly appeared from the operation of natural causes, had not our reason been sacrificed to our idleness.

I agree fully with the Doctor, that the causes which he

has

has mentioned are among those which have checked the population of the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi; but those cannot, I think, be considered as the only, nor even the principal causes why population decreases among the savage tribes. To his observations we may add, in general terms, that all which they have learned from the European nations, as far as they have been influenced by the information, has opened a source, from which streams have issued unfriendly to their population.

They have caught, in a degree; their habits of dressing, and have substituted the linens and calicoes in the place of their natural and ancient covering, the furs. While they retained, in other respects, their partiality for the savage life, they have been exposed to all those sufferings arising from cold and inclement seasons, to which they are always liable in the high northern latitudes, under which they live. Besides, they are, in a great degree, strangers to that providency which suggests the importance of doing those things in time, which would, in a great measure, ward off the evils from which they experience the most complicated sufferings. Their TENDER lungs are greatly affected by colds, which bring on consumptive habits; from which disorder, if my information is right, a large proportion of them die. These things must give a check to their population, and may be added to the catalogue of causes before mentioned.

From their connexion with the Europeans, they have learned the use of instruments made of iron; part of this knowledge has undoubtedly operated to their real injury; and it is quite problematical whether any of them has, on the whole, conduced to diminish the evils to which they have always been exposed.

A knowledge of the fire-arm may justly be considered as a CURSE to them; and the use of it has led them into measures, the consequences of which have produced the worst effects, and has operated greatly as a check on their population. Before they had a knowledge of the Europeans, they were not under any temptation to destroy any more of the wild beasts of the forests than the suggestions of hunger and cold made necessary for food and covering. Besides, before this knowledge, the silent modes of taking them were such as to give no considerable alarm to those which escaped the snare; hence, as their decrease was very inconsiderable, they

greatly

greatly abounded at that day, and became in a degree domesticated.

From the use of the fire-arm, the game has been so wantonly destroyed, that it has become scarce; and the natural shyness of that which remained was not only greatly increased, but thereby it has been driven from its usual feeding grounds to those more remote; all which has increased the labour of taking it, of which whole families are often sharers in the fatigue, or are obliged to submit to that which proves equally injurious, viz. the remaining in camp too often destitute of those supplies indispensable to their well-being.

On their possessing themselves of the musket, the tomahawk, and scalping-knife, *as implements of war*, their ambition became fired, and a hope was enkindled in their breasts, that therewith they should have it in their power to revenge all the wrongs which they supposed they had suffered. A pleasing acquisition indeed; for the passion of revenge is the strongest feature in the savage character. Thus deluded by vain hopes, they have often precipitated themselves into wars, the issue of which never failed to check their population, however fortunate to them might be the issue.

The great labour and fatigue, from the savage customs, *the lot of the wives, in obtaining a support*, not only debilitates them, but leads them to wish that they may not multiply their cares and increase their burdens. Hence there exist among them certain habits and customs, which must, in their consequences, give a check to population. The great aversion the wives have to bearing children, and the modes practised to prevent an increase of their numbers, arises (next to that which is furnished by nature, and from what has been before related of the hard task which they have in supporting them) from the uncertain tenure on which the marriage contract exists; being no other than the will of either party to dissolve the connexion. In all cases of a separation, the children, if any, are abandoned by the father, and consequently fall with weight on the more helpless mother, if none of her relations can aid her in the support of them. I may add as another cause, the frequent loss of their sons in those wars in which they are too often engaged: hereby the mothers are greatly affected; and, to use their own words, "*are tired of bearing children to be slain in war.*"

I will now, Sir, make some observations on the unsuccessful

ful

ful attempts, which have been made to civilize and to christianize the savage tribes; and remark how it has affected their minds in general, and what will be the natural consequence of their adhering to their ancient customs and manners.

Let us pause a moment, and consider how the savage nations must feel, after an attempt has been seriously made to civilize them; and the leading principles of natural and revealed religion have been laid before them; and every argument urged, which should lead them to an adoption thereof, while any of the professors of that religion were practising every little art to deprive them of their property, which, in their opinion, they ought to enjoy fully and unmolested.

They early discovered that among these people there existed a thirst for property, and a disposition to engross the right of the original owner, of which, in a national view, they are very tenacious. They believe that they were placed on these lands by the Great Spirit; and that they were given them for their sole benefit, and that no person can, consequently, have a right to dispossess them. The attempts, which have been made to that end, have left the worst impressions on their mind; and have fixed a deep rooted prejudice to a system, which, in their opinion countenanced such transactions as they foresaw would eventually sap the foundation of their happiness, and work their ruin.

They have always been ready to retort upon us, and say, "Where are the good effects of your religion? we of the same tribe have no contentions among ourselves respecting property; and no man envies the enjoyment and happiness of his neighbour." They have very different opinions respecting us; these impressions should be removed; but has this been ever attempted?

Before the Indian nations were brought to entertain just ideas of their own rights, and the rights of their fellow-men, (which never can be effected while they remain in an uncivilized state, nor can their minds, while they remain so, ever be furnished with the light necessary to a clear investigation of their claims, upon grounds which establish right among civilized nations), they were called upon to become christians. It is impossible ever to convert them, until they can be impressed with just notions of their own situation, as it regards an exclusive right to the soil. While they hold these

these ideas, they cannot be persuaded of the truth of a religion which, in their opinion, permits a forcible possession of their lands, and a retention of them by subsequent settlements.

But admitting that nothing had been wrong on our part, yet the task of civilizing (to say nothing of christianizing, until after that event shall take place) these nations or tribes would have been difficult indeed, and will always remain so, while the human mind is naturally averse to control. Civilization and the social compact, among men, have from small beginnings, grown up to what they now are, from the meliorating hand of time, the experience of ages, and the light of science. If, under the peculiar advantages arising from knowledge, the prejudices of education, and our having progressed in life under the sunshine of civilization and government, and having tasted fully of the pleasures thereof, men are hardly brought to surrender, even at this day of light and knowledge, so many of their natural rights as are necessary to give strength and safety to those retained, we cannot be surprised at the discovery that the Indian nations, who have never tasted of the pleasures of civilization and government, are averse to making a surrender of their present customs and manners, and of sacrificing them to a system to which they are strangers in a great degree. Besides, they have the natural feelings of men to combat in the exchange. All men naturally wish for ease, and to avoid the shackles of restraint.

We find, from general observation in every day's experience, how hard it is for people in years, especially, to quit the ideas they imbibed in youth, and to forsake the long-trodden path made conspicuous by the foot steps of their fathers. To leave such a path, in which we have travelled ourselves with a degree of safety, for one unexplored by us, though there may be strong evidence that the change will be more direct, and for our interest to pursue; yet it requires a degree of fortitude and a spirit of enterprise, which doth not fall to the share of every man, to make the attempt. If this is true of us, with all the light which has been scattered in our paths, and with the peculiar advantages we are under of judging for ourselves what is right, we must not be surprised at the obstinacy of those who have had infinitely less advantages, and whose prejudices, in favour of ancient customs

customs, are proportionately strong to their want of light, and of the means of judging rightly. Nothing has a better foundation in truth, than that we yield early impressions with reluctance, and hardly give up the sentiments of our fathers; for as we cannot read the unturned page of futurity, therefore we enter on new pursuits filled with doubt and uncertainty.

I have always discovered, when among the Indian nations, that there existed the greatest difficulty in conveying any new ideas to their mind from the barrenness of their language, and in many instances it has been impossible to convey to them the sentiments attempted. This inconvenience may always remain; for a copious language is not to be acquired in a savage life. Their distance, by their habits, from the enlightened world, gives them few opportunities of extending their ideas; consequently their language will not expand; and without ideas, they cannot have language.

On the whole, I am fully in opinion with my friend, Dr. Ramsay, that the Indian nations will never be civilized. I only divide from him respecting the consequences of their remaining in an untutored state, that it will be their annihilation as a people.

Should the Indian nations in general never become civilized, we may, I think, point to the consequences. Nature forbids civilized and uncivilized people possessing the same territory; for the means pursued by the civilized, to obtain a support, counteracts the wishes and designs of the savage. While the former are busily employed in removing from the earth its natural growth, as necessary to their establishing themselves as husbandmen, the latter are wishing to increase that natural shelter, and hiding place, for the beasts of the forest; for without a covering they cannot be retained, but will seek new feeding grounds; consequently the savage must retire to those lands where they can with more ease obtain a supply. Their new position cannot, however, long avail them; for civilization and cultivation will make rapid strides, and progress fast towards them; and they must necessarily make way for such approaches, by following the game, (which takes the first alarm), or leave their present pursuits and modes of living, and oppose the cultivator by cultivation. The savage arm is too feeble, in any other way, to counteract the progress of their civilized neighbours;

bours ; but it is hardly to be expected, that they will, in time, see the importance of this measure, considering their prejudices and attachments ; but will continue retiring before the enlightened husbandman, until they shall meet those regions of the north, into which he cannot pursue them. There, in my opinion, they will be set down, and left, in the undisturbed possession of a country, unenvied by any ; as the last resort of a people, who, having sacrificed every consideration to their love of ease, were now compelled, by the effects of their obstinacy and disobedience, to give up all hope of ever regaining those hospitable tracts from which they had retired, and which they had surrendered to others : while nature had furnished them with the power of having for ever participated in the enjoyment of them. Being now in the possession of a country fitted, by nature, to the life of a sportsman, they will probably continue as a people until time shall be no more.

THE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE OF THE BOARD OF CORRESPONDENTS OF THE SCOTS SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, WHO VISITED THE ONEIDA AND MOHEKUNUH INDIANS IN 1796.

THE committee, appointed by the board of commissioners of the society established in Scotland for propagating christian knowledge, to visit the Indians who are objects of their missions at Oneida, and New-Stockbridge, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, and the Rev Mr. Sergeant, have attended that service ; and after a long and tedious journey of more than six hundred miles, in the heat of summer, have, by the divine blessing, returned to Boston, and offer to the board the following REPORT.

N. B. As the board gave us not only a set of queries, but liberty to add any others which might occur to us, we have enlarged the number from sixteen to twenty-four ; and shall divide or combine our answers to them, in such a manner as, we conceive, will make our report more perspicuous.

July, 1796.

JEREMY BELKNAP,
JEDIDIAH MORSE.

Query 1. What is the number of souls among whom Messrs. Kirkland and Sergeant labour ?

Answer. The objects of Mr. Kirkland's mission are the
Indians

Indians of the Oneida nation, whose relative situation may be better understood by the map which accompanies this report, than by any verbal description. At the last enumeration, the number of men, women, and children, was six hundred and twenty-eight. There is annually an exact census taken of all these Indians, the reason of which will appear in our answer to the 19th query. Mr. Kirkland's residence is on a tract of land given him by the Oneidas, and confirmed by the state of New York in 1789. The distance from his house to Kahnonwolohale, the principal village of the Oneidas, is about twelve miles.

The objects of Mr. Sergeant's mission are the Indians of New-Stockbridge, who are on a tract of land six miles square, adjoining the S. E. part of the Oneida reservation, as may be seen in the map. The number of them is three hundred.

Mr. Sergeant resides in the village of New-Stockbridge, with part of his family : the other part resides at old Stockbridge in the state of Massachusetts, distant about 160 miles. The legislature of New-York have lately granted him a tract of land, containing one square mile, which is to be located in that part of their late purchase of the Oneida reservation adjoining New-Stockbridge.

On the N. E. part of New-Stockbridge lies Brotherton, containing those Indians who were lately under the care of the Rev. Samson Occom, deceased. They are one hundred and fifty in number ; and are sometimes visited by the missionaries. They have now petitioned for a missionary, to be paid by the society, till they shall be able to maintain one themselves.

Query 2. How many are professedly Pagans, and how many Christians ?

Answer. In New-Stockbridge are no professed Pagans. Among the Oneidas are eight adult persons who are thus denominated. This will be further answered under the 5th query.

Query 3. How many different breeds, or mixtures of blood, are there among them ?

Answer. The Indians of New Stockbridge are mostly pure, though there is some mixture of whites. Among the Oneidas there is scarcely an individual who is not descended on one side from Indians of other nations, or from Eng-

lish, Scots, Irish, French, German, Dutch, and some few from Africans. Mr. Dean, our interpreter, thinks that there has not been a *pure Oneida* in existence for above twelve years past.

Query 4. Into how many different parties are they divided, both political and religious?

Query 5. What are their respective principles, views, interests and prejudices?

Answer. The Stockbridge Indians are not divided into religious parties at present; though, during the life of Mr. Occom, there was a division between those who preferred him to Mr. Sergeant; and others who adhered to the latter. The principal division now among them is between those who are in favor of leasing their lands to the white people, and those who prefer cultivating them with their own hands. The latter party has of late gained the ascendancy, as appears by their covenant, dated June 3, 1796, a copy of which was delivered to us by Captain Hendrick Apaumut, Sachem, accompanied with 4 strings of wampum.

The Oneidas are divided between Pagans and Christians. We took some pains to inquire into the principles of the former, and meeting with an old man of eighty, who is reputed the head of the Pagan party, we requested Mr. Dean to enter into conversation with him, and give us the result. It was this. Some of them addressed their devotions to the wind, others to the clouds and thunder,* he to the rocks and mountains, which he believed to have an invisible, as well as visible existence, and an agency over human actions. To this kind of superintending power, he had always trusted for success in hunting, and in war, and had generally obtained his desire. He had either killed, or taken captive, his enemy, and had been fortunate in the chase. He regarded the *Oneida Stone* as a proper emblem or representative of the divinity whom he worshipped. This stone we saw. It is of a rude, unwrought shape, rather inclining to cylindrical, and of more than a hundred pounds weight. It bears no resemblance to any of the stones which are found in that country. From whence it was originally brought, no one can tell. The tradition is, that it *follows* the nation in their removals. From it the name of the nation is derived,

* "Lo the poor Indian, whose untutor'd mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind," &c.

rived, for *Oneida* signifies the *upright stone*. When it was set up in the crotch of a tree, the people were supposed *invincible*. It is now placed in an upright position on the earth, at the door of the old man's house. A stout man can carry this stone about 40 or 50 rods, without resting; and this is the manner in which it may be said (with the help of a little priestcraft) to *follow* them in their removals.

Though the number of *professed* Pagans be small, yet the whole nation, notwithstanding their opportunities for religious improvement, are still influenced, in a great degree, by their old mythology. They are universally firm believers in witchcraft and invisible agency. They pay great regard to dreams and omens, and attribute the most common events to causes with which there can be no natural connexion. Not long since, an Indian was drowned in one of the *Oneida* creeks, which are annually visited by the salmon. When the season came, they imagined that no fish could be found in that stream; till a gentleman of Albany, who happened to be at Fort Stanwix, persuaded them that he had put something into the water to purify it, on which they resorted to the creek, and took the fish as formerly, and thought themselves much obliged to the gentlemen for his skill and goodness.

The first missionaries, who came among these people, were French Jesuits from Canada, who were very fond of baptising their children as soon as they were born, and taught them that delays were dangerous. The moral character of the parents was of no consequence; if sponsors could be obtained, the ceremony was performed, the fee paid, and a bottle of rum drank on the occasion.

When adults desired baptism, they were taught to say the creed, the Lord's prayer; and the ten commandments, and to make a confession to the priest, as the only prerequisites to the administration of the ordinance. The godfather gave the name; and, if he was able, treated the company with an exhilarating draught. This is the account which the Indians give of "*the old way*," which, they say, "*had no difficulty, and might easily be complied with*;" and so much influence has the remembrance of this "*old way*" upon them, that, when the present missionaries decline to baptize any of their children, they carry them, 30 or 40 miles, to the German or Dutch settlements, down the Mohawk river; where

where, on payment of the usual fee of half a dollar, they find no difficulty in obtaining baptism, and are then perfectly easy about the salvation of their children. As far, therefore, as this kind of baptism may denominate them Christians, the whole nation, except the few Pagans abovementioned, may be said to be so.

The *whig* and *tory* distinction, produced by the late war, is not yet forgotten. Some few of the Oneidas joined with the British; but the greater part of them adhered to the Americans; and after the destruction of their villages and church, by the tories and hostile Indians, they removed down to the plains of Schenectady, and were served with rations, at the expence of the United States, during the remainder of the war. Compensation for their losses has been made them by the legislature of the Union. Those persons who went off to the British are still objects of jealousy.

There is also a party, created by the intrigues of some persons, who bought a large tract of their land; but the sale was not confirmed by the state of New-York. The spirit of contention, on this account, has been carried to a great height.

Query 6. What is the number of those who are instructed in the principles of the gospel, and seem to be influenced by them?

Answer. At New-Stockbridge, the people in general attend on the public instructions of Mr. Sergeant, and the religious conferences which he holds with them. The church consists of five men, and twenty-five women. Of the latter, none are under suspension; and but one is complained of as disorderly. Of the former, two have been disciplined for intoxication, and are now under suspension. We were present at one religious exercise, which was decently attended, and their singing was remarkably soft and harmonious. Many of these people, male and female, can read English, and some few can write. They received, with great pleasure, some religious books, which we distributed among them.

Among the Oneidas, are 36 women, who are reputed sober; and of these, Mr. Kirkland thinks, 24 are serious christians. There are three or four men of a sober character in general. *One man* only attended the last communion; this was John Skanandogh; and he is said, by some, to be the

the only man in the nation who never indulges himself in drinking to excess. He has very little influence in the nation, though one of the chiefs.

The present missionaries baptize no children but those whose parents, at least one of them, are in communion with the church. The number of baptisms performed by them is consequently very small, not more than 6 or 7 in a year, in each mission. The Lord's-supper is administered not oftener than 3 times in a year.

It may here be observed, that, among the Oneidas, children are reckoned to belong to the *mother*, rather than the father. They are numbered with the tribe or clan to which the mother belongs. These tribes are three, and are distinguished by the names of the *Wolf*, the *Bear*, and the *Turtle*. If the mother die before the father, the mother's relations take the children and educate them.

Thus it sometimes happens, that the children of a christian father are taken from him, and educated by the Pagan relatives of the mother. An instance of this now exists. The son of *Good Peter* (who died lately) was taken from him at his wife's death, and educated by the old Pagan aforementioned, who was her brother. This young Peter is a very different character from his father, and makes no pretensions to religion; he has murdered several persons, and has a most savage and ferocious aspect; but he is a great orator, and has more influence among the Oneidas than any other person. We called to see him, and he thanked us for it; adding, that he supposed it was on his father's account that we took notice of him.

In the savage state, it is usual for the young men to attach themselves to no particular female; but to rove at large among them, till they have passed the vigour of youth and then confine themselves to one.

At present, the Oneidas marry young, and are said to be more continent than formerly. But the indecency of habit in the males, they being universally *sans culottes*, is not a very favourable symptom; and the hard treatment which the women receive from their husbands, being obliged to labour when they are idle, does not indicate the prevalence of christian principles to any great extent.

Murders are said to be *not so frequent* as formerly; but a melancholy instance happened a few days before our arrival.

Two young men had a quarrel ; one shot the other dead ; the father of the dead went and killed the murderer ; and no further notice was taken of the matter.*

Peter, aforementioned, about 2 years ago, killed an Onandago Indian. The Onandagos sought for Peter in vain ; and when they could not find him, took their revenge by killing an innocent Oneida Indian. Peter has also killed several persons, suspected of witchcraft. Not long since, an Indian of the Tuscarora nation killed his uncle. Complaint was made to an English magistrate, and the murderer was imprisoned in Herkemer county jail. His trial will bring on a question, whether the laws of New-York extend to the Indians.

Last summer, Joseph Brandt, a Mohawk chief, and a captain in the British service, formerly one of Dr. Wheelock's scholars, murdered his own son, who was indeed a bad fellow, and had attempted the life of his father. Brandt resigned

* The following particular account of this affair is taken from the journal of the Rev. Mr. Sargeant.

" June 7. This evening a murder happened, at a place called Old Oneida, about three miles east of this place, [New Stockbridge], where a few families reside, called Oriskas, outcast Oneidas ; the circumstances are as follow.

" Two young men, Jacob and Cornelius, went in the morning to an English settlement, and returned in the evening with a bottle of rum, both a little intoxicated. As they entered the village, Cornelius insulted a woman and her child, for which Jacob reproved him. Cornelius, in a violent passion, threatened to kill him ; ran to a neighbouring house, where were none but women, and took a loaded gun ; he returned, met Jacob in the road, and discharged a ball through his body, who instantly died. Cornelius then ran to Oneida, about four miles, to his father's house. By this time he appeared to have some sensibility, told his father what he had done, and shed tears. He then lay down to sleep, on one side of the hut, his father on the other. All the women, leaving the house, told the neighbours, if the revengers of blood came after him, to tell them where he was.

" Soon after the murder, the relations of Jacob collected seven men, each armed with a gun, tomahawk and knife ; they followed the murderer, it being nearly dark ; came to the house in a silent manner, and opened the door. Then the eldest brother of Jacob shot Cornelius through the body ; then stabbed him, as they supposed, to the heart ; and all returned, in an orderly manner, to their habitations.

" After this, Cornelius revived, though in great distress ; requested that some medicine might be applied to his wounds ; *but his father refused him this favour.* The next morning, he was still alive, and, it is supposed, might have recovered ; *but his father sent to the revengers of blood to return, and put an end to his life ;* which they did, by beating out his brains with a tomahawk. According to their custom, he was buried without any ceremony.

" June 9. I was invited to attend the funeral of Jacob ; which opportunity I improved, to shew the danger, folly, and wickedness of intemperance. After the funeral, the people were entertained with a feast.

" Both Jacob and Cornelius were men of very bad characters. Cornelius was governed by violent passions, which were never subdued in childhood."

signed his commission, and surrendered himself to justice ; but Lord Dorchester would not accept his resignation.

Query 7. In what kind of principles, called gospel principles, are they instructed ?

Query 8. Whether any of them make objections to these principles, and what are their objections ?

Answer. Messrs. Kirkland and Sergeant are both Presbyterians and Calvinists, as may be seen by the heads of their discourses, in their journals. Mr. Sergeant says, that he does not meddle with high points, such as predestination, and the origin of evil, but preaches faith, repentance, and morality. Mr. Kirkland being very ill when we saw him, did not talk much on any subject, but he is well known to be very firm in the doctrines of Calvinism.

The Indians are not fond of disputation, and do not usually make objections to particular doctrines. They rather object to the strictness which is required by the missionaries, in regard to the qualifications for admission to gospel ordinances. Formerly they objected to receiving Christianity, because it served to degrade them in the view of the confederated nations ;* but as to the external forms of religion, they are not now averse to being called christians.

Query 9. What number of them have renounced their old habits of roving, idleness, and intemperance, especially when the means of indulging to excess in drinking spirits occur ?

Answer. This has been partly answered under the 6th query ; but it may further be observed, with respect to roving, that though their former hunting ground has been purchased of them, and is almost entirely occupied by white husbandmen, and the game consequently driven away or destroyed ; yet so fond are they of roving, that many of them are frequently strolling among the settlements of the whites, and making long visits where they can find food and liquor. *Idleness* is the sin that easily besets them, and is the parent of many other vices. "Indians cannot work," is a saying frequently in their mouths. They have an idea, that to labour in cultivating the earth, is degrading to the character of

* " We are derided by our brethren, on account of our christian profession : time was, when we were esteemed as honourable and important in the confederacy as any others ; but now we are looked upon as small things, or rather nothing at all." *Speech of an Oneida chief, 1772.*

of man, "who (they say) was made for war and hunting, and holding councils, and that squaws and hedge-hogs are made to scratch the ground." Another of their proverbial traditions is, that the Great Spirit gave the white man a plough, and the red man a bow and arrow, and sent them into the world by different paths, each to get his living in his own way.

With respect to drinking spirits, excepting the few persons beforementioned, they are generally, and we fear incurably, addicted to intemperance, whenever they have the means in their power. This is the character of all the savages of North-America.

Query 10. Of what character are the white people who reside in their vicinity, and particularly those who are connected with them?

Answer. In New-Stockbridge, there is but one white family, that of Mr. Sergeant. The white people of the neighbouring settlements have but little intercourse with the Stockbridge Indians; there is a road through their village, in which there is frequent passing of white people, and too often on the Lord's-day. Among the Oneidas, there are some white people, who reside as mechanics; and others who go occasionally to trade with them. These are said to be, in general, persons of not the best moral characters; and indeed, there is very little inducement for people, who have any regard to reputation, to reside among them. Such persons can live much more agreeably in the neighbouring settlements of the whites, without any connection with the Indians.

Formerly, the nearest white neighbours to the Indians of Oneida were the Germans and Dutch, on the Mohawk river. These were all broken up by the late war; and the whole of the Mohawk nation of Indians, who resided at several places on that river, left their ancient villages about the year 1780, and have never returned. At the peace, the Germans and Dutch resumed their plantations; but, till the year 1785, there was not a white family above the German flats. Since that time, the country has been rapidly populated and cultivated, by people who removed from various parts of New-England, New-York, and New-Jersey; and who have, within that short space, made greater improvements in cultivation and breeding of cattle, than the
Germans

Germans had attained in seventy years. In the district comprehended between the Oneida reservation, and the Mohawk river above the German flats, which is now divided into three townships, Whitestown, Paris, and Westmoreland, there were, in 1785, but two families; those of *Hugh White* and *Moses Foot*; but now, in 1796, there are, within the same limits, six parishes, with five settled ministers, three full regiments of militia, and one corps of light horse. Besides this rapid population on the eastern side of the Oneida country, there are many thriving settlements on the north, west, and south, which are every year increasing by emigrations from New-England, New-Jersey, and the lower parts of New-York. Thus these Indians are entirely surrounded by the white people; who are, in general, sober, peaceable, and well informed; and their plantations are continually enlarging and improving, by the hand of industry. Among them, however, there is a mixture of the intemperate, knavish, and profane; and it is unhappy for the Indians, that they have more connexion with these, than with the virtuous part of the community.

Query 11. Whether any regulations have been adopted by the Indians, as a political body, to prevent the excessive use of spirituous liquors; and if so, whether such regulations are carried into execution?

Answer. Some regulations have been made and executed at New-Stockbridge, and the number of retail houses is lessened. That party who are in favour of leasing their lands are the most addicted to intemperance; but it is acknowledged, that those who are called; in general, steady and sober men, will at some times transgress the rules of temperance.

At Oneida, the chiefs have frequently attempted to prohibit the introduction and sale of spirituous liquors; but from the small degree of power, which they possess, and the want of subordination among the people, these attempts have hitherto proved ineffectual. The authority of sachems and chiefs is merely that of recommendation, without any coercion or penal sanction; when, therefore, offenders can transgress with impunity, no regulations will have any effect.

They seem to be sensible of the necessity of some coercive measures, to check the prevalence of intoxication, and have petitioned the legislature of New-York on the subject; a copy of this petition was given to us by Captain Hendrick.

We could not learn that any thing was done in answer to this petition. Labour and industry are the best antidote to intemperance.

Query 12. Whether, in any considerable number, they have addicted themselves to the arts of industry and agriculture, so as to procure a decent subsistence for themselves and families?

Answer. At New-Stockbridge, it is computed that about two-thirds of the men, and nine-tenths of the women, are industrious. Agriculture, and the breeding of cattle and swine, are their chief employments, by which they procure more than a sufficiency of food; and by selling part of their produce, they are able to purchase their clothing. They have but few sheep, and a little flax; and they seem to be desirous of improving in both these articles. Sheep may be multiplied with ease, if the woods were cleared, especially as there are no wolves in that neighbourhood.

There is a single instance of a woman, who, last year, wove 16 yards of woollen cloth; and by the increase of her sheep, expects, the present year, to weave double the number. We made particular inquiry for her, and gave her our hearty *benediction*. Her name is *Esther*; she is a widow of 40 years of age, has seven children, and an infirm sister, who depend on her for maintenance. The sachem *Hendrick Apaumut* has a good field of wheat, Indian corn, potatoes, and grass; and we had the pleasure of meeting him in the road, driving his ox-team. The fences in general are good, and the land under tolerable cultivation, in New-Stockbridge. One grand reason of this will appear under the 17th query.

At Oneida the case is very different, the reasons of which will be seen in our answers to the 17th and 19th queries. There, agriculture is in its infancy, labour being performed almost wholly by the women. An Oneida chief. (John Skanandogh excepted) would think himself degraded by driving a team, or guiding a plough. Not more than two or three families procure a subsistence by *agriculture*; and these have little encouragement to proceed; because their neighbours will live upon them, as long as they have any thing to eat. They may be said to procure a *subsistence*, by *fishing* and *fowling*, and by raising some corn and beans, and potatoes, by the labour of their squaws, and by the help of what money they receive, hereafter to be mentioned; but what

what subsistence they get in these, and all other ways, would hardly be thought *decent* by any people except themselves.

The Oneidas affect to despise their neighbours of Stockbridge and Brotherton, for their attention to agriculture; but they are obliged to buy their corn and meat of them. We saw several Oneida *women* bearing burdens of corn on their backs, which they had been thither to buy; whilst their husbands were smoaking their pipes at home.

Query 13. In what manner is the money granted annually by Congress, to establish and encourage husbandry and manufactures, expended; and what improvements have been made?

Answer. By a treaty made in 1794, between the United States, on the one part, and the Six Nations, and their Indian friends residing with them, on the other part, it was stipulated, that "the sum of 4500 dollars should be expended annually, and forever, in purchasing clothing, domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils, and in compensating useful artificers who shall reside among them, and be employed for their benefit." This allowance is under the direction of a superintendant, and is not distributed for any private purposes. It is apportioned among them according to their numbers which are as follows.

	Residing in the United States.	Within the British lines. These receive no part of the grant.
Mohawks		300
Oneidas	628	
Cayugas	40	460
Onondagos	450	
Tuscaroras	400	
Senekas	1780	
Stockbridge	300	
Brotherton	150	
	3748	760

The first and second year's pension, paid to the Stockbridge Indians, has been expended in building a saw mill and keeping a school. The next year's pension is appropriated to the erection of a smith's shop and the procuring of a workman, with tools and iron. As soon as they can afford it, they propose to encourage, by premiums, the raising of sheep and flax, and grain, the manufacture of linen and

and woollen cloth, and the clearing up of lands. At present, the school is intermitted. Their last school-master was John Quency, one of their own sons, who received an education at Orangedale academy, in New-Jersey, near Newark.

The Oneidas have received their share of the allowance in the erection of a saw mill, in the support of a blacksmith, and in the purchasing of oxen and implements of husbandry. It is also in contemplation to build a church in their principal village.

A deputation from the Society of Friends, in Pennsylvania, has been sent the present summer, to reside with the Indians of Oneida, New-Stockbridge, &c. and assist them in husbandry and the mechanic arts. We met these gentlemen, and had a friendly conversation with them; and they gave us a copy of their commission.

The Stockbridge Indians have received some assistance, with regard to instruments of husbandry, from the Society, established in Massachusetts, for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North-America.

Query 14. Whether it be true, as hath been strongly affirmed to the society, that the arts of civilization and industry, when adopted by the Indians, have such an unhappy effect on them, that few of them long survive?

Answer. This matter must have been inaccurately stated, however strongly affirmed. We never heard of any Indians who have perished, or shortened their lives, by civilization and industry. Very few have even made the experiment; and with regard to those few, no such effect has followed from it. There are at this time above 1000 Indians, pure and mixed, in various parts of Massachusetts, most of whom have attained as great a degree of civilization and industry as can generally be expected of such people; and those, who are sober and prudent, live as long as others in the same circumstances. The Indians of New-Stockbridge and Brotherton, who removed from several parts of New-England a few years ago, afford another evidence, that the assertion made to the Society is not founded in fact. There is among them as great a proportion of aged persons, both male and female, as among the white people. Skanandogh, the most industrious man of the Oneidas, is between 60 and 70 years old, and his wife is about the same age. Had it been said, that those individuals, upon whom the best at-

tempts

tempts for civilization had been made, have proved the most vicious and abandoned; and that the vices acquired by them, in consequence of a preposterous mode of education, had brought them to an untimely end, the assertion might have passed uncontroverted. There have been instances of this among the western Indians; but with respect to these nations in general, it may be said, that the experiment has never been made. We imagine that this query must have originated from a report of the almost total extinction of the Natick Indians, who were in the last century so numerous as to be the objects of the labours of the venerable Mr. ELLIOT of Roxbury. He translated the bible into their language; which then was understood by other tribes within the limits of New-England; but there are now, so few Indians who understand that language, that the bible which he translated has become almost useless, and is to be found only in some public libraries, or private cabinets, as a curiosity. It is true, also, that the remains of the Natick Indians, whose residence was within 20 miles of Boston, and of other smaller tribes who understood the same language, are at this day so blended with blacks and whites, and so scattered, as not to be known or distinguished; but that these effects have resulted from their civilization and industry, is an assertion which cannot be admitted. An idle and desultory mode of life is more likely to have been the cause of their present undistinguishable situation; not to mention various incidents, in the course of Providence, which are not under the control of human power.

Query 15. Whether consumptions, and other disorders of the lungs, are more prevalent among them now, than in their former savage state? If so,

Query 16. Whether it be owing to intemperance, or to the disuse of furs, and the introduction of linen and cotton, for clothing?

Answer. As the subject of these queries is matter of opinion only, the information which we have received from some gentlemen differs from that of others. No regular accounts of deaths and casualties have been kept, and therefore no knowledge can be had from the best source. It is said, that the intemperate are more subject to consumptions than the sober; but no comparison can be made between their present and former state, by which the greater or less frequency

of these complaints can be ascertained. A physician,* who has resided in the neighbourhood of the Oneidas, asserts, that pulmonic disorders are infrequent among them. Another gentleman,† who is not a physician, but whose opportunities for observation have been very favourable, is of a different opinion, and ascribes these disorders to the extremes of heat and cold, to which they subject themselves, in their paroxysms of ebriety. Whilst another gentleman,‡ of great respectability, who has been frequently conversant with the Indians in various parts of this continent, is of opinion, that their tender lungs are injured by a want of free perspiration, owing to their disuse of furs, which they have, for the most part, converted into articles of traffic, rather than clothing. Amidst this diversity, we must acknowledge, that our acquaintance with the subject is not sufficient to enable us to give any decided opinion, supported by facts and observations.

Query 17. Have any of the Indians distinct and separate property in lands?

Answer. Those of New-Stockbridge and Brotherton have made a division of their lands, so that each one holds his landed property as an estate in fee simple, with this restriction, that it shall never be sold to white people. This is the *grand reason* of their superiority, in point of agricultural improvement, to their brethren, the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, &c. An attempt was made to bring the Oneidas into the same regulation; and an instrument was drawn by the late superintendant, General Chapin, and signed by the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the nation, December 3, 1794; by which they engaged, "to set apart to any person who should require it, 200 acres of land, to be held by him and his posterity, with power to sell the same to any person of the Oneida nation, but not to any of the white people." It was also agreed, that these lots of land "should be laid out in a regular form, and contiguous to each other, that the labour of fencing might be lessened." And to keep this engagement in mind, it was agreed, that it should be "read once a year in full council."

But on inquiry, we could not find that any thing had been done in consequence of this agreement. They allow any of their people to fence and cultivate as much land as they

* Dr. Hopkins.

† Mr. Dean.

‡ Gen. Lincoln.

they please, and to take off the crop; but the land is the common property of the nation; and if one, who has been at the pains to do this, should have more corn or meat than is sufficient for his own use in the winter season, they will visit him, and expect to be fed as long as there is any thing to be eaten. This is a great discouragement to those who are disposed to be industrious, of whom the number is but small.

Query 18. Are any of them under the guardianship of the state of New-York?

Answer. The whole of the Six Nations and their associates, who reside within the limits of the state, are under the guardianship of its legislature, so far as that they are not allowed to sell their land to private persons, but to the state only; and no contract is valid unless confirmed by the state legislature. They have no representation in the legislature; and there is a doubt among the lawyers, whether the penal laws of the state extend to them, unless in cases where both parties, in a controversy, voluntarily subject themselves to the authority. The Brotherton Indians are more particularly under the guardianship of the state, as may be seen by a late act of assembly, a copy of which accompanies this report. [Which was sent to Scotland.]

Query 19. What sums of money, or quantities of goods, do they receive from the state; how are they divided, and what use do the Indians make of them?

Answer. The Stockbridge Indians receive nothing from the state of New-York.

The Brotherton Indians receive an annuity of 2160 dollars; which sum is partly appropriated to the purpose of maintaining a school, partly to the payment of an attorney to transact their business, and the remainder to be applied to their benefit, as he shall judge proper.

The Oneidas have, for several years past, received 600 dollars, annually, as a consideration for the lands purchased of them by the state: The Cayugas 600, and the Onondagos 400. No goods have been given to them by the state; but the Six Nations received from the United States a present of goods, about two years since, as a compensation for their losses and removals, during the late war, which were equally divided among them, according to their numbers. The amount of this compensation was 10,000 dollars.

By an act of the legislature of New-York, passed on April 1st, of the present year, the Oneidas are to receive of the state, an annuity of 3552 dollars, in consequence of a purchase of lands made in 1795, and in lieu of all former stipulations : The Cayugas 2300, and the Onondagos 2000.

When these annuities are paid to the Indians, viz. the Oneidas, Cayugas, and Onondagos, the money is divided equally to every person in each nation. This renders an exact enumeration necessary ; and if a child happen to be born but one hour before the money is paid, that child has an equal share with the oldest sachem.

It is the practice of the Indians to keep themselves sober during the time that they are receiving and dividing this annuity. But when they have got their several shares, according to the number in each family, they are at liberty to dispose of the money as they please. Those who are prudent and frugal, expend it for clothing and provisions : those who are idle and intemperate, gratify their appetites to excess ; and the whole soon gets into the hands of the traders in the neighbouring towns, or those who resort to the Indian villages with goods, wares and liquors, about the time of the payment. Some of the Indians even anticipate their shares, by running in debt to these traders.

These annuities, as they are now managed, are supposed to operate as a discouragement to industry. For as long as Indians can get their living by any other means, they will not work.

Query 20. Have the Indians increased or decreased in number since the establishment of the missions ? And

Query 21. If decreased, what are the causes ?

Answer. It is the opinion of those who are best acquainted with them, that they have rather increased ; but not in so great a proportion as the white people.

About three years since, forty of the Oneidas died of the dysentery ; and within a year past, the measles have proved fatal to some.

We recommended to the missionaries to keep regular accounts of births, deaths, marriages, emigrations and immigrations, and to transmit them annually to the society.

Query 22. Whether the attempts to civilize the Indians have been pushed so rapidly, as not to give them time to change their habits ?

Answer.

Answer. The difference between the savage and civilized modes of life is so great, that it is impossible for either the body or the mind to accommodate itself to the change with any degree of rapidity. If, therefore, expectations of a sudden change have been excited, they must necessarily have been disappointed.

Several causes may be considered as having an influence in producing the disappointment of sanguine expectations relative to the civilization of the savages. Their national pride, indolence, and improvidence; their tenacity of common property in their lands; together with the annuities, which they receive from the state of New York, have been already mentioned. These necessarily operate as hindrances to their civilization. Let it also be considered, that the human mind is naturally averse to control. "If, under the peculiar advantages which we enjoy, from education, science, government, and experience, we find, among ourselves, a great proportion of men, who are loth to surrender so many of their natural rights, as are necessary to give strength and safety to those which are retained, we cannot be surprised, that the savage nations should be averse to making a surrender of their present customs and manners, and sacrificing them to a system with which they are in a great degree unacquainted."

"We find, by observation, how hard it is for people advanced in years to exchange the ideas and habits, to which they have long been accustomed, for those which are new; and even when they are convinced that the exchange will be for their interest and benefit, it requires great strength of mind, and a spirit of enterprize, which does not fall to the lot of every man, to enter on new projects. If this be true of people who have had the greatest advantages, what can be expected of those who have had much less, and whose prejudices in favor of ancient customs and manners have acquired strength, in proportion to their want of light and knowledge?"

It may be added, that some experiments of what is called civilization and a polite education, which have been made upon individuals, have served rather to disgust the Indians, and retard the progress of improvement. The following picture, however highly coloured, may yet be considered as drawn from the life. "An Indian youth has been taken

from his friends, and conducted to a new people, whose modes of thinking and living, whose pleasures and pursuits are totally dissimilar to those of his own nation. His new friends profess love to him, and a desire for his improvement in human and divine knowledge, and for his eternal salvation; but at the same time endeavour to make him sensible of his inferiority to themselves. To treat him as an equal would mortify their own pride; and degrade themselves in the view of their neighbours. He is put to school; but his fellow students look on him as a being of an inferior species. He acquires some knowledge, and is taught some ornamental, and perhaps useful accomplishments; but the degrading memorials of his inferiority, which are continually before his eyes, remind him of the manners and habits of his own country, where he was once free and equal to his associates. He sighs to return to his friends; but there he meets with the most bitter mortification. He is neither a white man nor an Indian; as he had no character with us, he has none with them. If he has strength of mind sufficient to renounce all his acquirements, and resume the savage life and manners, he may possibly be again received by his countrymen; but the greater probability is, that he will take refuge from their contempt in the inebriating draught; and when this becomes habitual, he will be guarded from no vice, and secure from no crime. His downward progress will be rapid, and his death premature." Such has been the fate of several Indians who have had the opportunity of enjoying an English or a French education, and have returned to their native country. Such persons must either entirely renounce their acquired habits, and resume the savage life; or, if they live among their countrymen, they must be despised, and their death will be unlamented.

Query 23. Is any distinction to be made between the Indians who removed from Stockbridge, and other parts of New-England, to the Oneida country, and the Oneidas themselves?

Answer. It must appear, from the foregoing observations, that the former are in an improveable state, with respect to husbandry and other branches of civilization, though there are vices and defects among them which need correction; but the latter, though they affect a superiority of character as native lords of the soil, appear more corrupt and degraded

graded than the former. Once, we coveted their friendship, either from fear or policy ; but neither of these motives can now have any influence ; they are rather objects of pity. They might indeed become respectable, and enjoy that independence of character, which belongs to good husbandry. They have a large tract of the most excellent land, extremely well situated with respect to lakes and streams of water, which form an easy transportation for the productions of the earth to good markets ; but they are insensible of these advantages, and attached to their ancient habits, which are now become impracticable. They must lay aside the character of hunters, because their game is gone, and its haunts are rendered infinitely more valuable by cultivation. They cannot be warriors, because they have no enemies to contend with. If, therefore, they continue to despise husbandry, the only remaining source of opulence and independence, they must either retire to some distant region of the American forest, or live as spendthrifts on the price of their lands ; or become strollers and beggars ; till, like their brethren of Natick, they shall cease to have any political existence among mankind.

Query 24. What is the present state of the Oneida or Hamilton Academy, which has been represented as “ the last effort to be made, together with agriculture and the gradual introduction of the civil arts, for the national happiness and prosperity of the Indians ” ?

Answer. The situation of Hamilton Academy is on the eastern side of a commanding eminence, half a mile from the house of the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, and about eleven miles eastward of the nearest Indian villages. The building is 82 feet long, 44 wide, and 3 stories high. It is, at present, a frame, partly covered, and the work is suspended. The following extract from the report of the Regents of the university of New-York will give a true idea of its present circumstances. (Vide Journal of the Senate of New-York, March 2, 1796, page 14.)

“ The trustees of the Academy of Hamilton Oneida, in the county of Herkemer, have erected the frame of a building for an academy, which will require a considerable sum of money to complete. There is a small school-room, half a mile from the academy, in which scholars have formerly been taught ; but no teacher has been employed, nor school kept, since September, 1794.”

“ The

"The funds for an institution here consist of 425 acres of land, in the neighbourhood of the academy, chiefly uncultivated, and 400 dollars on a subscription not collected."

"An incumbrance of 1000 dollars has been laid on the land by the trustees, for the purpose of raising the frame of the building. It was judged, by the visiting committee, to be inexpedient to apply any part of the *money assigned* to this academy."

On inquiry, we found that the whole of the 425 acres of land had been mortgaged for 1000 dollars; and that by "*money assigned*," was intended, money assigned to the general purpose of education, by the legislature of the state of New-York, which amounts to 53,700 dollars."*

* Extract from a report of the Regents of the university, March 6, 1797.

From the New-York Herald, April 19, 1797.

"Hamilton Oneida Academy is in a *worse* situation than it was the preceding year. The building is covered, but there is no prospect it will be further completed; the funds being wholly expended, and the property already taken in execution to satisfy debts still due.

"Signed,

JOHN JAY, *Chancellor.*

DAVID S. JONES, *Sec'ry.*"

HISTORICAL AND CHARACTERISTIC TRAITS OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS IN GENERAL, AND THOSE OF NATICK IN PARTICULAR; IN A LETTER FROM THE REV. STEPHEN BADGER, OF NATICK, TO THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

N. B. This letter was written in answer to the following queries, addressed to Mr. Badger, in consequence of the 14th query of the Scots commissioners; which was summarily answered in the report of their committee.

1. HOW many missionaries have been employed since Mr. Elliot, in Natick? their names, and the dates of their entrance and exit; and by what means supported?

2. Can you, from any memorials in your possession, ascertain the number of the Natick Indians at any periods, so as to give some account of the gradual decrease of them?

3. By what causes has the decrease been effected? and (if

(if possible to be distinguished) in what proportion is the decrease to be ascribed to each particular cause?

4. What proportion of the Indians of Natick, at any period, have been exemplary for industry, and attention to the cultivation of lands, or to mechanic employments?

5. What proportion of them, at any period, have been remarkable for the influence of gospel principles on their minds and morals?

6. Have there been any instances of longevity; or can it be ascertained at what average of years deaths have commonly taken place among them?

7. Are there any now living of the Natick tribe, either resident there, or emigrated? and if so, have they any knowledge of the language into which the bible was translated?

Reverend Sir,

YOUR letter of the 20th of May has been received. Had the queries contained in it been proposed to me at an earlier part of my residence in this place, I should have been much better able to give a satisfactory answer to some of them, than I am at so late a period; it being now the forty-fifth year of my stated ministry here. I have not any printed materials, from which I can collect any information, on the subject of your letter; and have no other manuscripts than the church records; which originated with my immediate predecessor; and which have been continued by myself to the present time; as also the records of the town, and the records of the original proprietors of the soil; all of whom were Indians; but neither of these records contain any certain and conclusive documents, relating to their number or state at any particular period. Neither from the number of those of them that have been admitted to a christian profession, and that have been baptized, including adults, minors and infants; nor from the bills of mortality that have been recorded, can any accurate account be derived, as they are all imperfect and deficient, and some of them very irregular; and as none of them were designed to give any enumeration of them, or any direct and general information concerning them. Although I have scarcely any turn for historical researches and inquiries, yet since my connexion with the Indians commenced, I have not been without some degree of curiosity relating to them. This,

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in times past, when they were more numerous, and when there were a considerable number of aged persons living, both among the English and Indians, led me to make some inquiries and observations concerning them, as occasions were offered; but as I had not any expectations, or even apprehensions, that they would be of any use to others, and did not think of committing any of them to writing, the unreteativeness of my memory, in addition to the many scenes of difficulty which I have had to pass through, both before, and especially since the commencement of the political revolutions of our country, in a great measure prevent my recollection of many of them. Such, however, as I can call to mind, and such observations as I may at this time make, and such of the causes of their past and present state, as can be rationally investigated and assigned by me, and which may have any tendency to elucidate the subject of your letter, shall be freely communicated to you.

That the number of Indians in this place, as well as others, especially where the white people have been either intermixed with them, or have been settled in their vicinity, has been diminished from time to time, and is now greatly lessened, is well known, and cannot be disputed. This diminution, I apprehend, is not to be considered as originating in, or confined to, any one single cause; but as arising from a concurrence and co-operation of several. Which of them has been the most predominant one, I shall leave to others to determine.

That it is wholly, or chiefly, the effect of a limited and less refined civilization, of regular industry, and of christianity, either simply or separately, or collectively considered, I think cannot rationally be admitted; because the most obvious and direct tendency of each of these, more especially of the two last, is, to promote health and morals, and consequently to bring on that longevity of which Indians generally fall short. Other causes are therefore to be sought for, by which to account for this strange and melancholly effect. It may not therefore be improper to observe, that while the white people in America, either by descent or by emigration from the different nations of Europe, have increased in population, and been otherwise prospered, even at those times in which they had great difficulties to encounter and overcome, the Indians, at the same time, and when under

der every advantage and excitement that are supposed to arise from regular habits of industry, melioration of manners, an associated state somewhat similar to that of Europeans, and from the means of religion, have, notwithstanding, dwindled, become wretched, and in some places are almost extinct. But it is to be considered, that the white people, under the just mentioned circumstances, instead of having had to alter, and even to set aside that mode of life, and that regular and stated course of industry to which they had been early accustomed, had only, and that without any difficulty, to continue and make additional improvements in them; and also, that instead of having to give up those religious principles, and forsaking those religious rites, customs, and practices, to the belief and habits of which they had been very early, very gradually, and imperceptibly introduced, even from their infancy, by tradition, and, by the instructions, influence and examples of their progenitors, had been more and more established and confirmed in them; the Indians, instead of all this, have been called upon, and have had it pressed upon them, by the inculcation of the arts of civilization, (which perhaps have been too much refined, at least at first, for nature in its rude and unpolished state), by a regular and uniform attention to the practice of industry, and especially by the inforcement of the self-denying principles and precepts of christianity, and the future and distant prospects which it held up to them. By all these united, I say, they have been urged to an almost total change of their old customs and manners, to substitute others in their stead, some of which are directly opposite to their ancient usages; to put a greater force upon nature than they could easily, and at once, give into; to oppose and give up what they had always before been habituated to, and had had a veneration for; and even to set aside those superstitious rites, in the zealous performance of which, what religion they had, exclusive of the religion or law of nature, very much consisted, and of which they were not a little fond and tenacious. These things, so far as they embraced and conformed to them, have had a corresponding tendency and effect, and have been not a little unfavourable to their health and constitution, and of course had a tendency to shorten their lives.

It may not be improper further to observe, that where the

the principles of the gospel, the habits of industry, and a regular mode of life, have had to counteract, and to combat, the principles and habits of indolence and laziness, roughness and ferocity of manners, and an irregular and improvident disposition and practice, the struggle, which has been occasioned by them, must have been very great, and consequently not a little unfavorable, especially at first, to natural constitution, to health and long life.

It is also to be observed and considered, that there is a wide and important difference between the Indian natives of America, and the emigrants from Europe, and those that have been descended from them, with regard to religion in other respects. When christianity was first promulgated by the divine mission of its author, and by those that were commissioned and sent by him for the same purpose, both before and after his resurrection; the principles and doctrines, the institutions and precepts which were taught and enjoined by them, in addition to the reasonableness of them, and to the fulfilment of ancient prophecy, were authenticated and supported by a series of miraculous operations and events. A record of these has been handed down to succeeding ages, through the several periods of the christian church; by which, most of the nations of Europe, and that nation, in particular, from which the inhabitants of the United States principally originated, have preserved, and continued in the possession of it. They were generally instructed in its principles from their infancy, unopposed by the principles, influence and examples of those who had not embraced it, or whose principles were different from it; the knowledge and belief of it grew up with them; they received it as a revelation from heaven; the public worship and institutions of it were established, and statedly attended upon; and it had the sanction not only of civil government, but of parental authority and example; so that an early prepossession in favour of its belief generally took place among them.

This is very far from having been the case with the original natives of this land. Christianity was proposed to them, after the principles and habits of superstition and idolatry were established, and even deeply rooted in their minds; they had no tradition, either oral or written, from their ancestors, to found a belief of it upon; and as those miraculous operations and effects, by means of which it

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gained credit, and was established at first, had ceased, it could not rationally have been expected, that it should obtain such a cordial and easy credit and reception with them as it had done in those parts of the world which were the theatre of its first appearance and promulgation. If I mistake not, it has been the opinion of a writer of no inferior character, both for literature and critical knowledge and inquiry, that as the continent of America, for unknown ages, had been detached from the other quarters of the globe, if there ever was a territorial connexion and communication between them, previous to the time of its discovery by Columbus; whenever christianity, in its simplicity and efficacy, shall take place in the regions of America, and among the aboriginal natives of it, and its doctrines and institutions shall be received and adopted, unadulterated by human schemes and systems of theology, and unenforced by ecclesiastical domination, some more extraordinary means than have yet been made use of, even those that are miraculous, will be necessary; and accordingly that such will be employed by divine providence, in order to its being embraced by them. Be this as it may, it is evident, beyond contradiction, that the success of the missions among them has been very small; and that where there have been strong and promising appearances of the genuine influence and effects of it, they have been far from durable; and they have generally, and in a great measure, returned to their old customs and habits of indolence and improvidence, of intemperance and irreligion. This has unquestionably been the case with individuals, and I believe in a great measure so with respect to whole tribes of them. There are other causes to which the effects, expressed and implied in the society's queries, may be attributed, without having recourse to those of civilization of manners, industry in business, and the principles, institutions, and precepts of christianity, especially the two last; the obvious tendency of which is most certainly altogether the reverse of what has been intimated and stated to the society, from whatever quarter, and from whatever even respectable authority it may have had its rise; for though these effects may be, and undoubtedly have been, the frequent, if not the constant concomitants of those measures that have been made use of to christianize the Indians; yet it is very unlogical and inconclusive to

infer that they have been derived from, and produced by them, especially when such as have been intimated above, and others that may be mentioned, may be assigned as the much more probable, if not the certain sources of them; for, to proceed, to whatever cause it may be assigned, it is evident, that they are generally considered by white people, and placed, as if by common consent, in an inferior and degraded situation, and treated accordingly. Of this they themselves seem to be not a little sensible. This sinks and cramps their spirits, and prevents those manly exertions which an equal rank with others has a tendency to call forth. If they have landed property, as has generally been the case, and are intermixed with white people; or if these last are settled near their borders, to say the least, they have been under temptations to encourage their Indian neighbours in idleness, intemperance, and needless expenses, and thereby to involve them in debt for the sake of preparing the way for the sale and purchase of their lands, which, it is probable, under such circumstances, have generally been sold at a very low rate, in order to have their debts discharged; and the game, undoubtedly from the same motives, may have been continued and repeated, by which they have been impoverished and disheartened. Whether this has been the case in this place or not, it cannot be denied, that, near a hundred years ago, they were the exclusive proprietors of this plantation, which I suppose then contained about eight or nine thousand acres; but, at this time, the remnant of them, I conjecture, and not without reason, are not owners of half so many hundreds, and I believe not so much as that. At the beginning of the present century, they were in a state of civil society, and were embodied into a military corps; they made choice of town officers, and some of them were invested with military titles; and though it does not appear that they had either civil or military commissions, yet they had the countenance and support of the chief magistrate, and of other persons of rank and influence. They then held up their heads; considered themselves of some importance, and were for some time stimulated to continue both in the profession of the christian religion, which they had embraced, and in some measures to conform to the manners of their English neighbours; but their examples of irregularities and excesses had (it is to be apprehended) too great

great, and even a predominant effect upon them. This, in conjunction with that strange propensity, in their constitutions, to excess, brought them into some degree of disrepute; their military parades were too often followed with drinking frolicks, until at length they were discontinued; and as the English were, from time to time, gaining settlements among them, by the purchase of their lands, they were joined with them by votes of the propriety in the administration of their prudential affairs; and at one of their meetings they made choice of one of their number, in conjunction with one of the English settlers, to read the psalm in public. After this, some English, from neighbouring towns, some of whom, through indolence and excess, had neglected the cultivation of their own farms, and were necessitated to sell, purchased small tracts of the Indians, and became settlers, and, by degrees, obtained possession of more; the Indians were dispirited, and adopted some of the vicious manners of which they had too many examples before their eyes; became more indolent and remiss in their attention to the improvement of their lands, to which they had before been encouraged, and in some degree lost their credit; their civil and military privileges were gradually lessened, and finally and exclusively transferred to the English inhabitants, who were become more numerous, and some of whom, it is to be apprehended, took every advantage of them that they could, under colour of legal authority, and without incurring its censure, to dishearten and depress them. Under these circumstances, those habits which have a direct tendency to beget and promote bad morals, to injure health and to shorten life, were undoubtedly freely indulged, and the effects were answerable to this, in conjunction with other causes.

Indians are also strangely disposed and addicted to wander from place to place, and to make excursions into various parts of the country, and sometimes at no small distance from their proper homes, without any thing on hand for their support in their perambulations; for this, they depend, with unanxious concern, upon the charity and compassion of others. Some of them, after an absence of near twenty years, have returned to their native home. The most trifling and uninteresting causes have been assigned, by some of them, for their travelling thirty, forty, fifty miles, and more; and this sometimes in the most unfavourable

avourable seasons of the year, and in very bad weather. They have not unfrequently taken infant and other children with them in their journeys, which they generally perform very leisurely; many times take shelter in barns, and in some old, impaired, and uninhabited building, and sometimes sleep on the ground, and in the open air, without sufficient covering. While in this vagrant state, they scarcely ever have any regular meals, and hardly any that has been recently prepared for the stated repast of the families, into the houses of which they seem to think they have some kind of right to enter, as their forefathers were the original proprietors and possessors of the land. They are generally not very well furnished with clothing; most of what they have, they beg, or purchase, with a little temporary labour, by the way; and what they thus procure is not very comfortable or durable. A cup of such drink as it is known they are not a little fond of, is more easily handed to them, and with less expense of time and trouble to those that give it, and by which they sooner get rid of them, than a meal of victuals; and therefore the latter is not so often offered to them as the former; and though a first draught, under some circumstances, may be proper, especially when thirsty, wet and weary; yet their unhappiness is, that it leads to a second, and that to a third, and so on, as they pass from house to house, until some of them get quite overcharged; this I have scarce ever known to have been the case when they have been at home, and had access to food as they wanted it, and when they have been employed in such business as usually takes up their time in their own houses. This wandering and irregular practice, especially when applicable to the females, not only exposes their virtue and their morals, but it is a great injury to their own health, and to that of their children that accompany them, and lays a foundation for consumptive sickness, which has generally (exclusive of accidental causes) been the means of their death. To these causes may be added, their males engaging in military service, to which they have been very easily enticed.

During several of the first years of my ministry and residence among them, I joined more Indians in marriage, and baptized more of them, than of the English inhabitants; after which, military expeditions at different periods, and in different directions, were set on foot; and in the several

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wars that took place, between 1754 and 1760, many of them engaged in the service; not a small number died while in it; others returned home, and brought contagious sickness with them; it spread very fast, and carried off some whole families. This was in 1759. In the space of about three months, more than twenty of them died, all of the same disorder, which was a putrid fever; it carried them off in a few days. But two of those, to whom the disorder was communicated, recovered; they were both young women. Though their English neighbours were not backward in affording such assistance as the Indians stood in need of, at this time of general calamity, yet but one of them received the infection, and to that person it proved mortal. There was a time of sickness and of great mortality in this place, and in several neighbouring towns, a few years before, when but one Indian inhabitant sickened and died of the same fever that proved fatal to many others.

These facts seem to prove, that there is a dissimilarity between the natural constitutions of the English and Indians. In what that difference consists, it may be difficult to decide; or if the events, just now mentioned, originated from accidental causes, it may be difficult to determine what those causes were: perhaps these different effects may proceed from different modes of living, as to diet, habitations, and general habits and conduct; or they may be derived from some only, or from all these causes united.

The general disposition and manners of Indians are so distinguishingly characteristic, that a very worthy Indian, of good understanding, who was a deacon of the church in this place, and an ornament to the christian society for many years, and who, from the first of his making a christian profession to the end of his life, was an example of seriousness and temperance, of a regular conversation, and a constant, grave, and devout attendant on the public institutions of religion, upon being asked how it was to be accounted for, that those Indians, when youths, and were put into English families, chiefly in other towns, for education; who had free access to such liquors as are the produce of the country, and intoxicating when taken to excess, but who refrained therefrom, and were regular and steady in their attention to business, yet soon after they had the command of themselves and of their time, and had associated with those who were

of the same complexion, became *Indians* in the reproachful sense of the word, were idle, indolent, and intemperate, and became habituated to all the excesses of those who had not been favored with such advantages, made this laconic reply, *Ducks will be ducks, notwithstanding they are hatched by the hen.** And I myself have thought, that by the peculiarity of their natural constitution, in whatever it consists, and by whatever it is discriminated from that of others, they are addicted to, and actually contract, such habits of indolence and excess, as that they cannot, without the greatest efforts, which they seem not much disposed to make, give up, if ever they entirely get rid of them. They seem to be like some plants, that thrive best in the shade; if the overgrowth is cut off, they wither and decay, and by degrees are finally rooted out.

To what has been observed, with reference not only to the diminution of Indians in general, but to the success of the gospel among them in this place, may be added, one that I suppose is peculiar to those in this place, and that is, the unhappy disagreement and contention, between the English inhabitants, about the placing of the meeting-house, which began in the latter part of my predecessor's time, has at times been revived ever since, and now rages with no small degree of violence among them. There is no doubt to be made that the disaffected to its present situation have endeavoured to warp the minds, not only with respect to the meeting-house, but to alienate them from those who have been employed as missionaries, and to discourage their attendance on public worship, which was supported, on their account, by some charitable funds in England, before, and has been part of the time since, the American revolution; remittances from which have ceased for several years. Out of these there were yearly donations of blankets and books; these had a tendency to keep them together in a more compact and associated state; but by the circumstances of the times in which we live, and by that looseness and licentiousness of manners that are now prevalent, and the general indifference about the important matters of religion, and the public institutions of it, that are every where visible to the most superficial observer, and of the spirit and influence

* In his own broken English dialect, *Tucks will be tucks for all ole hen he hatch um.*

influence of which Indians participate their full share ; but few of the remnant of them attend public worship ; and none are remarkable for the genuine influence of the principles and prospects of that religion which is from above ; and it is a poor consolation, when suggested, that the spirit of the gospel, and an attention to its precepts, prevail as much among them, in proportion, as among their English neighbours.

My immediate predecessor observes, in a note, that after the most diligent inquiry, he could find no record of any thing referring to a former church in this place ; but by Mr. Hutchinson's history it appears, that a christian church was founded here about 150 years ago; in consequence of the labours of the renowned Mr. Elliot ; of what number it consisted, it is not said. *The number of church members is now reduced to two or three.* It is difficult to ascertain the complete number of those that are now here, or that belong to this place, as they are so frequently shifting their place of residence, and are intermarried with *blucks*, and some with whites ; and the various shades between these, and those that are descended from them, make it almost impossible to come to any determination about them. I suppose there are near twenty clear blooded, that are now in this place, and that belong to it. I find no mention made of any missionaries before the time of my immediate predecessor ; but there is an incidental mention of John Neforummin, an Indian, in the records of the proprietors, who made him a grant of a tract of land, on his living and dying in the ministry in this place. Between twenty and thirty years ago, his son Isaac came and made a claim to his father's land ; it could not be ascertained where it lay ; and some of the elderly Indians, at that time, declared, upon their own knowledge, that he left Natick, and never returned.

Not any among us retain the knowledge of the language of their progenitors, so as to speak it. One aged woman, a church member, of good character, daughter of the good deacon mentioned before, has told me, she could understand it when spoken by others ; but of this she has not lately had a trial. Upon looking over the record of the propriety, I could not find when it commenced, as the book is very old, in some places defaced, and some pages missing. The entries in the first part of it are written by Indians, and in the

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Indian language; other parts in broken English, by an Indian scribe; some of the dates are in a transposed state, and some pages were written when the book was inverted; after which, an English clerk was chosen, and continued in that office. By a vote of the propriety, a piece of land was assigned to the English inhabitants, to be made use of as burying ground for their dead. This is inclosed by a stone fence. There are two burying places appropriated for the use of the Indians, both of which are without any enclosure; they carefully confine themselves to the improvement of these; while *blacks*, that are unconnected with them, invariably deposit their dead in the burying ground of the white people. This is far from being the only instance of their being kept detached and separate from the *whites*. This disconnection is extended much farther, and to matters of much greater magnitude. There has not been, so far as my information reaches, any civil coalition between them by any act of incorporating authority; and where any voluntary association has taken place, it has been of short duration. The same may be said as to any religious connection. Immediately previous to my settling in this place, a church was gathered, which consisted partly of English and partly of Indian members; and though some additions were soon after made of Indian professors, yet, from the causes that have already been mentioned, a decrease gradually took place, and has been continuing to the present time. From their being every where kept a separate and distinct people, notwithstanding the means that have been employed to form a union between them and different nations, especially in a religious view, one is apt to conjecture, that they are the descendants of ancient Jews, though we cannot form a conjecture by what extraordinary methods they obtained a passage to the American continent and settlements, such as they were in the several parts of it. Their case, with the circumstances attending their situation, is truly deplorable, and, contrasted with our own, is adapted, in a high degree, to excite gratitude to heaven for the unaccountable and unmerited distinction.

But my limits admonish me of a conclusion. You, Sir, and others, will accept my feeble efforts to comply with the request of your letter. Whatever is redundant or deficient, unadapted or improper, candor will impute, in addition

dition to what has been already exhibited, to the imbecility of my advanced age, being now in the 72d year of my life; proper reflections upon which will be left to my own mind, and those that relate to Indians to the reflections of others. And with the most respectful salutations, I write myself, your friend and brother.

STEPHEN BADGER.

February, 1797.

LAW CASES.

Supreme Judicial Court, Concord, Middlesex, 1795.

(1.) HART *versus* UPTON.

THE plaintiff declared upon the seizin of his grandfather in tail male, within fifty years next before the date of the writ, that the estate, on the death of the ancestor, descended to him in fee tail, &c. The defendant shewed, that, after the death of the plaintiff's grandfather, his father entered as heir in tail, and conveyed the premises to the defendant by deed of feoffment in fee simple, and died more than twenty years before the date of the writ.

The statute of limitation of real actions, made in 1786, provides, "that writs of *formedon in descender*, *formedon in remainder*, and *formedon in reverter*, of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, shall be sued, brought, and commenced within twenty years next after the title, or cause of action first descended, and at no time after the said twenty years."

The father of the plaintiff, who had aliened in fee, to the defendant, had died more than twenty years before the action was brought. The plaintiff had for all that time been of full age, and within the Commonwealth; and the court were of opinion, that he was barred by the statute, and had lost his estate in the premises.

Essex, November, 1796.

(2.) COMMONWEALTH *versus* GEORGE CROWNINSHIELD.

This was an indictment for a nuisance, in erecting a wharf in the harbour of Salem; being navigable waters; where all the citizens had a right to pass with their ships and other vessels. *Not guilty* was pleaded.

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The jury found the defendant guilty; and he was sentenced to pay a fine of 10 dollars; and a warrant was issued to the sheriff, to remove and abate that part of the wharf, which was described in the verdict as a nuisance.

This conviction was on the principle, that all the tide beyond low water mark, where it has not been granted, is a public highway, and the bottom public property.

Hampshire, 1795.

(3.) *SHELBURNE versus GREENFIELD.*

The action was brought by the town of Shelburne against the town of Greenfield, for the support, and to compel the removal, of two paupers.

These people, as was found in a special verdict, were Africans, imported and sold as slaves. They were purchased, about the year 1757, by an inhabitant of Greenfield; claimed their liberty, like other blacks, in 1776, were married together, and removed to Shelburne, and there became chargeable as paupers. The merits of the question, was, whether the paupers were chargeable on the commonwealth as state paupers, having gained no inhabitancy or settlement in Greenfield?

For the town of Greenfield it was argued, that the laws of the late province did not rank the Africans with the white people; they could not, whilst they were the property of others, be capable of holding property as their own: that their polls were not taxable as those of white people; they were not liable to train, labour in mending the highways, or to perform any other civil duty: that they could not be removed, or warned out of a town, by the selectmen, because they were but the chattel of another; and therefore, that as they were not contemplated in the laws, as persons capable of gaining a settlement, that they must come within the description of persons, who were found within the state, without any place of settlement, and were the proper charge of the commonwealth.

It was further urged, that, as the Africans were bought and sold, as chattels, under the laws of the late province, and were emancipated by the force of the public opinion, it was enough for the masters to sustain the loss of their service, without being burdened with the support of them.

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The court gave no opinion on the point, whether the emancipated negroes were to be the charge of the town, or of their late masters; but were of opinion, that they come within the description of servants; and that they therefore gained a settlement, upon the principles of common law, where their masters were settled.

Judgment was given, that Shelburne should recover against Greenfield the charges of the past support of the negroes; and that they should be removed to Greenfield, the place of their last master's inhabitancy.

Whether a town, in such case, can call upon the African's last master, is not yet determined by the court.

Middlesex, October, 1796.

(4.) LITTLETON *versus* TUTTLE.

The action was brought by the town of Littleton for the maintenance of a black man, who was born in the town, claimed as a slave, under the laws prior to the revolution, and sold to the defendant by his supposed master, of whose slave he was born. The black man, at the age of twenty-one years, became lame, and unable to labour; and the defendant carried him, and left him with the overseers of the poor, for support.

The judges were of opinion, that, as he was born in the town, he was a proper inhabitant; and that the town was obliged to maintain him, as it would have been if he was a white man. Whereupon the plaintiffs became non-suit.

Middlesex, 1797.

(5.) SUDBURY *versus* HOWE and RICHARDSON.

This was an action of trespass, brought by the town against the defendants, for cutting trees on the town's land. The action was on a statute which gives a penalty for cutting trees on land, the trespassers having no *right, title, or privilege* there. The court were of opinion, that as the defendants were inhabitants of the town, it could not be said, that they had no right, title, or privilege there; and that therefore the action could not be maintained on the penal statute.

The plaintiffs moved to amend the writ, and to change the

the suit into trespass at common law, which was granted, and there was a verdict and judgment for damages.

There was a writ of error brought in the same court, to reverse the judgment, because the court had, by law, no authority to allow such an amendment. The judges took time to search the precedents, and collect the principles, relative to the point, and heard counsel several times upon it; and afterwards affirmed the judgment.

Hampshire, 1797. .

(6.)

versus TAYLOR and others.

This was an action of trespass against Taylor and others, for taking away the plaintiff's cow.

The plaintiff proved, that the defendants issued a warrant, under pretence of authority of town assessors, to a collector, who distrained the plaintiff's property, under pretence of collecting a town, county, and state taxes. It appeared in evidence, that the defendants were legally chosen assessors for that year; but the question was, whether they had authority to tax the plaintiff?

The plaintiff exhibited the act of the legislature, by which the state tax was apportioned, in which it is provided, that parish and town taxes shall be apportioned by the same rules as the state taxes.

In the tax act of that year, all settled ministers, and their estates in the town where they are settled, or under their own actual improvement, are exempted from taxes. The expression in all the other tax acts, for several years before and after, is, estates in the town where they are settled, *and* in their actual improvement.

The plaintiff was a Baptist minister, living in Buckland, and preaching in a meeting-house in Chester. His hearers, and church, were of any part of the country, who chose to associate with him; and the question was, whether, in the sense of the act, he was a settled minister?

The court were of opinion, that the meaning of a settled minister, in the act, was to be collected from the third article in the declaration of rights, prefixed to the constitution of the commonwealth, which provides, that each town, parish, and religious corporation, shall be obliged to maintain a teacher of piety, religion, and morality; that the
teacher

teacher or minister, who was exempted from taxes, was such a settled minister : that a man's being ordained over a voluntary association, formed by no act of government, and bound by no law, could not be a settled minister within the meaning of the act. The *denomination*, it was observed, made no difference in the construction of the act ; for all denominations of christians were equally under the protection of the laws ; and a settled minister of either, if settled by a town, parish, or corporation, was, by the tax act, exempted : but the plaintiff, in his situation, was clearly taxable ; and the action could not be maintained, because the tax was legal.

Norfolk County, 1795.

(7.) *HAWES versus MANN and another.*

This was an action of trover for certain church vessels, devoted to sacramental uses.

The plaintiff declared, that he was deacon of the Congregational church in Wrentham, and in that capacity was possessed of the vessels as servant of the church, and that the defendants had converted the same to their own use.

The plaintiff shewed a law of the government, which makes the deacons of each church a corporation, to receive donations, and to hold property for the church.

The plaintiff proved the erecting a church in Wrentham, and that he was duly elected a deacon of the same.

The defendants relied upon the same act to justify their holding the vessels ; and made their defences by shewing that the plaintiff had been regularly dismissed from the office of deacon, and that they were duly chosen to the office of deacons in the same church.

The facts were, that Mr. Avery, in the year 1787, was duly settled and ordained as the Congregational minister of that town, and the pastor of that church : that some years after his settlement, some of the church and people became dissatisfied with his principles and manners : they conceived that he adhered to the tenets which were wrong ; and that he treated the name and character of the Supreme Being irreverently in one or more of his sermons, &c.

Some of the church expressed their grievances to him, and moved for a mutual council on the subject ; but he declined it

it, and refused to call a church meeting. The church met, and appointed a committee to wait upon him; but he denied the authority of the church to meet and act without his consent being previously obtained. He further insisted, that when they were met on his call, he had a right to negative all their votes, if he should choose to do it.

The church then invited a council of respectable clergymen, and delegates from the neighbouring churches, to advise them what to do in the exigency.

When the council had assembled, they waited upon Mr. Avery; but he denied them to be a regular assembly, because that the vote, by which they were convened, had not his concurrence.

The council were of a different opinion, and advised the church to apply to him for a mutual council; and that if he refused to unite with them in one, to invite an *ex parte* council.

The church applied again; but Mr. Avery adhered to his former principles; whereupon they invited a respectable *ex parte* council.

That council, when convened, waited on Mr. Avery; but he refused to acknowledge them as regularly assembled, and still refused to agree upon a mutual council.

The council then proceeded to hear the church; and delivered their result, that the church should pass a vote to dissolve the pastoral relation between him and them. The church proceeded on that measure, and dismissed him.

The plaintiff had adhered to Mr. Avery, with a minority of the church, and refused to acknowledge the majority of the members as the church, capable of acting without the concurrence of the pastor.

The majority then proceeded to pass a vote to dismiss the plaintiff from the office of deacon, and chose one of the defendants; the other having been in the office before, and acting with them.

The action was produced to try the validity of that vote. Mr. Avery was interested in the determination, because, if that vote was legal, the one for dissolving his pastoral relation was so likewise; and the town having concurred, his salary was gone from the time of the dismissal, if the vote was legally valid.

Mr. Avery was therefore the mover, and prosecutor in the action.

The counsel for the plaintiff, Mr. Howel and Mr. Ames, exhibited the New-England Church Platform, compiled by a number of clergymen in the year 1660, and a book on church government, published in the year 1673, by Mr. Wise, a Congregational minister at Ipswich, in Massachusetts.

These were exhibited to support Mr. Avery in his claim, of a negative on the votes of the church. The Platform is not quite so full on the point; but Mr. Wise, having written after the restoration of Charles the second, had a disposition to flatter a *mixed monarchy*. He therefore considered the church members as the democracy, the deacons as the aristocracy, but appeared to be puzzled in regard to finding a monarch for a third branch. He does not actually allow the minister, or teaching elder, to hold that station, because he considers Christ as the sovereign head of the church. He does, nevertheless, allow the pastor a negative on the church proceedings.

Upon these authorities, and other considerations, the counsel for the plaintiff endeavoured to maintain his authority over the church, and to shew that votes passed without his concurrence were null and void.

The defendants' counsel, Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Otis, exhibited the law made under the charter of William and Mary, in 1700; by which it is enacted, that, when a parish is destitute of a minister, the church may give one a call to settle; and if he accepts, and the parish concurs, he shall be the minister of the parish; for whose maintenance all the parishioners shall be taxed.

They shewed, that, under that act, the New-England Platform had become obsolete; and the book, written by Mr. Wise, of no force or consequence.

That the practice had always been, in the Congregational dissenting churches, for the church to invite the minister, and when the parish had concurred in the choice of the church, a council was called by the latter, for the ordination; and when the minister was ordained, he became the settled minister of the parish.

That when any uneasiness happened, a mutual council was called, the result of which was binding upon the parties. But if either party refused to agree upon a mutual council, the other might call an *ex parte* council, the result of which was equally conclusive.

They

They contended, that, as this mode had been pursued in the present case, the vote of the majority of the church for dissolving the pastoral relation between the church and Mr. Avery, and the one for dismissing the plaintiff from the office of deacon, were regular and legal.

The trial took up a great deal of time, in which a variety of circumstances were attended to.

The judges were of opinion, that Mr. Avery's principles of church government were *arbitrary* and *erroneous* : that the vote for dissolving his pastoral relation was regular and valid : that the vote of the church, given by a majority, as above mentioned, for dismissing the plaintiff from the office of deacon, was regular and effectual, and that he could not maintain the action.

A verdict was given for the defendants.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT FIRE IN BOSTON, IN THE YEAR 1711, PREFIXED TO A SERMON PREACHED BY DR. COTTON MATHER, TWO DAYS AFTERWARD, AT THE PUBLIC LECTURE IN THE SOUTH MEETING-HOUSE ; WITH SOME EXTRACTS FROM THE SERMON.

“ **BEGINNING** about seven o'clock in the evening, and finishing before two in the morning, the night between the second and third of October, 1711, a terrible fire laid the heart of Boston, the metropolis of the New-English America, in ashes. The occasion of the fire is said to have been, by the carelessness and sottishness of a woman, who suffered a flame, which took the oakum, the picking whereof was her business, to gain too far before it could be mastered. It was not long before it reduced Cornhill into miserable ruins, and it made its impressions into King-street and Queen-street, and a great part of Pudding-lane was also lost, before the violence of it could be conquered. Among these ruins, there were two spacious edifices, which, until now, made a most considerable figure, because of the public relation to our greatest solemnities in which they had stood, from the days of our fathers. The one was the town-house ; the other, the old meeting-house. The number of houses, and some of them very capacious buildings, which went into the fire, with these, is computed near about a hundred ; and the families, which inhabited these houses, cannot but be very

very many more. It being also a place of much trade, and filled with well furnished shops of goods, not a little of the wealth of the town was now consumed. But that which very much added to the horror of the dismal night was the tragical death of many poor men, who were killed by the blowing up of houses; or by venturing too far into the fire, for the rescue of what its fierce jaws were ready to prey upon. Of these the bones of seven or eight are thought to be found; and it is feared there may be some strangers, belonging to vessels, besides these, thus buried, of whose unhappy circumstances we are not yet apprised: and others have since died of their wounds.

"Thus the town of Boston, just going to get beyond four score years of age, and conflicting with much labour and sorrow, is, a very vital and valuable part of it, soon cut off, and flown away. And yet, in the midst of these lamentations, we may say, "It is of the Lord's mercies that we are *not* consumed." Had not the glorious Lord, who has gathered the wind in his hands, mercifully kept under the wind at this time, he alone knows how much more of the town must have been consumed."

A great auditory of the inhabitants, with many from the neighbouring towns, coming together on the ensuing Thursday, that they might hear the instructions of piety, which might suit the present and grievous occasion; one of the ministers, who is also a native of the town, entertained them with the ensuing sermon, &c.

The text, Jer. v. 3. "*Thou hast consumed them, but they have refused to receive correction.*"

[Extracts from the sermon, with remarks.]

Page 18. "Methinks I find myself preaching a *funeral* sermon for that ancient and famous edifice, which had, from the days of our grandfathers (I suppose *mine*, [Mr. Cotton], preached the first sermon in it, sixty-five or six years ago) been the place of our most considerable solemnities." [This fixes the date of the erection of that house to the year 1645 or 1646, about fifteen years after the first settlement of the town]. See Collections for 1795, page 189].

Page 19. "I could not pass the honourable rubbish of that building without making this reflection: That the HOLY ONE seems to put us in mind of that *shameful negligence*

gence with which too many people in this town treated the weekly lecture there. It was not attended as it ought to have been." [This proves that complaints of non-attendance on Thursday lecture are not peculiar to the present generation, and perhaps not to the present century. "Say not thou, what is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this." Eccl. vii. 10.]

Page 27. "We think, with a shuddering horror, on the fate of the poor men, who lost their lives in the fire, the night before last. Most of them, no doubt, by the blowing up and falling down of houses.—They were mostly young men, that were lost in the fire."

Page 31. "It is reported, that, when a consuming fire is raging, there are *thieves*, who take that horrible occasion to seize and steal and keep the goods that are saved out of the fire. The vilest sort of thieves that ever were heard of! O monstrous wretches! Monsters of wickedness! You may marvel at the long-suffering of God, that he does not, even by fire from heaven, lay those accursed *collages* in ashes, which have in them the goods that God spared out of the fire, but which your thievish hands would not spare to the owners. God will never let you be one farthing the richer for stolen goods. I charge you, in the name of God, to make restitution immediately. If you have not a heart willing to make restitution, the holy God will never forgive your wickedness." [A very good exhortation, if the thieves had been there to hear it! But it may be presumed, with great probability, that this class of people were not less guilty than others of the "shameful negligence" above mentioned.]

MEMORABILIA OF YARMOUTH. BY TIMOTHY ALDEN, JUN.

CAPE Cod may be well represented by a man's arm bent into a certain position.

Yarmouth is situated about midway from the shoulder to the elbow of the Cape. It has Barnstable on the west, and Dennis on the east. It is washed by the Atlantic on the north and south.

Dennis, which, till 1794, was a part of Yarmouth, was set off a distinct parish in 1721.

The

The inhabitants exceed fifteen hundred, and average about six to a family.

The old meeting house stands on the ancient Cape Cod county road, at the distance of four miles from Barnstable court-house. Its latitude, by observation, is $41^{\circ} 41'$. It stands on a common, which, during the late war with our mother country, was decorated with a *towering liberty pole*. The steeple of the meeting-house rises from the middle of its roof, and is an important land-mark for vessels going into Yarmouth or Barnstable on the bay side.

A new meeting-house was erected on the south side of the town in 1794. The dedication sermons were preached 1 January, 1795, by the Rev. Timothy Alden of Yarmouth, and the Rev. John Mellen of Barnstable, and were published. By agreement, the minister of the town is to preach in it one sabbath in four.

About one quarter of a mile to the northward of the old meeting-house, the vestiges of a fort, built for protection from the Indians, were within ten years visible. Such, however, have been the ravages of the wind, that neither the fort, nor much of the eminence, which is still known by the name of *fort hill*, on which the fort was built, remains.

Within the memory of some, the Indians in this town were nearly as numerous as the white people. When the maize was in its milky state, they used to prepare a delicious food, composed of that and some other ingredients, which they called *appoon*.

So late as 1779, there was a small cluster of wigwams in the south-eastern part of the town, about a mile from the mouth of Bass river, which were inhabited by some of the remains of the Pawkunnawkut Indians. The chief of them about this time had the small pox. Five of those who had it survived, and eleven died. It is probable that this part of Yarmouth will ever retain the name of *Indian town*.—There is still one *wigwam* on the banks of the river, which is occupied by a negro and squaw.

A little to the south-westward of Indian town is Swan's pond, as may be seen by the map of Yarmouth, which was sometime since prepared by the direction of the General Court. On the north-eastern side of this pond is a spring, just above which, about forty years ago, stood an ancient Indian meeting-house.

Joseph

Joseph Nauhaught was a very conscientious deacon ; several anecdotes are related of him to the present day. He was a temperate, pious, well-minded Indian. He used to pray with great fervour, in his vernacular tongue, with his family, with the sick, and at funerals. In his last illness my father visited him, and conversing with him on death, the common allotment of mankind, he asked Nauhaught if he were resigned to his approaching dissolution ? He replied, in an Indian style, "Oh yes, Mr. Alden, I have always had a pretty good notion about death."

The following anecdote, which may also be seen in the *Massachusetts Magazine* for March, 1794, is worthy a place among the memorabilia of Yarmouth. I believe there can be no doubt of its truth, for I have often heard the old people relate it.

Our honest deacon was once attacked by a number of large *black snakes*. Being at a distance from any inhabitants, he was, to be sure, in a very precarious situation ; for, unfortunately, he had not even a knife about him for his defence. What to do he knew not. To outrun them he found utterly impossible, and to keep them off without any weapon was equally so. He therefore came to the determination to stand firm on his feet. They began to wind themselves about him ; in a little time, one of them had made his way up to the Indian's neck, and was trying to put his black head into his mouth. Nauhaught opened it immediately for him. *The black serpent thrust in his head, and Nauhaught, putting his jaws together, bit it off in a moment!* As soon as the blood, streaming from the beheaded, was discovered by the rest of the snakes, they left their intended prey with great precipitation, and Nauhaught was liberated from the jaws of impending death.

We will now give an account of the aboriginal discovery of Nantucket, and origin of fog.

The Vineyard Indians had a tradition, with regard to the origin of Nantucket, which does not altogether coincide with some of our assertions. However, there was a tradition some years ago among the Indians of this quarter, to the following effect. I am indebted for my information to a good old Quaker lady of my acquaintance.

In former times a great many moons ago, a bird, extraordinary for its size, used often to visit the south shore of Cape

Cape Cod, and carry from thence to the southward, a vast number of small children.

Maushop, who was an Indian giant, as fame reports, resided in these parts. Enraged at the havock among the children, he, on a certain time, waded into the sea in pursuit of the bird, till he had crossed the sound and reached Nantucket. Before *Maushop* forded the sound, the island was unknown to the aborigines of America.

Tradition says, that *Maushop* found the bones of the children in a heap under a large tree. He then wishing to smoke a pipe, ransacked the island for tobacco; but, finding none, filled his pipe with *poke*, a weed which the Indians sometimes used as its substitute. Ever since the above memorable event, *fogs* have been frequent at Nantucket and on the Cape. In allusion to this tradition, when the aborigines observed a fog rising, they would say, "*There comes old Maushop's smoke.*"

Joseph White, who was a grandson of Peregrine White, lived in Yarmouth, and died 4 June, 1782, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

Deacon Joseph White, son of the aforementioned, has in possession a staff, which is valuable for its great antiquity. Agreeably to well authenticated reports, it had conveyance to New England in the first ship which reached Plymouth in 1620. When our forefathers stepped upon the well-known *rock*, one of the company had this staff in his hand. It is about three feet in length, has a brazen foot, and a wooden head. It is a striking picture of that noble simplicity, which distinguished and dignified the character of those venerable puritanic fathers of our country.

The remarkable preservation of Ebenezer Taylor, the father of the present Daniel Taylor, Esq. of Yarmouth, claims a place among our memorabilia. In our mother country the story was disbelieved, and was added to the score of New England tales. Its authenticity, however, admits of no dispute. A particular narrative of it was published by a Mr. Weekes. A copy of which, if I mistake not, is lodged in the archives of the Historical Society.

It was on the 6 August, 1726, this Ebenezer Taylor went into his well, which was forty feet deep, in order to examine a certain part where some of the stones were said to be loose. Having gotten about half way down, he perceived

ceived a stone to be a little out of its place, and putting his hand to it, all of a sudden, not only that, but the whole body, seemed to move together; but, in such a manner, that, as he had hold of the well rope, he continued his mid-way situation, while the stones and earth passed by him to the bottom, till they had filled the well ten feet deep! As these passed by him, his leg was so entangled, that, in his endeavours to extricate it, he dislocated his hip. Almost at the same instant, some of the larger stones met together a little above his head, and prevented his immediate death! The stones and earth accumulated together above him to the depth of twelve feet! All who were present supposed that he was at the bottom of the well of course, and as it was deep, some proposed that it should remain his grave. The most were for deferring the search for him till Monday, as it was Saturday, and near the close of the day, the melancholy accident happened. However, they finally undertook to dig that evening; and, to their utter astonishment, before they had proceeded many feet, they heard the voice of Mr. Taylor! Notwithstanding the sad catastrophe, he had his senses, and was able to give the men, who were at work, directions respecting the manner of securing the stones, which were wedged together above him. Through great care, and the kind interposition of providence, he was preserved from the impending destruction, and lived many years after this extraordinary event.

Mr. Stephen Homer, about five years ago, had nine sons living. Seven of which, having arrived at the years of manhood, were each of them *six feet and three inches* in height. Some of them were *six feet and six inches* high. Several of them have since deceased.

The original name of that part of Yarmouth which lies on the north shore, and adjoining Barnstable, was *Mattakees*. (See Gov. Winthrop's Journal, and Gookin's Hist. Coll.) The north-eastern part of the town is known by the Indian name of *Hokkanom* to the present day. It was here the singular affair respecting Mr. Taylor happened. The town was incorporated in 1638. The original settlers came from Lynn, anciently called Saugus.

The people in this town and on the Cape, in general, have deservedly the name of hospitality.

With regard to the political sentiments of the people in Yarmouth,

Yarmouth, we hope that we can safely assert, that the Jacobinic error is not so prevalent as in some of the towns in the vicinity.

Yarmouth has given birth to the following, who were educated at college :—

Reverend BARNABAS TAYLOR.

JOHN STURGIS. } *Sons of Esquire Sturgis,*

SAMUEL STURGIS. } *an eminent merchant.*

PRINCE HAWES.

BARNABAS HEDGE.

Reverend SAMUEL WEST, D. D.

HON. GEORGE THACHER, Esq.

TIMOTHY ALDEN, jun.*

Col. Enoch Hallet, lately the high sheriff of Barnstable county, lived and died in Yarmouth.

The Hon. David Thacher, Esq. senator from the county of Barnstable at the General Court in Boston, has his seat about three quarters of a mile west from the meeting-house.

We will conclude with some account of the ministers of the town.

There is a tradition among some of the aged people, that one of their first ministers was a *Mr. Matthews*.†

In Mather's *Magnalia* we find, that *John Millar* was a minister of Yarmouth. It is probable that he was the first, and *Mr. Matthews* the second, although we have no records of either. In Mather's *Magnalia*, the Rev. *John Millar* is mentioned as one of seventy-seven ministers, who had been in the ministry previous to their embarkation for America. And they are represented as some of the first ministers of New-England.

Admitting the above, the Rev. *Thomas Thornton* was the *third* minister of Yarmouth. It appears from the *Magnalia*, that he was one of those who fled from the persecution subsequent to the act of uniformity, which took place in 1662. How soon after this he was settled in the ministry at Yarmouth is not certainly known. We find his name in the town records for 1677. The records before that time have unfortunately been lost. He continued in the ministry till about the year 1692. The records exhibit no account of his

* Isaiah and Martin Alden are now under-graduates at Harvard College.

† See a note in the second edition of Dr. Gay's installation sermon.

his death. It is said that he went to Boston and lived the remainder of his days.

The Rev. *John Cotton* was settled in 1693, and died at Yarmouth in January, 1705. The Rev *Grindall Rawson* has preserved the following anecdote in the second edition of Dr. Gay's sermon at his installation. "The Rev. Mr. Stone of Harwich, a grave gentleman, attending a funeral at Yarmouth, being in the burial place some years after the death of Mr. Cotton, inquired where his grave was, but there not being any one that could show him, he replied, I think it is with Mr. Cotton's grave as it was with Moses', that distinguished servant of God; no man knoweth of his sepulchre to this day." Mr. Rawson adds, "This was the *only one* of the first seven ministers whose dust was committed to the dust in Yarmouth. Whatever they suffered, the worm did not feed on them there."

The Rev. *Daniel Greenleaf* became the successor of Mr. Cotton, in 1708. He continued in the ministry till about the year 1727, when an influential parishioner, having become disaffected towards him, a council was called, and he was dismissed with a good character. He went to Boston and spent the residue of his life.

The Rev. *Thomas Smith* was settled in 1729, and continued till the year 1754, when he left the people on account of the insufficiency of support. He was afterwards installed at Pembroke.

The Rev. *Grindall Rawson* was installed in the year 1755. He had been previously ordained at Ware. He continued in the ministry at Yarmouth till 1760, when, in consequence of a general disaffection between him and the people, he was advised by a council to take a dismissal.

The Rev. *Joseph Green*, jun. was installed in 1762. He had been previously settled at Marshfield. He died 5 November, 1768, in the forty-second year of his age.

The Rev. *Timothy Alden*, the *ninth* and present minister of Yarmouth, was ordained the 13th December, 1769.

July, 1797.

COPY OF A MS. LETTER, GIVING A FULL AND CANDID ACCOUNT OF THE DELUSION CALLED WITCHCRAFT, WHICH PREVAILED IN NEW-ENGLAND; AND OF THE JUDICIAL TRIALS AND EXECUTIONS AT SALEM, IN THE COUNTY OF ESSEX, FOR THAT PRETENDED CRIME, IN 1692. WRITTEN BY THOMAS BRATTLE, F.R. S. AND COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY BY THOMAS BRATTLE, ESQ. OF CAMBRIDGE.

October 8, 1692.

REVEREND SIR,

YOUR's I received the other day, and am very ready to serve you to my utmost. I should be very loath to bring myself into any snare by my freedom with you, and therefore hope that you will put the best construction on what I write, and secure me from such as would interpret my lines otherwise than they are designed. Obedience to lawful authority I evermore accounted a great duty; and willingly I would not practise any thing that might thwart and contradict such a principle. Too many are ready to despise dominions, and speak evil of dignities; and I am sure the mischiefs, which arise from a factious and rebellious spirit, are very sad and notorious; insomuch that I would sooner bite my fingers' ends than willingly cast dirt on authority, or any way offer reproach to it: Far, therefore, be it from me, to have any thing to do with those men your letter mentions, whom you acknowledge to be men of a factious spirit, and never more in their element than when they are declaiming against men in public place, and contriving methods that tend to the disturbance of the common peace. I never accounted it a credit to my cause, to have the good liking of such men. "*My son! (says Solomon) fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.*" Prov. xxiv. 21. However, Sir, I never thought judges infallible; but reckoned that they, as well as private men, might err; and that when they were guilty of erring, standers by, who possibly had not half their judgment, might, notwithstanding, be able to detect and behold their errors. And furthermore, when errors of that nature are thus detected

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tected and observed, I never thought it an interfering with dutifulness and subjection for one man to communicate his thoughts to another thereabout; and with modesty and due reverence to debate the premised failings; at least, when errors are fundamental, and palpably pervert the great end of authority and government; for as to circumstantial errors, I must confess my principle is, that it is the duty of a good subject to cover with his silence a multitude of them. But I shall no longer detain you with my preface, but pass to some things you look for, and whether you expect such freedom from me, yea or no, yet shall you find, that I am very open to communicate my thoughts unto you, and in plain terms to tell you what my opinion is of the Salem proceedings.

First, as to the method which the Salem justices* do take in their examination, it is truly this: A warrant being issued out to apprehend the persons that are charged and complained of by the afflicted children, as they are called; said persons are brought before the justices, the afflicted being present. The justices ask the apprehended why they afflict those poor children; to which the apprehended answer, they do not afflict them. The justices order the apprehended to look upon the said children, which accordingly they do; and at the time of that look, (I dare not say *by* that look, as the Salem gentlemen do), the afflicted are cast into a fit. The apprehended are then blinded, and ordered to touch the afflicted; and at that touch, though not *by* the touch, (as above), the afflicted ordinarily do come out of their fits. The afflicted persons then declare and affirm, that the apprehended have afflicted them; upon which the apprehended persons, though of never so good repute, are forthwith committed to prison, on suspicion for witchcraft. One of the Salem justices was pleased to tell Mr. Alden, (when upon his examination), that truly he had been acquainted with him these many years, and had always accounted him a good man; but indeed now he should be obliged to change his opinion. This, there are more than one or two did hear, and are ready to swear to, if not in so many words, yet as to its natural and plain meaning. He saw reason to change his opinion of Mr. Alden, because that at the time he touched the poor child, the poor child came out of her fit. I suppose his Honour never made the experiment,

* John Hathorne and Jonathan Curwin were the most active.

periment, whether there was not as much virtue in his own hand as there was in Mr. Alden's, to cure by a touch. I know a man that will venture two to one with any Salemite whatever, that let the matter be duly managed, and the afflicted person shall come out of her fit upon the touch of the most religious hand in Salem. It is worthily noted by some, that at some times the afflicted will not presently come out of their fits upon the touch of the suspected; and then, forsooth, they are ordered by the justices to grasp hard, harder yet, &c. insomuch that at length the afflicted come out of their fits; and the reason is very good, because that a touch of any hand, and process of time, will work the cure; infallibly they will do it, as experience teaches.

I cannot but condemn this method of the justices, of making this touch of the hand a rule to discover witchcraft; because I am fully persuaded that it is sorcery, and a superstitious method, and that which we have no rule for, either from reason or religion. The Salem justices, at least some of them, do assert, that the cure of the afflicted persons is a natural effect of this touch; and they are so well instructed in the Cartesian philosophy, and in the doctrine of *effluvia*, that they undertake to give a demonstration how this touch does cure the afflicted persons; and the account they give of it is this; that by this touch, the venomous and malignant particles, that were ejected from the eye, do, by this means, return to the body whence they came, and so leave the afflicted persons pure and whole. I must confess to you, that I am no small admirer of the Cartesian philosophy; but yet I have not so learned it. Certainly this is a strain that it will by no means allow of.

I would fain know of these Salem gentlemen, but as yet could never know, how it comes about, that if these apprehended persons are witches, and, by a look of the eye, do cast the afflicted into their fits by poisoning them, how it comes about, I say, that, by a look of their eye, they do not cast others into fits, and poison others by their looks; and in particular, tender, fearful women, who often are beheld by them, and as likely as any in the whole world to receive an ill impression from them. This Salem philosophy, some men may call the new philosophy; but I think it rather deserves the name of Salem superstition and sorcery, and it is not fit to be named in a land of such light as New-England

land is. I think the matter might be better solved another way; but I shall not make any attempt that way, further than to say, that these afflicted children, as they are called, do hold correspondence with the devil even in the esteem and account of the S. G.* for when the black man, i. e. say these gentlemen, the devil, does appear to them, they ask him many questions, and accordingly give information to the inquirer; and if this is not holding correspondence with the devil, and something worse, I know not what is.

But furthermore, I would fain know of these Salem justices what need there is of further proof and evidence to convict and condemn these apprehended persons, than this look and touch, if so be they are so certain that this falling down and arising up, when there is a look and a touch, are natural effects of the said look and touch, and so a perfect demonstration and proof of witchcraft in those persons. What can the jury or judges desire more, to convict any man of witchcraft, than a plain demonstration, that the said man is a witch? Now if this look and touch, circumstanced as before, be a plain demonstration, as their philosophy teaches, what need they seek for further evidences, when, after all, it can be but a demonstration? But let this pass with the S. G. for never so plain and natural a demonstration; yet certain is it, that the reasonable part of the world, when acquainted herewith, will laugh at the demonstration, and conclude that the said S. G. are actually possessed, at least, with ignorance and folly.

I most admire that Mr. N. N.† the Reverend Teacher at Salem, who was educated at the school of knowledge, and is certainly a learned, a charitable, and a good man, though all the devils in Hell, and all the possessed girls in Salem, should say to the contrary; at him, I say, I do most admire; that he should cry up the above mentioned philosophy after the manner that he does. I can assure you, that I can bring you more than two, or twice two, (very credible persons), that will affirm, that they have heard him vindicate the above mentioned demonstration as very reasonable.

Secondly, with respect to the confessors, as they are improperly called, or such as confess themselves to be witches, (the second thing you inquire into in your letter), there are now about fifty of them in prison; many of which I have

again

* Salem gentlemen.

† Nicholas Noyes.

again and again seen and heard ; and I cannot but tell you, that my faith is strong concerning them, that they are deluded, imposed upon, and under the influence of some evil spirit ; and therefore unfit to be evidences either against themselves, or any one else. I now speak of one sort of them, and of others afterward.

These confessors, as they are called, do very often contradict themselves, as inconsistently as is usual for any crazed, distempered person to do. This the S. G. do see and take notice of ; and even the judges themselves have, at some times, taken these confessors in flat lies, or contradictions, even in the courts ; by reason of which, one would have thought, that the judges would have frowned upon the said confessors, discarded them, and not minded one tittle of any thing that they said : but instead thereof, as sure as we are men, the judges vindicate these confessors, and salve their contradictions, by proclaiming, that the devil takes away their memory, and imposes upon their brain. If this reflects any where, I am very sorry for it : I can but assure you, that, upon the word of an honest man, it is truth, and that I can bring you many credible persons to witness it, who have been eye and ear witnesses to these things.

These confessors then, at least some of them, even in the judges' own account, are under the influence of the devil ; and the brain of these confessors is imposed upon by the devil, even in the judges' account. But now, if, in the judges' account, these confessors are under the influence of the devil, and their brains are affected and imposed upon by the devil, so that they are not their own men, why then should these judges, or any other men, make such account of, and set so much by, the words of these confessors, as they do ? In short, I argue thus :

If the devil does actually take away the memory of them at some times, certainly the devil, at other times, may very reasonably be thought to affect their fancies, and to represent false ideas to their imagination. But now, if it be thus granted, that the devil is able to represent false ideas (to speak vulgarly) to the imaginations of the confessors, what man of sense will regard the confessions, or any of the words, of these confessors ?

The great cry of many of our neighbours now is, What, will you not believe the confessors ? Will you not believe men

men and women who confess that they have signed to the devil's book? that they were baptized by the devil; and that they were at the mock-sacrament once and again? What! will you not believe that this is witchcraft, and that such and such men are witches, although the confessors do own and assert it?

Thus, I say, many of our good neighbours do argue; but methinks they might soon be convinced that there is nothing at all in all these their arguings, if they would but duly consider of the premises.

In the mean time, I think we must rest satisfied in it, and be thankful to God for it, that all men are not thus bereft of their senses; but that we have here and there considerate and thinking men, who will not thus be imposed upon, and abused, by the subtle endeavours of the crafty one.

In the next place, I proceed to the form of their indictments, and the trials thereupon.

The indictment runs for sorcery and witchcraft, acted upon the body of such an one, (say M. Warren), at such a particular time, (say April 14,—92), and at divers other times before and after, whereby the said M. W. is wasted and consumed, pined, &c.

Now for the proof of the said sorcery and witchcraft, the prisoner at the bar pleading not guilty,

1. The afflicted persons are brought into court; and after much patience and pains taken with them, do take their oaths, that the prisoner at the bar did afflict them: And here I think it very observable, that often, when the afflicted do mean and intend only the appearance and shape of such an one, (say G. Proctor), yet they positively swear that G. Proctor did afflict them; and they have been allowed so to do; as though there was no real difference between G. Proctor and the shape of G. Proctor. This, methinks, may readily prove a stumbling block to the jury, lead them into a very fundamental error, and occasion innocent blood, yea the innocentest blood imaginable, to be in great danger. Whom it belongs unto, to be eyes unto the blind, and to remove such stumbling blocks, I know full well; and yet you, and every one else, do know as well as I who do not.

2. The confessors do declare what they know of the said prisoner; and some of the confessors are allowed to give their

their oaths ; a thing which I believe was never heard of in this world ; that such as confess themselves to be witches, to have renounced God and Christ, and all that is sacred, should yet be allowed and ordered to swear by the name of the great God ! This indeed seemeth to me to be a gross taking of God's name in vain. I know the S. G. do say, that there is hope that the said confessors have repented : I shall only say, that if they have repented, it is well for themselves ; but if they have not, it is very ill for you know who. But then,

3. Whoever can be an evidence against the prisoner at the bar is ordered to come into court ; and here it scarce ever fails but that evidences, of one nature and another, are brought in, though, I think, all of them altogether alien to the matter of indictment ; for they none of them do respect witchcraft upon the bodies of the afflicted, which is the alone matter of charge in the indictment.

4. They are searched by a jury ; and as to some of them, the jury brought in, that on such or such a place there was a preternatural excrescence. And I wonder what person there is, whether man or woman, of whom it cannot be said but that, in some part of their body or other, there is a preternatural excrescence. The term is a very general and inclusive term.

Some of the S. G. are very forward to censure and condemn the poor prisoner at the bar, because he sheds no tears : but such betray great ignorance in the nature of passion, and as great heedlessness as to common passages of a man's life. Some there are who never shed tears ; others there are that ordinarily shed tears upon light occasions, and yet for their lives cannot shed a tear when the deepest sorrow is upon their hearts ; and who is there that knows not these things ? Who knows not that an ecstasy of joy will sometimes fetch tears, when as the quite contrary passion will shut them close up ? Why then should any be so silly and foolish as to take an argument from this appearance ? But this is by the by. In short, the prisoner at the bar is indicted for sorcery and witchcraft acted upon the bodies of the afflicted. Now, for the proof of this, I reckon that the only pertinent evidences brought in are the evidences of the said afflicted.

It is true, that over and above the evidences of the afflicted persons, there are many evidences brought in, against
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the prisoner at the bar ; either that he was at a witch meeting, or that he performed things which could not be done by an ordinary natural power ; or that she sold butter to a sailor which proving bad at sea ; and the seamen exclaiming against her, she appeared, and soon after there was a storm, or the like. But what if there were ten thousand evidences of this nature ; how do they prove the matter of indictment ? And if they do not reach the matter of indictment, then I think it is clear, that the prisoner at the bar is brought in guilty, and condemned, merely from the evidences of the afflicted persons.

The S. G. will by no means allow, that any are brought in guilty, and condemned, by virtue of spectre evidence, as it is called, i. e. the evidence of these afflicted persons, who are said to have spectral eyes ; but whether it is not purely by virtue of these spectre evidences, that these persons are found guilty, (considering what before has been said), I leave you, and any man of sense, to judge and determine. When any man is indicted for murdering the person of A. B. and all the direct evidence be, that the said man pistoled the shadow of the said A. B. though there be never so many evidences that the said person murdered C. D. E. F. and ten more persons, yet all this will not amount to a legal proof, that he murdered A. B. ; and upon that indictment, the person cannot be legally brought in guilty of the said indictment ; it must be upon this supposition, that the evidence of a man's pistolling the shadow of A. B. is a legal evidence to prove that the said man did murder the person of A. B. Now no man will be so much out of his wits as to make this a legal evidence ; and yet this seems to be our case ; and how to apply it is very easy and obvious.

As to the late executions, I shall only tell you, that in the opinion of many unprejudiced, considerate and considerable spectators, some of the condemned went out of the world not only with as great protestations, but also with as good shews of innocency, as men could do.

They protested their innocency as in the presence of the great God, whom forthwith they were to appear before ; they wished, and declared their wish, that their blood might be the last innocent blood shed upon that account. With great affection they intreated Mr. C. M.* to pray with them :
they

they prayed that God would discover what witchcrafts were among us : they forgave their accusers : they spake without reflection on jury and judges, for bringing them in guilty, and condemning them : they prayed earnestly for pardon for all *other* sins, and for an interest in the precious blood of our dear Redeemer ; and seemed to be very sincere, upright, and sensible of their circumstances on all accounts ; especially *Proctor* and *Willard*, whose whole management of themselves, from the gaol to the gallows, and whilst at the gallows, was very affecting and melting to the hearts of some considerable spectators, whom I could mention to you :—but they are executed, and so I leave them.

Many things I cannot but admire and wonder at, an account of which I shall here send you.

And 1. I do admire that some particular persons, and particularly Mrs. Thatcher of Boston, should be much complained of by the afflicted persons, and yet that the justices should never issue out their warrants to apprehend them, when as upon the same account they issue out their warrants for the apprehending and imprisoning many others.

This occasions much discourse and many hot words, and is a very great scandal and stumbling block to many good people ; certainly distributive justice should have its course, without respect to persons ; and although the said Mrs. Thatcher be mother in law to Mr. Curwin, who is one of the justices and judges, yet if justice and conscience do oblige them to apprehend others on the account of the afflicted their complaints, I cannot see how, without injustice and violence to conscience, Mrs. Thatcher can escape, when it is well known how much she is, and has been, complained of.

2. I cannot but admire that Mr. H. U.* whom we all think innocent, should yet be apprehended on this account, and ordered to prison, by a mittimus under Mr. Lynde's hand, and yet that he should be suffered, for above a fortnight, to be in a private house ; and after that, to quit the house, the town, and the province, and yet that authority should not take effectual notice of it. Methinks that same justice, that actually imprisoned others, and refused bail for them on any terms, should not be satisfied without actually imprisoning

* Suppose Hezekiah Usher.

imprisoning Mr. U. and refusing bail for him, when his case is known to be the very same with the case of those others.

If he may be suffered to go away, why may not others? If others may not be suffered to go, how in justice can he be allowed herein?

3. If our justices do think that Mrs. C. Mr. E.* and his wife, Mr. A. and others, were capital offenders, and justly imprisoned on a capital account, I do admire that the said justices should hear of their escape from prison, and where they are gone and entertained, and yet not send forthwith to the said places, for the surrendering of them, that justice might be done them. In other capitals this has been practised; why then is it not practised in this case, if really judged to be so heinous as is made for?

4. I cannot but admire, that any should go with their distempered friends and relations to the afflicted children, to know what their distempered friends ail; whether they are not bewitched; who it is that afflicts them, and the like. It is true, I know no reason why these afflicted may not be consulted as well as any other, if so be that it was only their natural and ordinary knowledge that was had recourse to: but it is not on this notion that these afflicted children are sought unto; but as they have a supernatural knowledge; a knowledge which they obtain by their holding correspondence with spectres or evil spirits, as they themselves grant. This consulting of these afflicted children, as abovesaid, seems to me to be a very gross evil, a real abomination, not fit to be known in N. E. and yet is a thing practised, not only by *Tom* and *John*—I mean the ruder and more ignorant sort—but by many who profess high, and pass among us for some of the better sort. This is that which aggravates the evil, and makes it heinous and tremendous; and yet this is not the worst of it, for, as sure as I now write to you, even some of our civil leaders, and spiritual teachers, who, I think, should punish and preach down such sorcery and wickedness, do yet allow of, encourage, yea, and practise this very abomination.

I know there are several worthy gentlemen in Salem, who account this practice as an abomination, have trembled to see the methods of this nature which others have used, and have

have declared themselves to think the practice to be very evil and corrupt ; but all avails little with the abettors of the said practice.

A person from Boston, of no small note, carried up his child to Salem, near 20 miles, on purpose that he might consult the afflicted about his child ; which accordingly he did ; and the afflicted told him, that his child was afflicted by Mrs. Cary and Mrs. Obinson. The man returned to Boston, and went forthwith to the justices for a warrant to seize the said Obinson, (the said Cary being out of the way) ; but the Boston justices saw reason to deny a warrant. The Rev. Mr. I. M.* of Boston, took occasion severely to reprove the said man ; asking him, whether there was not a God in Boston, that he should go to the devil in Salem for advice ; warning him very seriously against such naughty practices ; which I hope, proved to the conviction and good of the said person ; if not, his blood will be upon his own head.

This consulting of these afflicted children, about their sick, was the unhappy beginning of the unhappy troubles at poor Andover : Horse and man were sent to Salem village, from the said Andover, for some of the said afflicted ; and more than one or two of them were carried down to see Ballard's wife, and to tell who it was that did afflict her. I understand that the said B. took advice before he took this method ; but what pity was it, that he should meet with, and hearken to such bad counsellors ? Poor Andover does now rue the day that ever the said afflicted went among them ; they lament their folly, and are an object of great pity and commiseration. Capt B. and Mr. St. are complained of by the afflicted, have left the town, and do abscond. Deacon Fry's wife, Capt. Osgood's wife, and some others, remarkably pious and good people in repute, are apprehended and imprisoned ; and that which is more admirable, the forementioned women are become a kind of confessors, being first brought thereto by the urgings and arguings of their good husbands, who, having taken up that corrupt and highly pernicious opinion, that whoever were accused by the afflicted, were guilty, did break charity with their dear wives, upon their being accused, and urge them to confess their guilt ; which so far prevailed with them as to
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make them say, they were afraid of their being in the snare of the devil; and which, through the *rude and barbarous methods** that were afterwards used at Salem, issued in somewhat plainer degrees of confession, and was attended with imprisonment. The good deacon and captain are now sensible of the error they were in; do grieve and mourn bitterly, that they should break their charity with their wives, and urge them to confess themselves witches. They now see and acknowledge their rashness and uncharitableness, and are very fit objects for the pity and prayers of every good christian. Now I am writing concerning Andover, I cannot omit the opportunity of sending you this information; that whereas there is a report spread abroad the country, how that they were much addicted to sorcery in the said town, and that there were forty men in it that could raise the devil as well as any astrologer, and the like; after the best search that I can make into it, it proves a mere slander, and a very unrighteous imputation.

The Rev. Elders of the said place were much surprised upon their hearing of the said report, and faithfully made inquiry about it; but the whole of naughtiness, that they could discover and find out, was only this, that two or three girls had foolishly made use of the sieve and scissors, as children have done in other towns. This method of the girls I do not justify in any measure; but yet I think it very hard and unreasonable, that a town should lie under the blemish and scandal of sorceries and conjuration, merely for the inconsiderate practices of two or three girls in the said town.

5. I cannot but admire that the justices, whom I think to be well-meaning men, should so far give ear to the devil, as merely upon his authority to issue out their warrants, and apprehend people. Liberty was evermore accounted the great privilege of an Englishman; but certainly, if the devil will be heard against us, and his testimony taken, to the seizing and apprehending of us, our liberty vanishes, and we are fools if we boast of our liberty. Now, that the justices have

* You may possibly think that my terms are too severe; but should I tell you what a kind of blade was employed in bringing these women to their confession; what methods from damnation were taken; with what violence urged; how unseasonably they were kept up; what buzzings and chuckings of the hand were used, and the like, I am sure that you would call them, as I do, *rude and barbarous methods*.

have thus far given ear to the devil, I think may be mathematically demonstrated to any man of common sense: And for the demonstration and proof hereof, I desire, only, that these two things may be duly considered, viz.

1. That several persons have been apprehended purely upon the complaints of these afflicted, to whom the afflicted were perfect strangers, and had not the least knowledge of imaginable, before they were apprehended.

2. That the afflicted do own and assert, and the justices do grant, that the devil does inform and tell the afflicted the names of those persons that are thus unknown unto them. Now these two things being duly considered, I think it will appear evident to any one, that the devil's information is the fundamental testimony that is gone upon in the apprehending of the aforesaid people.

If I believe such or such an assertion as comes immediately from the minister of God in the pulpit, because it is the word of the everliving God, I build my faith on God's testimony: and if I practise upon it, this my practice is properly built on the word of God: even so in the case before us.

If I believe the afflicted persons as informed by the devil, and act thereupon, this my act may properly be said to be grounded upon the testimony or information of the devil. And now, if things are thus, I think it ought to be for a lamentation to you and me, and all such as would be accounted good christians.

If any should see the force of this argument, and upon it say, (as I heard a wise and good judge once propose), that they know not but that God Almighty, or a good spirit, does give this information to these afflicted persons; I make answer thereto, and say, that it is most certain that it is neither Almighty God, nor yet any good spirit, that gives this information; and my reason is good, because God is a God of truth; and the good spirits will not lie: whereas these informations have several times proved false, when the accused were brought before the afflicted.

6. I cannot but admire that these afflicted persons should be so much countenanced and encouraged in their accusations as they are: I often think of the Groton woman, that was afflicted, an account of which we have in print, and is a most certain truth, not to be doubted of. I shall only say, that

that there was as much ground, in the hour of it, to countenance the said Groton woman, and to apprehend and imprison, on her accusations, as there is now to countenance these afflicted persons, and to apprehend and imprison on their accusations. But furthermore, it is worthy of our deepest consideration, that in the conclusion, (after multitudes have been imprisoned, and many have been put to death), these afflicted persons should own that all was a mere fancy and delusion of the devil's, as the Groton woman did own and acknowledge with respect to herself; if, I say, in after times, this be acknowledged by them, how can the justices, judges, or any else concerned in these matters, look back upon these things without the greatest of sorrow and grief imaginable? I confess to you, it makes me tremble when I seriously consider of this thing. I have heard that the chief judge* has expressed himself very hardly of the accused woman at Groton, as though he believed her to be a witch to this day: but by such as knew the said woman, this is judged a very uncharitable opinion of the said judge, and I do not understand that any are proselyted thereto.

Rev. Sir, these things I cannot but admire and wonder at. Now, if so be it is the effect of my dulness that I thus admire, I hope you will pity, not censure me: but if, on the contrary, these things are just matter of admiration, I know that you will join with me in expressing your admiration hereat.

The chief judge is very zealous in these proceedings, and says, he is very clear as to all that hath as yet been acted by this court, and, as far as ever I could perceive, is very impatient in hearing any thing that looks another way. I very highly honour and reverence the wisdom and integrity of the said judge, and hope that this matter shall not diminish my veneration for his honour: however, I cannot but say, my great fear is, that wisdom and counsel are withheld from his honour as to this matter, which yet I look upon not so much as a judgment to his honour as to this poor land.

But although the chief judge, and some of the other judges, be very zealous in these proceedings, yet this you may take for a truth, that there are several about the Bay, men for understanding, judgment, and piety, inferior to few,

* William Stoughton, Lieutenant-Governor.

few, if any, in N. E. that do utterly condemn the said proceedings, and do freely deliver their judgment in the case to be this, viz. that these methods will utterly ruin and undo poor N. E. I shall nominate some of these to you, viz. The Hon. Simon Bradstreet, Esq. [our late governor]; the Hon Thomas Danforth, Esq. [our late deputy-governor]; the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather, and the Rev. Mr. Samuel Willard. Major N. Saltonstall, Esq. who was one of the judges, has left the court, and is very much dissatisfied with the proceedings of it. Excepting Mr. Hale, Mr. Noyes, and Mr. Parris, the Rev. Elders, almost throughout the whole country, are very much dissatisfied. Several of the late justices, viz. Thomas Graves, Esq. N. Byfield, Esq. Francis Foxcroft, Esq. are much dissatisfied; also several of the present justices: and in particular, some of the Boston justices, were resolved rather to throw up their commissions than be active in disturbing the liberty of their majesties' subjects, merely on the accusations of these afflicted, possessed children.

Finally; the principal gentlemen in Boston, and thereabout, are generally agreed that irregular and dangerous methods have been taken as to these matters.

Sir, I would not willingly lead you into any error, and therefore would desire you to note,

1. That when I call these afflicted "*the afflicted children*," I would not be understood as though I meant, that all that are afflicted are *children*: there are several young men and women that are afflicted, as well as children: but this term has most prevailed among us, because of the younger sort that were first afflicted, and therefore I make use of it.

2. That when I speak of the Salem gentlemen, I would not be understood as though I meant every individual gentleman in Salem; nor yet as though I meant, that there were no men but in Salem that run upon these notions: some term they must have, and this seems not improper, because in Salem this sort of gentlemen does most abound.

3. That other justices in the country, besides the Salem justices, have issued out their warrants, and imprisoned, on the accusations of the afflicted as aforesaid; and therefore, when I speak of the Salem justices, I do not mean them exclusively.

4. That as to the above mentioned judges, that are
commissioned

commissioned for this court of Salem, five of them do belong to Suffolk county; four of which five do belong to Boston;* and therefore I see no reason why Boston should talk of Salem, as though their own judges had had no hand in these proceedings at Salem.

Nineteen persons have now been executed, and one pressed to death for a mute: seven more are condemned; two of which are reprieved, because they pretend their being with child; one, viz. Mrs. Bradbury of Salisbury, from the intercession of some friends; and two or three more, because they are confessors.

The court is adjourned to the first Tuesday in November, then to be kept at Salem: between this and then will be the great assembly, and this matter will be a peculiar matter of their agitation. I think it is matter of earnest supplication and prayer to Almighty God, that he would afford his gracious presence to the said assembly, and direct them aright in this weighty matter. Our hopes are here; and if, at this juncture, God does not graciously appear for us, I think we may conclude that N. E. is undone and undone.

I am very sensible, that it is irksome and disagreeable to go back, when a man's doing so is an implication that he has been walking in a wrong path: however, nothing is more honourable than, upon due conviction, to retract and undo, so far as may be, what has been amiss and irregular.

I would hope that, in the conclusion, both the judges and justices will see and acknowledge that such were their best friends and advisers as dissuaded from the methods which they have taken, though hitherto they have been angry with them, and apt to speak very hardly of them.

I cannot but highly applaud, and think it our duty to be very thankful, for the endeavours of several elders, whose lips, I think, should preserve knowledge, and whose counsel should, I think, have been more regarded, in a case of this nature, than as yet it has been: in particular, I cannot but think very honorably of the endeavours of a Rev. person in Boston,† whose good affection to his country in general, and spiritual relation to three of the judges in particular, has

* The names of the judges were *Stoughton, Saltonstall, Richards, Gidney, Winthrop, Sewall, and Sargent.*

† Supposed to be Mr. Willard.

has made him very solicitous and industrious in this matter ; and I am fully persuaded, that had his notions and proposals been hearkened to, and followed, when these troubles were in their birth, in an ordinary way, they would never have grown unto that height which now they have. He has as yet met with little but unkindness, abuse, and reproach from many men ; but I trust that, in after times, his wisdom and service will find a more universal acknowledgment ; and if not, his reward is with the Lord.

Two or three things I should have hinted to you before, but they slipped my thoughts in their proper place.

Many of these afflicted persons, who have scores of strange fits in a day, yet in the intervals of time are hale and hearty, robust and lusty, as though nothing had afflicted them. I remember that when the chief Judge gave the first jury their charge, he told them, that they were not to mind whether the bodies of the said afflicted were really pined and consumed, as was expressed in the indictment ; but whether the said afflicted did not suffer from the accused such afflictions as naturally *tended* to their being pined and consumed, wasted, &c. This, said he, is a pining and consuming in the sense of the law. I add not.

Furthermore : These afflicted persons do say, and often have declared it, that they can see spectres when their eyes are shut, as well as when they are open. This one thing I evermore accounted as very observable, and that which might serve as a good key to unlock the nature of these mysterious troubles, if duly improved by us. Can they see spectres when their eyes are shut ? I am sure they lie, at least speak falsely, if they say so ; for the thing, in nature, is an utter impossibility. It is true, they may strongly fancy, or have things represented to their imagination, when their eyes are shut ; and I think this is all which ought to be allowed to these blind, nonsensical girls ; and if our officers and courts have apprehended, imprisoned, condemned, and executed our guiltless neighbours, certainly our error is great, and we shall rue it in the conclusion. There are two or three other things that I have observed in and by these afflicted persons, which make me strongly suspect that the devil imposes upon their brains, and deludes their fancy and imagination ; and that the devil's book (which they say has been offered them) is a mere fancy of theirs, and no reality : That the witches'

meeting, - the devil's baptism, and mock sacraments, which they oft speak of, are nothing else but the effect of their fancy, depraved and deluded by the devil, and not a reality to be regarded or minded by any wise man. And whereas the confessors have owned and asserted the said meetings, the said baptism, and mock sacrament, (which the S. G. and some others, make much account of), I am very apt to think, that, did you know the circumstances of the said confessors, you would not be swayed thereby, any otherwise than to be confirmed, that all is perfect devilism, and an hellish design to ruin and destroy this poor land : For whereas there are of the said confessors 55 in number, some of them are known to be distracted, crazed women, something of which you may see by a petition lately offered to the chief Judge, a copy whereof I may now send you : others of them denied their guilt; and maintained their innocency for above eighteen hours, after most violent, distracting, and dragooning methods had been used with them, to make them confess. Such methods they were, that more than one of the said confessors did since tell many, with tears in their eyes, that they thought their very lives would have gone out of their bodies ; and wished that they might have been cast into the lowest dungeon, rather than be tortured with such repeated buzzings and chuckings and unreasonable urgings as they were treated withal.

They soon recanted their professions, acknowledging, with sorrow and grief, that it was an hour of great temptation with them ; and I am very apt to think, that as for five or six of the said confessors, if they are not very good Christian women, it will be no easy matter to find so many good Christian women in N. E.. But, finally, as to about thirty of these fifty five confessors, they are possessed (I reckon) with the devil, and afflicted as the children are, and therefore not fit to be regarded as to any thing they say of themselves or others. And whereas the S. G. do say that these confessors made their confessions before they were afflicted, it is absolutely contrary to universal experience, as far as ever I could understand. It is true, that some of these have made their confession before they had their falling, tumbling fits, but yet not absolutely before they had any fits and marks of possession, for (as the S. G. know full well) when these persons were about first confessing, their mouths would be stopped,

stopped, and their throats affected, as though there was danger of strangling, and afterward (it is true) came their tumbling fits. So that, I say, the confessions of these persons were in the beginning of their fits, and not truly before their fits, as the S. G. would make us believe.

Thus, sir, I have given you as full a narrative of these matters as readily occurs to my mind, and I think every word of it is matter of fact; the several glosses and descants whereupon, by way of reasoning, I refer to your judgment, whether to approve or disapprove.

What will be the issue of these troubles, God only knows; I am afraid that ages will not wear off that reproach and those stains which these things will leave behind them upon our land. I pray God pity us, humble us, forgive us, and appear mercifully for us in this our mount of distress: here-with I conclude, and subscribe myself,

Reverend sir, your real friend and humble servant,

T. B.

[N. B. *As there is no superscription on the copy of this letter, it is not known to whom it was addressed.*]

To the Hon. William Stoughton, Esq. Chief Judge of their Majesties' Special Court of Oyer and Terminer, holden at Salem, &c. The humble petition of Rebecca Fox sheweth,

THAT whereas Rebecca Jacobs [the daughter of your humble petitioner] has long lien in prison for witchcraft, and she at some times has uttered hard words of herself, as though she had killed her child, which words are much accounted of, as is famed, &c.—These may acquaint your Honour, that the said Rebecca Jacobs is a woman broken and distracted in her mind, and that she has been so at times above these twelve years; and this I am ready to take my oath to, and I can bring several others that will do the like, and therefore your humble petitioner thought herself bound in conscience, for your Honour's information, to declare the same to your Honour, and prays that due regard may be had thereto, that so there may not be a stress laid on the confession of a distracted woman, to the prejudice of her life. So, not doubting of your Honour's integrity in this matter, your petitioner prays to Almighty God, that wisdom

wisdom may not be with-holden from your Honour, who is wise, and subscribes herself, honourable sir, your Honour's dutiful servant,
R. F.

This, sir, is a true copy of what was offered to the Chief Judge ; however, the poor woman had the bill found against her by the Grand Jury, and stands now indicted, and is arraigned.

VOCABULARY OF THE NARROGANSET LANGUAGE.

[In the third volume of the Collections, p. 203, we published large extracts from R. Williams's Key into the Language of the Indians of New-England. In compliance with the request of Dr. Barton,* Corresponding Member of the Historical Society, and of other gentlemen whose opinions we respect, we now present to the publick the remaining part of the Vocabulary.]

CHAP. I.

NEEN; I. Keen; you. Ewo; he. Keen ka neen; you and I. Asco wequassin; or Asco wequassunnummis; good morrow. Askuttaaquompsin; how do you? Asnpaumpmauntam; I am very well. Taubot paump mauntaman; I am glad you are well. Cowaunkamuck; he salutes you. Aspaumpmauntam sachim; how doth the prince? Aspaumpmauntam committamus; how doth your wife? Aspaumpmauntamwock cummuckiaug; how do your children? Konkeeteaug; they are well. Taubot ne paump maut-hettit; I am glad they are well. Tunna cowaum; or Tuck-oteshana; whence come you? Yo nowaum; I came that way. Nawwatuck noteshem; I came from far. Mattaasu noteshem; I came from hard by. Wetuomuck noteshem; I came from the house. Acawmuck noteshem; I came over the water. Tunnock kuttome; whither go you? Wekick mit-tome; to the house. Nekick; to my house. Kekick; to your house. Tuckowekin; where dwell you? Tuckuttiin; where keep you? Tou wuttiin; where lives he? Awanick uchick; who are these? Awaun ewo; who is that? Tunna umwock;

* I exceedingly regret that I have not been able to procure the original work, [Williams's Key.] My information concerning it is derived from the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. I hope the Society will be induced to publish, in some future number of their valuable work, the whole of the vocabulary. Barton's New Views of the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America. Philadelphia. 1797. p. lxi.

umwock ; or Tunna wutshauock ; whence come they ? Yo nowekin ; I dwell here. Yo ntiin ; I live here ? Eiu ; or Nniu ; is it so ? Nux ; yea. Mat nippompitammen ; I have heard nothing. Tocketussaweitch ; what is your name ? Taantussawese ; do you ask my name ? Ntussawese — ; I am called —. Nowannehick nowesuonck ; I have forgot my name. Tahena ; what is his name ? Tahossowetam ; what is the name of it ? Tahettamen ; what call you this ? Teaqua ; what is this ? Yo neepoush ; stay or stand here. Mattapsh ; sit down. Noonshem ; or Nonanum ; I cannot. Tawhitch kuppee yaumen ; what come you for ? Teaqua kunnauntamen ; what do you fetch ? Chenock cuppeyaumis ; when came you ? Maish kirummayi ; just even now. Kitummayi nippeeam ; I came just now. Yo committamus ; is this your wife ? Yo cuppappoos ; is this your child ? Yo cummuckquachucks ; is this your son ? Yo cuttaunis ; is this your daughter ? Wunnetu ; it is a fine child. Tawhich neepouweeyean ; why stand you ? Puckquat-chick ; without doors ? Tawhitch mat pe titeayean ; why come you not in ? Awassish ; warm you. Mattapsh yoteg ; sit by the fire. Tocketunnawhem ; what say you ? Keen netop ; is it you, friend ? Peeyaush ætop ; come hither, friend. Petitees ; come in. Kunnunni ; have you seen me ? Kunnunnous ; I have seen you. Taubot mequaun namean ; I thank you for your kind remembrance. Taubotneanawayean ; I thank you. Taubotne aunanamean ; I thank you for your love. Cowammaunsh ; I love you. Cowammaunuck ; he loves you. Cowammaus ; you are loving. Cowautam ; understand you ? Nowautam ; I understand. Cowawtam tawhitche nippeyaumen ; do you know why I come ? Cowannantam ; have you forgotten ? Awanagusantowosh ; speak English. Eenantowash ; speak Indian. Cutehanshishaumo ; how many were you in company ? Kunnishishem ; are you alone ? Nnishishem ; I am alone. Naneeshaumo ; there be two of us. Nanshwishawmen ; we are four. Npiuckshawmen ; we are ten. Neesnechecktashaumen ; we are twenty. Nquitpausuckowashawmen ; we are an hundred. Comishoonhommis ; did you come by boat ? Kuttiakewushaumis ; came you by land ? Meshnomishoon homain ; I came by boat. Meshntiauke wushem ; I came by land. Nippenowantawem ; I am of another language. Penowantowawhettuoock ; they are of a diverse language. Mat nowawtau hette nina ; we understand not each other. Nummauchenem ; I am sick. Cummauchenem ;

hem; are you sick? Tashuckquunne cummauchenaumis; how long have you been sick? Nummauchemin; or Ntanne-teimmin: I will be going. Sauop cummauchemin; you shall go to-morrow. Mauehish; or Anakish; be going. Kuttanawshesh; depart. Mauchei; or Anittui; he is gone. Kautanaushant; he being gone. Mauchehettit; or Kautanawshawhettit; when they are gone. Kukkowetous; I will lodge with you. Yo cowish; do, lodge here. Hawunsheck; farewell. Chenock wonck cuppeyeaumen; when will you be here again? Netop tatta; my friend, I cannot tell.

CHAP. II.

Ascumetesimmin; have you not yet eaten? Matta niccattuppummin; I am not hungry. Niccawkatone; I am thirsty. Mannippeno; have you no water? Nip; or Nipewese; give me some water. Namitch, commetesimmin; stay, you must eat first. Teaquacummeich; what will you eat? Puttuckquunnege; a cake. Puttuckquunnegunash puttuckqui; cakes or loaves round. Teagunkuttie maunch; what shall I dress for you? Assamme; give me to eat. Ncattup; I am hungry. Wunna.ncattup; I am very hungry. Nippaskanautum; I am almost starved. Pautous notatam; give me drink. Sokenish; pour forth. Cosaume sokenum mis; you have poured out too much. Wuttattash; drink. Nquitchetammin, let me taste. Quitchetash; taste. Saunqui nip; is the water cool? Saun kopaugot; cool water. Chowhesu; it is warm. Aquie wuttattash; do not drink. Aquiewaumatous; do not drink all. Necawni meich teaqua; first eat something. Tawhitch mat me choan; why eat you not? Wussaume kusopita; it is too hot. Teaguun nummeitch; what shall I eat? Mateag keesitauano; is there nothing ready boiled? Mateag mecho ewo; he eats nothing. Cotchikesu assamme; cut me a piece. Cotchekunnemi wee vous; cut me some meat. Metesittuck; let us go eat. Pautiinnea mechimucks; bring hither some victuals. Numwautous; fill the dish. Mauchepweetan; after I have eaten. Mauchepwut; when he had eaten. Mauchepwucks; after meals. Paushaqua mauchepwut; after dinner. Wayyeyant mauchepwut; after supper. Nquittmauntash; smell. Weetimoquat; it smells sweet. Machemoquat; it stinks. Weekan; it is sweet. Machippoquat; it is sour. Auwussee weekan; it is sweeter. Askun; it is raw. Noonat; not enough. Wussaume wekissu; too much either boiled or roasted.

Waumet

Waumet taubi ; it is enough. Wuttattumutta ; let us drink.
 Neeneechahettit taubi ; enough for twenty men. Mattacuck-
 quaw ; a cook. Mattacucquals ; cook or dress. Matcuttassamiin ;
 will you not give me to eat ? Keen meitch ; I pray eat.
 Squuttame ; give me your pipe. Petasinna ; or Wuttam-
 masin ; give me some tobacco. Ncattauntum ; or Ncattiteam ;
 I long for that. Mauchinaash nowepiteass ; my teeth are
 naught. Nummashackquune aumen ; we are in a dearth.
 Mashackquineaug ; we have no food. Aucuck ; a kettle.
 Mishquockuk ; a red copper kettle. Netop kuttassammish ;
 friend, I have brought you this. Quamphash quamphomiinea ;
 take up for me out of the pot. Eippoquat ; is it sweet ? Tea-
 qua aspuckquat ; what does it taste of ? Nowetipo ; I like this.
 Wenomeneash ; grapes or raisins. Wawercocks ; figs, or
 some strange sweet meat. Nemaunanash ; provision for the way.
 Nemaunaninuit ; a knapsack. Tackhummin ; to grind corn.
 Tackhumiinnea ; beat me parched meal. Nummauchip nup
 mauchepummin ; we have eaten all. Cowaump ; have you
 enough ? Nowaump ; I have enough. Cummohecquock ;
 they will eat you.

CHAP. III.

Nsowwushkawmen ; I am weary. Nkataquaum ; I am
 sleepy. Kukkowetous ; shall I lodge here ? Yo nicko-
 wemen ; shall I sleep here ? Kukkoweti ; will you sleep here ?
 Nummouaquomen ; I will lodge abroad. Puckaquatchick
 nickouemen ; I will sleep without the doors. Mouaquomitea ;
 let us lie abroad. Cowwetuck ; let us sleep. Kukkouene ;
 sleep you. Cowweke ; sleep, sleep. Cowwewi ; he is asleep ;
 Cowwewock ; they sleep. Askukkowene ; sleep you yet ?
 Takitippocat ; it is a cold night. Wekitippocat ; it is a
 warm night. Wawhautowawog ; there is an alarm. Maski-
 tuash ; straw to lie on. Wuddtuckquunash ponamauta ; let
 us lay on wood. Mauataunamoke ; mend the fire. Mauatau-
 namutta ; let us mend the fire. Toketuck ; let us wake.
 Askuttokemis : are you not awake yet ? Tokish Tokeke ;
 wake, wake. Tokinish ; wake him. Kitumyai tokean ; as
 soon as I wake. Ntunnaquomen ; I have had a good dream.
 Nummattaquomen ; I have had a bad dream. Wunnakuk-
 kussa quam ; you sleep much. Peeyauntam : he prays. Pee-
 yauntamwock ; they pray. Tunna kukkowemis ; where
 slept you ? Awaun weick kukkouemis ; at whose house did
 you sleep ?

CHAP. IV.

Piucknab neese ; twelve. Piucknab nish ; thirteen. Néesneeck nab naquit ; twenty-one. Quuttatashincheck ; sixty. Enadatashincheck ; seventy. Shwoasuck tashincheck ; eighty. Paskugit tashincheck ; ninety. Nees pawsuck ; two hundred. Shweepawsuck ; three hundred. Yowe pawsuck ; four hundred. Napannetashe pawsuck ; five hundred. Neese mittannug ; two thousand. Nishwe mittannug ; three thousand. Piuckque mittannug ; ten thousand. Neesneeck tashe mittannug ; twenty thousand. Nquit pausuckoemittannug ; one hundred thousand.

CHAP. V.

Kichizuck ; old men. Kutchinnuwock ; middle aged men. Wuskeeneesuck ; youths. Wenisuck ; old women. Mattauntum ; very old and decrepit. Noweewo ; or Nummittumus ; my wife. Cuttoso ; have you a father ? Nokase ; or Nitchwhaw ; my mother. Nissese ; my uncle. Nippapoos ; or Nummuckiese ; my child. Nummuckquachucks ; my son. Nittaunis ; my daughter. Muckquachuckquemese ; a little boy. Squasese ; a little girl. Neemat ; my brother. Weesummis ; a sister. Wematittuock ; they are brothers. Cutchashematitia ; how many brothers have you ? Natoncks ; my cousin. Katoncks ; your cousin. Nulloquaso ; my ward or pupil. Wattonksittuock ; they are cousins. Towiuwock ; fatherless children. Tackquiuwock ; twins.

CHAP. VI.

Wetu ; a house. Wetuomuck ; at home. Nekick ; my house. Kekick ; your house ; Wekick ; at his house. Puttuckakaun ; a round house. Puttuckakaunese ; a little round house. Neesquuttow ; a longer house with two fires. Shwishcuttow ; with three fires. Note ; or Yote ; or Chickot ; or Squutta ; fire. Notawese ; or Chickautawese ; a little fire. Puck ; smoke. Puckissu ; smoky. Nippuckis ; smoke troubleth me. Cuppoquittemin ; I will divide house with you, or dwell with you. Nuckquusquatch ; or Nuckquusquatchimin ; I am cold. Potouwassiteuck ; let us make a fire. Wudtuckquun ; a piece of wood, Wudtuckquanash ; or Ponamauta ; lay on wood. Powacomwushesh ; cut some wood. Maumashinnaunam auta ; let us make a good fire. Npaacomwushem ; I will cut wood. Aseneshesh ; fetch some small sticks. Wonck ; or Wonkatack ; more. Wonckataganash naus ; fetch some more. Netashin ; or Newuchashinea ; there is more. Wequanantash ;

quanantash; a light fire. Wequanantig; a candle or light. Wequanantiganash; candles. Wekinan; a light fire. Awauo; who is at home? Mat awawanunno; there is nobody. Uuhappo kosh; is your father at home? Unnaugh; he is there. Tuckiu sachim; where is the sachim? Mat apeu; he is not at home. Peyau; he is come. Weche peyau keemat; your brother is come with him. Potawash; make a fire. Potauntash; blow the fire. Peeyauog; they are come. Wame; all. Paushe; some. Tawhitch mat peyayean; why came, or come you not? Mesh noonshem peeyaun; I could not come. Mocenanippeeam; I will come by and by. Aspeyau asquam; he is not come yet. Yo autant mesh nippeeam; I was here the sun so high. Wuskont peyauog; they will come. Teaqua nauntick ewo; what comes he for? Yo appitch ewo; let him sit there. Npepeyup nawwot; I have long been here. Tawhitch peyayean; why do you come? Teagnun-kunnauntamun; what came he for? Awaun ewo; who is that? Nowechiume; he is my servant. Wecum, naus; call, fetch. Petiteauta; let us go in. Noonapummin autashehettit; there is not room for so many. Taubapimmin; room enough. Noonat; not enough. Asquam; not yet. Naim; or Namitch; by and by. Moce; or Unuckquaque; instantly. Maish, kitummay; just, even now. Tuckiu; or Tiyu; where. Kukkekutto-kawmen; would you speak with him? Nux; yea. Wuttammaun tam; he is busy. Netop notammaun tam; friend, I am busy. Cotammauntam; are you busy? Cotammish; I hinder you. Cotammumme; or Cotamme; you trouble me. Nquussutam; I am removing. Notammehick ewo; he hinders me. Maumachiuash; goods. Auquiegs; household stuff. Tuckiiuash; where be they? Wenawwetu; rich. Machetu; poor. Wenawwetuonckon; wealth. Kuphash; shut the door. Kuphommin; to shut the door. Yeaush; shut the door after you. Wunegin; well, or good. Machit, naught, or evil. Cowautam; do you understand? Machaug; no, or not. Wunnauganash; trays. Kunnamauog; spoons. Wunnauganemese; a little tray. Teaqua cunnatinne; what do you look for? Natinnehas; search. Kekineas; see here. Machage cunna miteouwin; do you find nothing? Wonckatack; another. Tunnati; where. Ntauhaunanatinnehommin; I cannot look or search. Ntau-

haunanamiteouwin ; I cannot find. Wiaseck ; or Eias-
 sunck ; or Mocotick ; or Punnetunck ; or Chauquock ; a
 knife. Namacowhe cowiaseck ; lend me your knife. Wonck
 commesim ; will you give it me again ? Matta nowauwone ;
 or Matta nowahea ; I knew nothing. Mat meshnowahea ;
 I was innocent. Pautous, patauog ; bring hither. Mau-
 chatous ; carry this. Niautash ; or Weawhush ; take in on
 your back. Awaun ; there is somebody. Kekineas ; go and
 see. Squauntaumuck ; at the door. Awaun keen ; who
 are you ? Keen netop ; is it you ? Pauquanamiinnea ;
 open me the door. Wunnauchicomock ; a chimney. Anu-
 nema ; help me. Neenkuttannumous ; I will help you.
 Shookekineas ; behold here. Nummouekekineam ; I come
 to see. Tou auteg ; know you where it lies ? Tou nuck-
 quaque ; how much ? Yo naumwauteq ; thus full. Aquie ;
 leave off, or do not. Waskeche ; on the top. Naumatuck ;
 in the bottom. Auquunnish ; let us go. Aukeeaseiu ; down-
 wards. Keesuckquiu ; upwards. Aumaunsh ; or Ausau-
 onsh ; or Aumaunamoke ; take away. Nanouwetea ; or
 Naunouwheant ; a nurse, or keeper. Nanowwunemum ;
 I look to, or keep. Wauchaunama ; keep this for me. Cut-
 tatashiinnas ; lay these up for me. Peewauquun ; have a
 care. Nnowauchaunum ; I will have a care. Kuttaskwhe ;
 stay for me. Kuttatha ; or Cowauchaunum ; have you this
 or that ? Pokesha ; or Pokeshawwa ; it is broken. Mat
 coanichegane ; have you no hands ? Tawhitch ; why ask
 you ? Noonshem pawtuckquammin ; I cannot reach. Aquie
 pokeshattous ; do not break. Pokeshattouwin ; to break.
 Assotu ; or Assoko ; a fool. Aquie assokish ; be not foolish.
 Awanick ; some come. Niautamwock ; or Pauchewannau-
 og ; they are laden. Mattapeu ; or Quushenawsui ; a wo-
 man keeping alone in her monthly sickness. Moce ntunna ; I
 will tell him by and by. Cowequetummous ; I pray or en-
 treat you. Wunniteouin ; to mend any thing. Wunniteous ; or
 Wussiteous ; mend this. Wuskont nochemuckquun ; I
 shall be chidden. Nickummat ; easy. Siuckat ; hard. Cum-
 mequawname ; do you remember me ? Mequaunamiinnea ;
 remember me. Puckquatchick ; without doors. Kussawhoki ;
 do you put me out of doors ? Kussawhocowoog ; put them
 forth. Tawhitch kussawhokiean ; why do you put me out ?
 Sawwhush ; or Sawheke ; go forth. Wussauhemutta ; let us
 go

go forth. Matta nickquehick; I want it not. Machage nickquehickomina; I want nothing. Pawsawash; dry or air this. Pawsunnummin; to dry this or that. Cuppau-summunnash; dry these things. Apisumma; warm this for me. Paucotche; already. Cutshitteous; wash this. Tatagganish; shake this. Naponsh; lay down. Wuche machaug; about nothing. Puppuckshackhege; a box. Pau-paquonteg; a key. Mowashuck; iron. Wauki; crooked, Saumpi; straight. Aumpaniimmin; to undo a knot. Aumpanish; untie this. Paushinummin; to divide into two. Penash; take your choice. Nawwuttunsh; or Pawtawtees; throw hither. Negautowash; send for him. Negauchhuwash; send this to him. Nnegauchemish; he sends to me, Nowweta; no matter. Machemoquut; it stinks. Machemoquussu; a vile or stinking person. Wunnickshaas; mingled. Wunnickshan; to mingle. Nesick; or Nashoqua; a comb. Tetupsha; to fall down. Ntetupshem; I fall down. Tou anuckquaque; how big? Wunnashpishan; to snatch away. Tawhitch wunnashpishayean; why snatch you? Wuttush; hitherward, and give me. Eneick; or Awwusse; further. Nneickomasu; or Awwassese; a little farther. Wuttushenaquaish; look hither. Yo anaquayean; look about. Mauks maugoke; give this. Yo commeish; I will give you this. Quussucpuun; heavy. Naukon; light. Kuckquussequuna; you are heavy. Kunnauki; you are light. Nickattash (singular); Nickattammoke (plural); leave, or depart. Nickattamutta; let us depart. Yowa; thus. Ntowwaukaumen; I use it. Awawkawni; it is used. Yo awautees; use this. Yo weque; thus far. Yo meshnowekeshem; I went thus far. Ayatche; or Conkitchea; as—often. Ayatche nippeeam; I am often here. Paketash; fling it away. Npaketamunnash; I will cast him away. Wuttammasim; give me tobacco. Mat nowewuttammo; I take none. Chicks anawat; the cock crows. Neesquuttonckquussu; a babbler or prater. Cunneesquuttonckquussimmin; you prate: Which they figuratively transfer from the frequent troublesome clamour of a cock. Nanotatam; I keep house alone. Aquie kuttunnan; do not tell. Aquie moosbkishattous; do not disclose. Teag yon augwhattick; what hangs there? Yo augwhattous; hang it there. Pemisquaj; crooked, or winding. Penayi; crooked.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Nuppaquontop; my head. Wuchehepunnock; a great bunch of hair bound up behind. Mscattuck; the forehead. Wuskeesuck; eye. Wuskeesuckquash; eyes. Ti-yush kuskeesuckquash; can you not see? or where are your eyes? Wuchaun; the nostrils. Wuttowwog; ear. Wuttowwogguash; ears. Wuttone; the mouth. Weenat; the tongue. Wepit; tooth. Wepitteash; teeth. Pummaumpiteunck; the tooth ake. Sitchipuck; the neck. Quuttuck; the throat. Timequassin; to cut off, or behead. Mapannog; the breast. Wuppittene; arm. Wuppittenash; arms. Mishquinash; the veins. Mishque; or Neepuck; the blood. Uppusquan; the back. Nuppusquannick; my back or at my back. Wunnicheke; hand. Wunnickegannash; hands. Mockassuck; nails. Wunnaks; the belly. Apome; the thigh. Apomash; the thighs. Mohcont; a leg. Mohcontash; legs. Wussete; a foot. Wussetash; feet. Wunnicheganash; the toes. Tou wuttinsin; what manner of man? Tou nuckquaque; of what higness? Wompesu; white; Mowesu; or Suckesu; black or swarthy. Cumminakese; you are strong. Minikesu; strong. Minioquesu; weak; Cumminiocquese; weak you are. Quunnaququussu; a tall man. Quunnaququussitchick; tall men. Tiaquonququussu; low and short. Tiaquonququussichick; men of low stature. Wunnetu-wock; proper and personal.

CHAP. VIII.

Aunchemokauhettittea; let us discourse, or tell news. Tocketeaunchim; what news? Aaunchemokaw; tell me your news. Cuttaunchemokous; I will tell you news. Mautaunchemokouean; when I have done telling the news. Cummautaunchemokous; I have done my news. Wutaunchemocouoog; I will tell it them. Awaun mesh aunchemokau; who brought this news? Awaun mesh kuppittouwaw; of whom did you hear it? Uppanaunchim; your news is true. Cowawwunnaunchim; he tells false news. Nummautanume; I have spoken enough; Nsouwussanneme; I am weary with speaking. Npenowauntawaumen; I cannot speak your language. Matta nippanawem; I lie not. Cuppannowem; you lie. Mattanickoggachousk; or Matntiantacompaw; or Matntiantasampawwa; I am no lying fellow. Achienonaumwem; I speak very true. Kukkiti; hearken to

to me. Kukkakitous ; I hear you. Cuppittous ; or Cowautous ; I understand you. Machagenowautam ; I understand not. Matnowawtawatemina ; we understand not each other. Wuunaumwash ; speak the truth. Cuppannawautous ; I do not believe you. Cuppannawauti ; do you not believe ? Nippannawautunck ewo ; he doth not believe me. Micheme nippannawautam ; I shall never believe it. Pan-nouwa awaun, awaun keesitteouwin ; somebody hath made this lie. Tatta pitch ; I cannot tell, it may so come to pass. Nni, eiu ; it is true. Mat enano ; or Mat eano ; it is not true. Kekuttokaunta ; let us speak together. Kuttokash ; speak. Tawhitch mat cuttoan ; why speak you not ? Teaquan-tunnawem, or nteawem ; what should I speak ? Wetapimmin ; to sit down. Wetapwauwas ; sit and talk with us. Taupowaw ; a wise speaker. Enapwauwan, Eississumo ; he speaks Indian. Matta nowawwauon ; or Matta nowahea ; I know nothing of it. Pitchnowauwon ; or Wun-naumwauonck ; I shall know the truth. Tocketunnantum ; or Tocketunaname ; or Toketeantam ; what do you think ? Ntunnantum ; or Nteantum ; I think. Nanick nteatum ; I think so too. Nteaattammowonck ; that is my thought or opinion. Matntunnantammen ; or Matnteeantammen ; I think not so. Nowecontam ; or Noweeteantam ; I am glad. Yo aphettit ; when they are here. Yo peyahettit ; when they are come. Awanaguss-suck ; Englishmen : This they call us, as much as to say, These strangers. Wautacone-nuaog ; Englishmen : That is, Coat-men, or clothed. Chauquaquock ; Englishmen : properly, Sword-men. Wautaconisk ; an English woman. Wautaconemese ; an English youth. Waske peyaeyan ; when you came first. Waske peyahettit Wautaconauog ; when Englishmen came first. Tawhitch peyahettit ; why come they hither ? Matta mihtuck-quunnunno ; have you no trees ? Mishaunetash ; or Maunetash ; great store. Maunauog ; or Wussaumemaunauog ; they are too full of people. Noonapuock ; they have not room one by another. Aumaumuwwaw ; or Paudsha ; a messenger comes. Wawwhawtowauog ; they hollow. Wauwhantowaw anowat ; it is an alarm. Quenowauog ; they complain. Tawhitch quenawayean ; why complain you ? Mucco ; it is true you say. Tuckawnteawem ; what should I say to it ?

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Mantaubon; or Chichauquat wompan; it is day. Aump-
 atauban; it is broad day. Tou wuttuttan; how high is the
 sun? that is, what is it a clock? Papisha; it is sun rise.
 Nummattaquaw; forenoon. Yahen paushaquaw; almost noon.
 Paweshaquaw; noon. Quuttukquaquaw; or Panicompaw;
 after dinner. Nawwauwquaw; afternoon. Yo wuttuttan;
 the sun thus high. Yahen waiyauw; almost sunset. Wayaawi;
 the sun is set. Wunnauquit; evening. Poppakunnetch,
 auchaugotch; dark night. Tuppaco; or Otematippocat;
 toward night. Nanashowatippocat; midnight. Chouoeatch;
 about cockcrowing. Kitompanisha; break of day. Yo taunt
 nippean; the sun thus high I will come. Yo taunt cuppee-
 yaumen; come by the sun thus high. Anamakeesuck; this
 day. Sauop; to morrow. Wuisame tatsha; it is too late.
 Tiaquockaskeesakat; a short day. Quawquonikeesaquutcheas;
 long days. Nquittakeesiquockat; or Nquittakeespummishen;
 one day's walk. Paukunnum; dark. Wequai; light. We-
 quashim; moon-light.

CHAP. X.

Nquittaquunnegat; one day. Neesquunnegat; two days.
 Aukeeteamitch; seed time. Sasequacup; this spring last.
 Yo neepunnacup; this summer last. Yo taquonticup; this
 harvest last. Papapocup; winter last. Yaunedg; the last
 year. Nquitpawsuckenpaus; one month. Neespausucken-
 paus; or Neesneahettit; two months. Sequanakeeswush;
 spring month. Neepunnaakeswush; summer month. Taquont-
 ikeeswush; harvest month. Paponakeeswush; winter month.
 Tashecautummo; how many years? Chashecautummo cut-
 tappemus; how many years since you were born? Tashinash
 paponash; how many winters? Ahauquushapapone; a sharp
 winter. Keesquush keesuckquai; by day. Naukocks nokan-
 nawi; by night.

CHAP. XI.

Mayi; a way. Mayuo; is there a way? Mat mayanunno;
 there is no way. Peemayagat; a little way. Mishimmaya-
 gat; a great path. Machipscat; a stone path. Nnatote-
 muckaun; I will ask the way. Kunnatotemous; I will in-
 quire of you. Kunnatotemi; do you ask me? Tou nishin
 meyi; where lies the way? Kokotemiinnea meyi; shew me
 the way. Yo ainsbick meyi; there lies the way. Kukkako-
 temous; I will shew you. Yo cummittamayon; there is the
 way

way you must go. Yo chippachausin; there the way divides. Maachatea; a guide. Mauchase; be my guide. Anoce wewawash; hire him. Kuttannoonsh; I will hire you. Kuttaunckquittannch; I will pay you. Kummuchickonckquattous; I will pay you well. Tocketaonckquittiinne; what will you give me? Cummauchanish; I will conduct you. Yo aunta; let us go that way. Yo cuttaunan; go that way. Yo ntunnock; the right hand. Yo nmunatch; the left hand. Cowechaush; I will go with you. Wetash; go along. Cowechaw ewo; he will go with you; Wechauatittea; let us accompany. Taubot wetayean; I thank you for your company. Pitchcowawwon; you will lose your way. Meshnowawwon; I lost my way. Nummauchemin; or Ntanniteimmin; I will be going. Mammauchetuck; let us be going. Anakiteunck; he is gone. Memauchewi anittui; or Memauchegushannick; or Anakugushannick; they are gone. Tunnockuttome; or Tunnockuttoyeaim; or Tunnockuttinshem; whither go you? Nnegonshem; I will go before. Cuppompaish; I will stay for you. Negonshesh; go before. Mittummayaucup; the way you went before. Cummattanish; I will follow you. Cuppahimmin; stay for me. Tawhich quanqunuaquean; why do you run so? Nowecontum pummishem; I have a mind to travel. Konkenupshaurta; let us go apace. Konkenuppe; go apace. Micheme nquaunquaquemin; I have run always. Yo ntoyamaushem; I go this pace. Yo wuche; from hence. Tonnuckquaque yo wuche; how far from hence? Yo anuckquaque; so far. Yo anuckquaque; so little a way. Wauuaquese; a little way. Aukeewushauog; they go by land. Mishoon homwock; they go or come by water. As pumnewi; he is not gone by. Aspummewock; they are not gone by. Awanick payanchick; who comes there; Awanick negonshachick; who are these before us? Yo cuppummesicommin; cross over into the way there. Nips; a pond. Nipsash; ponds. Weta, wetedg; the woods on fire. Wussaumpatammin; to view or look about. Wussaumpatamoonck; a prospect. Wattocekemin; to wade. Tocketuck; let us wade. Tou wuttauquassin; how deep? Yo ntauquassin; thus deep. Kunniish; I will carry you. Kuckquassuckquan; you are heavy. Kunnauckon; you are light. Pasuckquish; rise. Anakish; or Mauchish; go. Quaquish; run. Nokus karatees; meet him. Nockus kauatitea; let us meet. Neen-moshneckuskaw; I did meet. Mesh kunnoockquas kauatimmin

min ———; did you meet ———. Yo kuttauntapimmin, let us rest here. Kussackquetuck; let us sit down. Yo appittuck; let us sit here. Nissowanis; or Nissowanishkaumen; I am weary. Nickquussaquis; I am lame. Ntougonnausinnumin; we are distressed, undone, or in misery. Teano wonck nippeeam; I will be hear by and by again. Mat kunnickansh; I will not leave you. Aquie kunnickatshash; do not leave me. Tawhitch nickat shiean; why do you forsake me? Wuttanho; a staff. Yo iish wuttanho; use this staff. Taquattin; frost; Auke taquatsha; the ground is frozen. Seip taquattin; the river is frozen. Nqwannesin; I have forgotten. Nippittakunnamun; I must go back. Nippanishkokommin; or Npus-sagokommin; I have let fall something. Mattaasu; a little way. Nauwot; a great way. Nawwaticx; far off at sea. Ntaquatchuwaumen; I go up hill. Taguatchowash; go up hill. Waumsu; down hill. Mauunshesh; go slowly or gently. Mauanishauta; let us go gently. Tawhitch cheche quunnuwayean; why do you rob me? Aquie chechequunnuwash; do not rob me. Chechequunnuwachick; robbers. Chechequunnittin; there is a robbery committed. Kemineantuock; they murder each other. Wuskont awaun nkemineiuquun; I fear some will murder me. Cutchachewussimmin; you are almost there. Kiskecuppeeyaumen; you are a little short. Cuppeeyaumen; now you are there. Muckquetu; swift. Cum-mummuckquete; you are swift. Cussaquis; you are slow. Sassaquushauog; they are slow. Cuttinneapummishem; will you pass by? Wuttineapummishauta; or Keeatshauta; let us pass by. Ntinneapeeyaumen; I come for no business. Acouwe; in vain, or to no purpose. Ntackowwepeyaun; I have lost my labour. Cummautussakou; you have missed him. Kih-tummayi-wussauhumwi; he went just now forth. Pittuckish; go back. Pittucketuck; let us go back. Ponewhush; lay down your burden.

CHAP. XII.

Keesucquiu; heavenward. Auke; or Aukeeaseiu; downwards. Wequashim; a light moon. Pashpishea; the moon is up. Yo wuttuttan; so high. Yo ockquiteunk; a new moon. Paushesui; half moon. Anocksuck; stars. Shwish-cuttowwauog; the golden metewand. Chippapuock; the brood-hen.

CHAP. XIII.

Tocke tussinnammin keesuck; what think you of the weather?

ther? Wekineauquat; fair weather. Wekinnaquðcks; when it is fair weather. Tahki; or Tatakki; cold weather. Tähkees; cold. Taukocks; cold weather. Kausitteks; hot weather. Kussuttah; it is hot. Nuckquusquatch nnoonakom; I am cold. Nickquussittaunum; I sweat. Mattauquus; a cloud. Mattaquat; or Cuppaquat; it is over-cast. Sokenun; or Anaquat; rain. Anamakeesuck sokenum; it will rain to-day. Sokenitch; when it rains. Sochepo; or Cone; snow. Animanauckock sochepo; it will snow to-night. Sochepwutch; when it snows. Mishunna; a great rain. Pauqui; or Pauquaquat; it holds up. Nnappi; dry. Nnap-paquat; dry weather. Topu; a frost. Missittopu; a great frost. Capat; ice. Neechipog; the dew. Michokat; a thaw. Michokatch; when it thaws. Missuppaugatch; when the rivers are open. Cutshausha; the lightning.

CHAP. XIV.

Waupanash; the winds. Tashinash waupanash; how many winds are there? Nanummatin; or Sunnadin; the north wind. Chepewessin; the north-east. Sachimoachepewessin; strong north-east wind. Nopatin; the east wind. Nanockquittin; the south-east wind. Touwuttin; the south wind. Paponetin; the west wind. Chekesu; the north-west. Chekesitch; when the wind blows north-west. Tocketunnantum; what think you? Tou pitch wuttin; where will the wind be? Nque-nouhick wuttin; I stay for a wind. Yo pitch wuttin sauop; here the wind will be to-morrow. Pitch sowwanishen; it will be south-west. Mishaupan; a great wind. Mishitashin; a storm. Wunnagehan; or Wunnegin waupi; fair wind. Wunnegitch wuttin; when the wind is fair. Mattagehan; a cross wind. Wunnagehatch; when the wind comes fair. Mattagehatch; when the wind is cross. Cowunnagehuckamen; you have a fair wind. Cummattagehuckamen; the wind is against you. Nummattagehuckamen; the wind is against me.

CHAP. XV.

Ntauchaumen; I go a fowling or-hunting. Auchau; he is gone to hunt or fowl. Pepemoui; he is gone to fowl. Wompissacukquauog; eagles. Choganeuck; blackbirds. Yo aquechinock; there they swim. Nipponamouog; I lay nets for them. Ptowei; it is fled. Ptowewushannick; they are fled. Wunnup; a wing. Wunnuppash; wings. Wun-

nuppanick anawhone ; wing-shot. Wuhockgoek anawhom ; body-shot.

CHAP. XVI.

Nittauke ; my land. Nissawnawkamuck ; or Wuskaukamuck ; new ground. Aquegunnitteash ; fields worn out. Mih-tuck ; a tree. Pauchautaquunnesash ; branches. Wunne-pogguash ; leaves. Wattap ; a root of a tree. Takekum ; a spring. Takekummuo ; is there a spring ? Sepuo ; is there a river. Toyusk ; a bridge. Toyusqnanuo ; is there a bridge ? Micuckaskeete ; a meadow. Tataggoskituash ; a fresh meadow. Wekinashquash ; reeds. Manisimmin ; to cut or mow. Wuttahimnasippaguash ; strawberry leaves. Peshaiuash ; violet leaves. Nummouwinneem ; I go to gather. Mowinneauog ; they gather. Atauntowash ; climb the tree. Ntauntawem ; I climb. Punnouwash ; come down. Npunnowaumen ; I come down. Scannemeneash ; seed corn. Wompiscannemeneash ; white seed corn. Anakausu ; a labourer. Anakausichick ; labourers. Aukeeteaumitch ; planting time. Aukeeteahettit ; when they set corn. Nummautaukeeteaumen ; I have done planting. Anaskhiganash ; hoes. Anaskhomwock ; they hoe. Anaskhommonteamin ; they break up for me. Anaskhomwautowwin ; a breaking up hoe. Monaskunneemun ; to weed. Monaskunnummautowwin ; a weeding or broad hoe. Petascunneemun ; to hill the corn. Kepenummin ; or Wuttunneemun ; to gather corn. Nunnowwa ; harvest time. Anouaut ; at harvest. Wuttunneemitch ewachim ; when harvest is in. Pausinnummin ; to dry the corn. Sokenug ; a heap of corn. Pockhommin ; to beat or thrash out. Npockhommin ; I am thrashing. Cuppockhommin ; do you thrash ? Wuskokkamuckomeneash ; new ground corn. Nquitawan-nanash ; one basket full. Munnote ; a basket. Munnotetash ; baskets. Mauseck ; a great basket. Pewasick ; a little basket. Wussaumepewasick ; too little. Pokowannanash ; half a basket full. Neesowannanash ; two baskets full. Anittash ; rotten corn. Waweekanash ; sweet corn. Tawhitch quitche mauntamen ; why do you smell to it ? Auquunnash ; barns. Necawnauquanash ; old barns. Uppakumineash ; the seed of the squash.

CHAP. XVII.

Enewashim ; a male. Squashim ; a female. Natupppwock ; they feed. Teaqua natuphettit ; what shall they eat ? Natuphettitch yo sanaukamick ; let them feed on this ground.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Wunnauanounuck ; a shallop. Wunnauanounuckquese ; a skiff ; although the Indians have neither, yet they give them such names, which in their language signifieth carrying vessels. Kitonuck ; a ship. Kitonuckquese ; a little ship. Peewasu ; a little canoe. Paugautemissaund ; an oak canoe. Kowawwaund ; a pine canoe. Wompmissaund ; a chesnut canoe. Ogwhan ; a boat adrift. Wuskontogwhan ; it will go adrift. Cuttunnamiinnea ; help me to launch. Cuttunnummatta ; let us launch. Cuttunnamoke ; launch. Cuttannummous ; I will help you. Wutkunk ; a paddle or oar. Namacoube comishoon ; lend me your boat. Pautousnenotehunk ; bring hither my paddle. Comishoonhom ; go you by water ? Chemosh-chemeck ; paddle or row. Mauminikish ; or Maumanetepweeas ; pull up, or row lustily. Sepagehom-mauta ; let us sail. Wunnagehan ; we have a fair wind. Wauaupunish ; hoist up. Wuttautnish ; pull to you. Nokanish ; take it down. Paketenish ; let go, or let fly. Nikkoshkowwaymen ; we shall be drowned. Nquawu pshawmen ; we upset. Wussaume pechepausha ; the sea comes in too fast upon us. Maumaneteantass ; be of good courage. Paupautuckquash ; hold water. Kinnequass ; steer. Tiakomme kinniquass ; steer right. Kunnosnep ; a killick or anchor. Chowwhophommin ; to cast overboard. Chouwhophash ; cast overboard. Touwopskhommke ; cast anchor. Mishittashin ; it is a storm. Awepsha ; it calms. Awepu ; a calm. Nanouwashin ; a great calm. Tamoccon ; flood. Nanashowetamoccon ; half flood. Keesaquushin ; high water. Taumacoks ; upon the flood. Mishittommockon ; a great flood. Mauchetan ; or Skat ; ebb. Mittaeskak ; a low ebb. Awanick paudhuck ; who comes there ? Caupaushess ; go ashore. Caupaushauta ; let us go ashore. Wusseheposh ; heave out the water. Askepunish ; make fast the boat. Kspunsh ; or Kspunemoke ; tie it fast. Mauminikish ; tie it hard. Neene Cuthomwock ; now they go off. Kekcuthomwushannick ; they are gone already.

CHAP. XIX.

Ashop ; nets. Aucup ; a little cove or creek. Aucpawese ; a very little one. Potoppauog ; whales. Missesu ; the whole. Poquesu ; the half. Waskeke ; the whalebone. Wussuckquun ; a tail. Aumauog ; they are fishing. Ntaumen ; I am fishing. Kuttaumen ; do you fish ? Nnattuckquunnuwem ;

quunnuwem ; I go a fishing. Aumachick ; or Natuckquun, nuwachick ; fishes. Aumai ; he is gone to fish. Awacenick ; kukkattineanaumen ; what do you fish for ? Cummenakiss ; or Cummenakissamen ; or Cummuchickinneanawmen ; have you taken store ? Nummenakiss ; I have taken store. Nummuchikineanawmen ; I have killed many. Machage ; I have caught none. Aumanep ; a fishing line. Aumanapeash ; lines. Hoquaun ; a hook. Peewasicks ; little hooks. Maumacocks ; great hooks. Np̄namouoog ; I set nets for them. Npuunnouwaumen ; I go to search my nets. Mihtuck quashep ; an eel-pot. Kunnagquunneuteg ; a greater sort. Onawangonna-kaun ; a bait. Yo onawangonnatees ; bait with this.

CHAP. XX.

Pauskesu ; naked. Pauskesitchick ; naked men and women. Nipposkiss ; I am naked. Nipposkenitch ; I am robbed of my coat. Nipposkenick ewo ; he takes away my coat. Mau-nek ; or Nquittiashiagat ; an English coat or mantle. Caud-nish ; put off. Ocquash ; put on. Neesashiagat ; two coats. Shwishiagat ; three coats. Piuckquashiagat ; ten coats. Squaus auhaquut ; a woman's mantle. Muckiis auhaquut ; a child's mantle. Petacus ; an English waistcoat. Nquittetiag-attash ; a pair of stockings. Noonacominash ; too little. Tau-bacominash ; big enough.

CHAP. XXI.

Manittowock ; gods. Nummusquaunamuckquun manit ; God is angry with me. Musquantum manit ; God is angry. Nanouwetea ; an overseer and orderer of their worship. Neen-nanowwunnemun ; I will order or oversee. Nowemausit-teem ; I give away at the worship. Nowemacaunash ; I will give these things. Nitteauguash ; my money. Nummaumachiuwash ; my goods. Nkekinneawaumen ; I go to the feast. Kekineawaui ; he is gone to the feast. Aquiewopwauwash, aquiewopwauwock ; peace, hold your peace. Peeyauntam ; he is at prayer. Peyauntamwock ; they are praying. Wuhock ; the body. Nohock ; my body. Cohock ; your body. Awaun-keesitteouwicohock ; who made you ? Tunna-awwa com-mitchichunck-kitonckquean ; whither goes your soul, when you die ? Sowanakitauwaw ; it goes to the south-west. Kamootakick ; thieves. Pupannouwachick ; liars. Nochis-quauonchick ; unclean persons. Nanompanissichick ; idle persons. Kemineiachick ; murderers. Mammausachick ; adulterers. Nanisquégachick ; oppressors or fierce.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Saunks ; a sachim's wife. Saunksquuaog ; the wives of sachims. Atauskawwaw ; a lord. Wauontam ; a wise man or counsellor. Wauontakick ; wise men. Enatch ; or Eatch keen anawayean ; your will shall be law. Enatch neen anowa ; let my word stand. Ntiunume ; he is my man. Ntaquetunck ewo ; he is my subject. Kuttackquetous ; I will be subject to you. Ntannotam ; I will revenge it. Kuttanotous ; I will revenge you. Miawene ; a court or meeting. Wepe cummiawene ; come to the meeting. Miawetuck ; let us meet. Wauwhautowash ; call a meeting. Miawemucks ; at a meeting. Miawehehtit ; when they meet. Peyautch naugum ; let himself come here. Petiteatch ; let him come. Mishauntowash ; speak out. Nanantowash ; speak plain. Kunnadsittamen wepe ; you must inquire after this. Wunnadsittamutta ; let us search into it. Neen pitch-nnadsittamen ; I will inquire into it. Machissu ewo ; he is naught. Cuttiantakiskquawqua ; you are a lying woman. Wepe cokkummoot ; you have stolen. Mat meshnawmonash ; I did not see those things. Mat mesh nummam menash ; I did not take them. Wepe kunnishqueko cummiskissawwaw ; you are fierce and quarrelsome. Tawhitch yo enean ; why do you so ? Tawhitch cummootoan ; why do you steal ? Tawhitch nanompaniean ; why are you thus idle or base ? Wewhepapunnokke ; bind him. Wepe kunnishaumis ; you killed him. Wepe kukkeminieantin ; you are the murderer. Sasau-mitaawhitch ; let him be whipped. Upponckquittauwhitch ; let him be imprisoned. Nippitch ewo ; let him die. Niphet-titch ; let them die. Niss-nissoke ; kill him. Pum-pummoke ; shoot him. Kukkeechequaubenitch ; you shall be hanged. Nippansinnea ; I am innocent. Uppansinea ewo ; he is innocent. Matmeshnowauwon ; I know nothing of it. Nnow-auntum ; I am sorry. Nummachieme ; I have done ill. Aumaunemoke ; let it pass, or take away this accusation. Konkeeteatch ewo ; let him live. Konkeeteahetti ; let them live.

CHAP. XXIII.

Keegsquaw ; a virgin or maid. Segauo ; a widower. Segousquaw ; a widow. Wussenetam ; he goes a wooing. Nosenemuck ; he is my son-in-law. Wussenetuock ; or Awetawatuock ; they make a match. Mammasu ; an adulterer. Nummam

Nummam mogwun ewo; he hath wronged my bed. Patte nochisquaw; he or she hath committed adultery. Nquittocaw; he hath one wife. Neesocaw; he hath two wives. Shocowaw; he hath three wives. Committamus; or Co-weewo; your wife. Tahanawatu ta shincommaugemus; how much gave you for her? Napannetashom paugatash; five fathoms of money. If some great man's daughter, they give Piuckquom pugatash; ten fathoms. Nummittamus; or Nullogana; my wife. Waumausu; loving. Wunnekesu; proper. Maansu; sober and chaste. Muchickehea; fruitful. Cutchashekeanis; how many children have you had? Nquittekea; I have had one. Neesekea; two. Katou eneechaw; she is falling into travail. Neechaw; she is in travail. Paugcotche nechauwaw; she is already delivered. Kitummayimes nechaw; she was just now delivered. Noosawwaw; a nurse. Noonsu; or Nonannis; a sucking child. Wunnunogan; a breast. Wunnunnoganash; breasts. Munnunug; milk. Aumaunemun; to take from the breast, or wean. Npaketam; I will put her away. Npakenaquun; I am put away. Aquie paketash; do not put away. Aquiepokeshatous; do not break the knot of marriage. Tackquiwock; twins. Towiu-uwock; orphans. Ntouwii; I am an orphan. Wauchaunat; a guardian. Wauchauamachick; guardians. Nulloquaso; my charge, or pupil, or ward. Peewauquun; look well to him.

CHAP. XXIV.

Nquittompscat; one penny. Neesaumscat; two pence. Quutatashaumscat; or Quuttauatu; six pence. Piuckquaumscat nab nees; twelve pence. This they call Neen, which is two of their Quuttauatués. Piuckquaumscat nab nashoa-suck; which they call Shwin; three quuttauatués. Neesnee-checkaumscat nab yoh; or Yowin; four quuttauatués. Shwincheckaumscat; or Napannetashin; five quuttauatués. Quuttatashincheck aumscat; or more commonly used Piuckquat; ten quuttauatués. This piuckquat, worth five shillings English money, they call Nquittompeg; or Nquitnish-causu; that is, one fathom. Neesaumpaumatuck; two fathom. Piuckquampaumatuck; or Nquit pausuck; ten fathom. Tashincheckkompaumatuck; how many fathom? Wepe kuttassawompatimmin; change my money. Wauompeg; or Wauompesichick-mesim; give me white. Assawompatittea; come.

come, let us change. Anawsuck ; shells. Meteauhock ; the periwinkle. Suckauanausuck ; the black shells. Suckauas-keesaquash ; the black eyes, or that part of the shell-fish called Poquauhock, or hens, broken out near the eyes, of which they make the black. Puckwheganash ; or Muck-suck ; awl blades. Papuckakiuash ; brittle or breaking. Natouwompitea ; a coiner or minter. Nnanatouwompiteem ; I cannot coin. Natouwompitees ; make money or coin. Puck-hummin ; to bore through. Puckwhegonnautick ; the awl blade sticks. Tutteputch anawsin ; to smooth them, which they do on Quussuckanash ; stones. Quussuck ; a stone. Cauompsk ; a whet-stone. Nickautick ; a kind of wooden pincers or vice. Enomphommin ; to thread or string. Aconaquunnauog ; thread the beads. Enomphommees ; thread or string these. Enomphosachick ; strung beads. Sawhoog ; or Sawhosachick ; loose beads. Naumpacouin ; to hang about the neck. Machequoce ; a girdle.

CHAP. XXV.

Anaquushauog ; or Anaquushanchick ; traders. Anaquushento ; let us trade. Cuttasha ; or Cowachaunum ; have you this or that ? Nitasha ; or Nowachaunum ; I have. Nquenowhick ; I want this, &c. Nowekineam ; I like this. Nummachinammin ; I do not like. Maunetash nquenowhick ; I want many things. Cuttattaumish ; I will buy this of you. Nummouanaquish ; I come to buy. Mouanaquushauog ; or Mouanaquushanchick ; chapmen. Nummautanaquush ; I have bought. Cummanohamin ; have you bought ? Cummanohamouish ; I will buy of you. Nummautanoamin ; I have bought. Kunnauntataumish ; I come to buy this. Comaunekunnuo ; have you any cloth ? Koppocki ; thick cloth. Wassappi ; thin. Suckinuit ; black or blackish. Mishquinuit ; red cloth. Wompinuit ; white cloth. Wompequayi ; cloth inclining to white. Etouwawayi ; woolly on both sides. Muckucki ; bare without wool. Checheke mautsha ; long lasting. Quunascat ; of a great breadth. Tiockquuseat ; of little breadth. Wuss ; the edge or list. Aumpacunnish ; open it. Tuttepacunnish ; fold it up. Mat weshegganunno ; there is no wool on it. Tanogganish ; shake it. Wuskinuit ; new cloth. Tanocki, tanocksha ; it is torn or rent. Eatawus ; it is old. Quuttaunch ; feel it. Audta ; a pair of small breeches or apron. Cuppaimish ; I will pay you ;

you : which is a word newly made from the English word pay. Tahenauatu ; what price ? Tummock cummeinsh ; I will pay you beaver. Teauguock cummeinsh ; I will give you money. Wauuwunnegachick ; very good. Cosaumawem ; you ask too much. Kuttiackquussauwaw ; you are very hard. Aquie iackquussaume ; be not so hard. Aquie wussaumowash ; do not ask so much. Tashin commesim ; how much shall I give you ? Kutteaug commeinsh ; I will give you your money. Nkeke commeinsh ; I will give you an otter. Coanombuquusse ; or Kuttassokakomme ; you have deceived me. Cuppanawem ; you lie. Misquesu kunnukke ; your otter is reddish. Yo auwusse wunnegin ; this is better. Yo chip-pauatu ; this is of another price. Augausauatu ; it is cheap. Muchickauatu ; it is dear. Wuttunnauatu ; it is worth it. Wunishaunto ; let us agree. Aquie neesquuttonck quussish ; do not make ado. Wuche nquittompscat ; about a penny. Cummammenash nitteauguash ; will you have my money ? Nonanum ; or Noonshem ; I cannot. Tawhitch nonanum ean ; why can you not ? Machage nkockie ; I get nothing. Tashaumskussayi commesim ; how many spans will you give me ? Enadatashaumscussayi ; seven spans. Cowenaweke ; you are a rich man. Aketash-tamoke ; tell my money. Now annakese ; I have mis-told. Cosaumakese ; you have told too much. Cunnoonakese ; you have told too little. Shoo keki-neass ; look here. Wunetu nitteaug ; my money is very good. Mamattissuog kutteauguock ; your beads are naught. Tashin mesh commaug ; how much have you given ? Chicegin ; a hatchet. Anaskunck ; a hoe. Maumichemanego ; a needle. Cuttatuppaunamum ; take a measure. Tatuppauntuhomin ; to weigh with scales. Tatuppauntuock ; they are weighing. Netatup ; it is all one. Kaukakineamuck ; or Pebe-nochichauquanick ; a looking glass. Cummanohamogunna ; they will buy it of you. Cuppittakunnemous ; take your cloth again. Cuppittakunnami ; will you serve me so ? Cosaum-peekunnemun ; you have torn me off too little cloth. Cum-machetannakunnamous ; I have torn it off for you. Tawhitch cuppittakunamiean ; why do you turn it upon my hand ? Kutchicheginash, kaukinne pokeshaas ; your hatchets will be soon broken. Teano waskishaas ; soon gapped. Natouashock-quittea ; a smith. Kuttattau amish auke ; I would buy land of you. Tou nuckquaque ; how much ? Wuche wuttotanick ;
for

for a town or plantation. Nissekineam ; I have no mind to seek. Indiansuck sekineamwock ; the Indians are not willing. Noonapuock naugum ; they want room themselves. Cowetompatimmin ; we are friends. Cummaugakeamish ; I will give you land. Aquie chenawausish ; be not churlish.

CHAP. XXVI.

Noonat ; I have not money enough. Noonamautuckquawhe ; trust me. Kunnoonamautuckquaush ; I will owe it you. Nonamautuckquaheginash ; debts. Nosaumautackquawhe ; I am much in debt. Pitch nippautowin ; I will bring it to you. Chenock naquombeg cuppauutiin nitteauguash ; when will you bring me my money ? Kunnaumpatous ; or Kukkeeskwhush ; I will pay you. Keeskwhim teaug mesin ; pay me my money. Tawhitch peyaueyan ; why do you come ? Nnadgecom ; I come for my debts. Machetu ; a poor man. Nummacheke ; I am a poor man. Mesh nummauchnem ; I have been sick. Nowemacaunash nitteauquash ; I was fain to spend my money in my sickness. Mat noteaugo ; I have no money. Kekineash nippetunck ; look here in my bag. Nummache mauganash ; I have already paid. Mat coanaumwaumis ; you have not kept your word. Kunnampatowin keenowwin ; you must pay it. Machage wuttamauntam ; he minds it not. Machage wuttammauntammooock ; they take no care about paying. Micheme notammauntam ; I do always mind it. Mat nickowemen naukocks ; I cannot sleep in the night for it.

CHAP. XXVII.

Ntauehaumen ; I go to hunt. Ncattitean weeyous ; I long for venison. Auchautuck ; let us hunt. Nowetauchaumen ; I will hunt with you. Anumwock ; dogs. Kemehetteas ; creep. Pitch nkemehetteem ; I will creep. Pumm pummoke ; shoot. Uppetetoua ; a man shot accidentally. Ntaumpauchaumen ; I come from hunting. Cutchashineanna ; how many have you killed ? Nneesneanna ; I have killed two. Npiuckwinneanna ; I have killed ten. Nummouashawmen ; I go to set traps. Apehana ; trap, traps. Ashappock ; hemp. Masaunock ; flax. Wuskapehana ; new traps. Eatabana ; old traps. Npunnowwaumen ; I must go to my traps. Nummishkommin ; I have found a deer. Noummootamuck quun natoquus ; the wolf hath robbed me. Sunnuckhig ; a falling trap. Nariowwussu ; it is lean. Wauwunnockoo ; it is fat. Weekan ; it is sweet. Machemoquut ; it smells ill. Anit ; it is putrified. Poquesu ; half a deer. Poskattuck , or Mis-sesu ;

sesu ; a whole deer. Aunan ; or Moosquin ; a fawn. Yo asipaugon ; thus thick of fat. Noonatch ; or Attuck utiyu ; I hunt venison. Mishanneke ntiyu ; I hunt a squirrel. Paukunnawaw ntio ; I hunt a bear. Wusseke ; the hinder part of the deer. Uppeke ; a shoulder. Uppekequock ; shoulders. Wuskan ; a bone. Wussuckquun ; a tail. Awemanittin ; the rutting time. Paushinummin ; to divide. Paushinummauatittea ; let us divide. Causkashunck ; the deer skin. Ntaumpowwushaumen ; I come from hunting.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Ahanu ; he laughs. Tawhitchahanean ; why do you laugh ? Ahanuock ; they are merry. Nippauochaumen ; we are dancing. Pauochauog ; they are playing or dancing. Pauochautowwin ; a bauble to play with. Pissinnegash ; their playing rushes. Akesuog ; they are telling of rushes. Ntaquie akesamen ; I will leave play. Nchikossimunnash ; I will burn my rushes. Wunnaugonhommin ; to play at dice in their tray. Asauanash ; the painted plumbstones which they throw. Pasuckquakohowauog ; they meet to foot-ball.

CHAP. XXIX.

Nanoueshin ; or Awepu ; a peaceable calm, for Awepu signifies a calm. Nummusquantum ; I am angry. Tawhitch musquawnamean ; why are you angry ? Aquie musquantash ; cease from anger. Chachepissu ; or Nishquetu ; fierce. Tawhitch chachepisettit nishquehettit ; why are they fierce ? Cummusquaunamuck ; he is angry with you. Matwauog ; soldiers. Matwauonck ; a battle. Cummusquaunamish ; I am angry with you. Cummusquawname ; are you angry with me ? Miskissauwaw ; a quarrelsome fellow. Tawhitch nishquekean ; why are you so fierce ? Ntatakcommuck quun ewo ; he struck me. Nummokokunitch ; or Ncheckequunnitch ; I am robbed. Mecautea ; a fighter. Mecauntitea ; let us fight. Mecaunteass ; fight with him. Wepe cummecautch ; you are a quarreller. Juhettitea ; let us fight. Awaun necawniaum piasha ; who drew the first bow, or shot the first shot ? Nippaketatunck ; he shot first at me. Whauwhautowaw anowat ; there is an alarm. Wopwawnonckquat ; a hubbub. Amaumuaw paudsha ; a messenger is come. Keenomp-pauog ; or Muckquomp-pauog ; captains, or valiant men. Negonschick ; leaders. Kuttowonck ; a trumpet. Popowuttahig ; a drum. Not that they have such of their own making ; yet such they have from the French ; and I have known a good

good drum made among them in imitation of the English. Quaquawtatatteaug; they train. Machippog; a quiver. Cauquattash; arrows. Onuttug; a half moon in war. Pesk-cunck; a gun. Saupuck; powder. Matit; unloaden. Mechimu; loaden. Mechimuash; load it. Pømmenummin teauquash; to contribute to the wars. Askwhitteas; keep watch. Askwitteachick; the guard. Askwhitteaug; it is the guard. Wesassu; afraid. Cowesass; are you afraid? Tawbitch wesasean; why fear you? Manowesas; I fear none. Kukkushickquock; they fear you. Nosemitteunck-quock; they fly from us. Onomatta cowauta; let us pursue. Nuckquusha; I fear him. Wussemo; he flies. Wussemo-wock; they fly. Npauchippowem; I fly for succour. Keesauname; save me. Npumuck; I am shot. Chenawausu; churlish. Waumausu; loving. Tawhitch chenawausean; why are you churlish? Aumansk; or Waukaunosint; a fort. Cupshitteaug; they lie in the way. Aumanskitteaug; they fortify. Kekaumwaw; a scorner or mocker. Nkekaumuck ewo; he scorns me. Aquie kekaumowash; do not scorn. Sekineam; I have no mind to it. Nissekineug; he likes not me. Nummanneug; he hates me. Sekinneauhettuock; or Man-innewauhettuock; they hate each other. Nowetompatimmin; we are friends. Nowepinnatimin; we join together. Nowepinnachick; my companions in war, or associates. Nowechusettimmin; we are confederates. Nechuse ewo; this is my associate. Wechusittuock; they join together. Nweche kok-kewem; I will be mad with him. Chickauta wetu; an house fired. Yo anawhone; there I am wounded. Missinnege; a captain. Nummissinnam ewo; this is my captive. Waskeiuhettimmitch; at beginning of the fight. Nickqueintonck-quock; they came against us. Nickqueintouoog; I will make war upon them. Nippauquanauog; I will destroy them. Queintauatittea; let us go against them. Kunnauntatauhuckquun; he comes to kill you. Pauquana; there is a slaughter. Pequutoog pauquannan; the Pequuts are slain. Awaun wuttunnene; who have the victory? Tashittawho; how many are slain? Neestawho; two are slain. Piuckquunneanna; ten are slain. Niss-nissoke; kill, kill. Kunnish; I will kill you. Kunnishickquun ewo; he will kill you. Kunnishickquock; they will kill you. Siuckissuog; they are stout men. Nickummissuog; they are weak. Nnickummaunamaug; I shall easily vanquish them. Neene nuppamen; I am dying. Cowaunckamish; quarter,

quarter, quarter ! Kunnanaumpasummish ; mercy, mercy ! Kekuttokaunta ; let us parley. Aquetuck ; let us cease arms. Wunnishaunta ; let us agree. Cowammaunsh ; I love you. Wunnetu nta ; my heart is true. Tuppauntash ; consider what I say. Tuppauntamoke ; do you all consider ? Cummequau-num cummittamussussuck ka cummuckiaug ; remember your wives and children. Eatch keen anawayean ; let all be as you say. Cowawwunnauwem ; you speak truly. Cowauontam ; you are a wise man. Wetompatitea ; let us make friends.

CHAP. XXX.

Aunakesu ; he is painted. Aunakeuck ; they are painted. Tawhitch auna kean ; why do you paint yourself ? Cheskhosh ; wipe off. Cummachieouwunash kuskeesuckquash ; you spoil your face. Mat pitch cowahick manit keesiteonckquus ; the God that made you will not know you.

CHAP. XXXI.

Nummauchnem ; I am sick. Mauchinaui ; he is sick. Yo wuttunsin ; he keeps his bed. Achie nummauchnem ; I am very sick. Noonshem metesimmin ; I cannot eat. Machage nummetesimmin ; I eat nothing. Tocketussinammin ; what think you ? Pitch nkeeteem ; shall I recover ? Niskeesaquush mauchinaash ; my eyes fail me. Ncussawontapam ; my head akes. Npummaumpiteunck ; my teeth ake. Nchesammattam ; or Nchesammam ; I am in pain. Nupaquontup kuspissem ; bind my head. Wauaupunish nupaquontup ; lift up my head. Nchesamam nsete ; my foot is sure. Machage nickowemen ; I sleep not. Nnanotissu ; I have a fever. Wame kussopita nohock ; my body burns. Ntatupe note ; or Chickot ; I am all on fire. Yo nteatchin ; I shake for cold. Ntafuppe wunnepog ; I shake as a leaf. Puttuckhumma ; cover me. Pautous nototam mim ; reach me the drink. Tahaspunayi ? what ails he ? Kocketuspanem ; what ail you ? Tocketuspunnaumaquun ; what hurt hath he done to you ? Chassaquunsin ; how long hath he been sick ? Nnanowweteem ; I am going to visit. Nummockquese ; I have a swelling. Mocquesui ; he is swelled. Wamewuhock mockquesui ; all his body is swelled. Wesauashau ; he bath the plague. Wesauashauonck ; the plague. Wesauashaumitch ; the great plague. Nmunnadtommin ; I vomit. Nquunnuckquus ; I am lame. Ncupsa ; I am deaf. Npockunnum ; I am blind. Npockquanammen ; my disease is I know not what. Npesuppaumen ; I go to sweat. Pesuppauog ; they are sweating.

ing. Misquineash; the veins. Nsanapaushaumen; I have the bloody flux. Matux puckquatchich auwaw; he cannot go to stool. Maunetu; a conjurer. Powwaw nippetea; the priest is curing him. Yo wutteantawaw; he is acting his cure. Maskit ponamiin; give me a plaster. Maskit cotatamhea; give me some physic drink. Nickeeteem; I am recovered. Kitummayi nick eekon; I am just now recovered.

CHAP. XXXII.

Aspummissin; he is not yet departed. Neene; he is drawing on. Pausawut kitonckquewa; he cannot live long. Chachewunnea; he is near dead. Kitonckquei; he is dead. Nipwimaw; he is gone. Kakitonckqueban; they are dead and gone. Michemeshawi; he is gone forever. Mat wonck kunawmone; you shall never see him more. Wunnowauntam wuttoasin; grieved and in bitterness. Nnowantam ntoasin; I am grieved for you. Aquie mishash; or Aquie mishom-moke; do not name. Cowewenaki; you wrong me, to wit, in naming the dead. Posakunnamun; to bury. Aukuk ponamun; to lay in the earth. Wesquaubenan; to wrap up, in winding mats or coats, as we say, winding sheets.

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ERRATA in Williams's Key, Historical Collections, Vol. III. p. 209. l. 22 from bot. for Wauwhantowaw, read Wauwhautowaw. P. 221. l. 14. for Sasemineash, read Sasemineash. P. 237, l. 19. from bot. for Sequuttot, read Sequuttoit.

A LETTER FROM COL. PAUL REVERE TO THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Dear Sir,

IN the fall of 1774 and winter of 1775, I was one of upwards of thirty, chiefly mechanics, who formed ourselves into a committee for the purpose of watching the movements of the British soldiers, and gaining every intelligence of the movements of the tories. We held our meetings at the Green Dragon tavern. We were so careful that our meetings should be kept secret, that every time we met, every person swore upon the bible, that they would not discover any of our transactions, but to Messrs. HANCOCK, ADAMS, Doctors WARREN, CHURCH, and one or two more.

About November, when things began to grow serious, a gentleman who had connexions with the tory party, but was a whig at heart, acquainted me, that our meetings were discovered, and mentioned the identical words that were spoken among us the night before. We did not then distrust Dr. Church, but supposed it must be some one among us. We removed to another place, which we thought was more secure; but here we found that all our transactions were communicated to Governor Gage. (This came to me through the then Secretary Flucker; he told it to the gentleman mentioned above.) It was then a common opinion, that there was a traitor in the Provincial Congress, and that Gage was possessed of all their secrets. (Church was a member of that Congress for Boston.) In the winter, towards the spring, we frequently took turns, two and two, to watch the soldiers, by patrolling the streets all night. The Saturday

day night preceding the 19th of April, about 12 o'clock at night, the boats belonging to the transports were all launched, and carried under the sterns of the men of war. (They had been previously hauled up and repaired.) We likewise found that the grenadiers and light infantry were all taken off duty.

From these movements, we expected something serious was to be transacted. On Tuesday evening, the 18th, it was observed, that a number of soldiers were marching towards the bottom of the Common. About 10 o'clock, Dr. Warren sent in great haste for me, and begged that I would immediately set off for Lexington, where Messrs. Hancock and Adams were, and acquaint them of the movement, and that it was thought they were the objects. When I got to Dr. Warren's house, I found he had sent an express by land to Lexington—a Mr. William Dawes. The Sunday before, by desire of Dr. Warren, I had been to Lexington, to Messrs. Hancock and Adams, who were at the Rev. Mr. Clark's. I returned at night through Charlestown; there I agreed with a Colonel Conant and some other gentlemen, that if the British went out by water, we would shew two lanthorns in the north church steeple; and if by land, one, as a signal; for we were apprehensive it would be difficult to cross the Charles River, or get over Boston neck. I left Dr. Warren, called upon a friend, and desired him to make the signals. I then went home, took my boots and surtout, went to the north part of the town, where I had kept a boat; two friends rowed me across Charles River, a little to the eastward where the Somerset man of war lay. It was then young flood, the ship was winding, and the moon was rising. They landed me on the Charlestown side. When I got into town, I met Colonel Conant, and several others; they said they had seen our signals. I told them what was acting, and went to get me a horse; I got a horse of Deacon Larkin. While the horse was preparing, Richard Devens, Esq. who was one of the Committee of Safety, came to me, and told me, that he came down the road from Lexington, after sundown, that evening; that he met ten British officers, all well mounted, and armed, going up the road.

I set off upon a very good horse; it was then about eleven o'clock, and very pleasant. After I had passed Charlestown neck, and got nearly opposite where Mark was hung in chains,

chains, I saw two men on horseback, under a tree. When I got near them, I discovered they were British officers. One tried to get ahead of me, and the other to take me. I turned my horse very quick, and galloped towards Charlestown neck, and then pushed for the Medford road. The one who chased me, endeavouring to cut me off, got into a clay pond, near where the new tavern is now built. I got clear of him, and went through Medford, over the bridge, and up to Menotomy. In Medford, I awaked the Captain of the minute men; and after that, I alarmed almost every house, till I got to Lexington. I found Messrs. Hancock and Adams at the Rev. Mr. Clark's; I told them my errand, and inquired for Mr. Dawes; they said he had not been there; I related the story of the two officers, and supposed that he must have been stopped, as he ought to have been there before me. After I had been there about half an hour, Mr. Dawes came; we refreshed ourselves, and set off for Concord, to secure the stores, &c. there. We were overtaken by a young Dr. Prescott, whom we found to be a high son of liberty. I told them of the ten officers that Mr. Devens met, and that it was probable we might be stopped before we got to Concord; for I supposed that after night, they divided themselves, and that two of them had fixed themselves in such passages as were most likely to stop any intelligence going to Concord. I likewise mentioned, that we had better alarm all the inhabitants till we got to Concord; the young Doctor much approved of it, and said, he would stop with either of us, for the people between that and Concord knew him, and would give the more credit to what we said. We had got nearly half way: Mr. Dawes and the Doctor stopped to alarm the people of a house: I was about one hundred rods a head, when I saw two men, in nearly the same situation as those officers were, near Charlestown. I called for the Doctor and Mr. Dawes to come up; in an instant I was surrounded by four;—they had placed themselves in a straight road, that inclined each way; they had taken down a pair of bars on the north side of the road, and two of them were under a tree in the pasture. The Doctor being foremost, he came up; and we tried to get past them; but they being armed with pistols and swords, they forced us into the pasture;—the Doctor jumped his horse over a low stone wall, and got to Concord. I observed a wood

wood at a small distance, and made for that. When I got there, out started six officers, on horseback, and ordered me to dismount;—one of them, who appeared to have the command, examined me, where I came from, and what my name was? I told him. He asked me if I was an express? I answered in the affirmative. He demanded what time I left Boston? I told him; and added, that their troops had caught aground in passing the river, and that there would be five hundred Americans there in a short time, for I had alarmed the country all the way up. He immediately rode towards those who stopped us, when all five of them came down upon a full gallop; one of them, whom I afterwards found to be a Major Mitchel, of the 5th Regiment, clapped his pistol to my head, called me by name, and told me he was going to ask me some questions, and if I did not give him true answers, he would blow my brains out. He then asked me similar questions to those above. He then ordered me to mount my horse, after searching me for arms. He then ordered them to advance, and to lead me in front. When we got to the road, they turned down towards Lexington. When we had got about one mile, the Major rode up to the officer that was leading me, and told him to give me to the Sergeant. As soon as he took me, the Major ordered him, if I attempted to run, or any body insulted them, to blow my brains out. We rode till we got near Lexington meeting-house, when the militia fired a volley of guns, which appeared to alarm them very much. The Major inquired of me how far it was to Cambridge, and if there were any other road? After some consultation, the Major rode up to the Sergeant, and asked if his horse was tired? He answered him, he was—(He was a Sergeant of Grenadiers, and had a small horse)—then, said he, take that man's horse. I dismounted, and the Sergeant mounted my horse, when they all rode towards Lexington meeting-house. I went across the burying-ground, and some pastures, and came to the Rev. Mr. Clark's house, where I found Messrs. Hancock and Adams. I told them of my treatment, and they concluded to go from that house towards Woburn. I went with them, and a Mr. Lowell, who was a clerk to Mr. Hancock. When we got to the house where they intended to stop, Mr. Lowell and myself returned to Mr. Clark's; to find what was going on. When we got there, an elderly

man came in ; he said he had just come from the tavern, that a man had come from Boston, who said there were no British troops coming. Mr. Lowell and myself went towards the tavern, when we met a man on a full gallop, who told us the troops were coming up the rocks. We afterwards met another, who said they were close by. Mr. Lowell asked me to go to the tavern with him, to get a trunk of papers belonging to Mr. Hancock. We went up chamber ; and while we were getting the trunk, we saw the British very near, upon a full march. We hurried towards Mr. Clark's house. In our way, we passed through the militia. There were about fifty. When we had got about one hundred yards from the meeting-house, the British troops appeared on both sides of the meeting-house. In their front was an officer on horseback. They made a short halt ; *when I saw, and heard, a gun fired*, which appeared to be a pistol. Then I could distinguish two guns, and then a continual roar of musquetry ; when we made off with the trunk.

As I have mentioned Dr. Church, perhaps it might not be disagreeable to mention some matters of my own knowledge, respecting him. He appeared to be a high son of liberty. He frequented all the places where they met, was encouraged by all the leaders of the sons of liberty, and it appeared he was respected by them, though I knew that Dr. Warren had not the greatest affection for him. He was esteemed a very capable writer, especially in verse ; and as the whig party needed every strength, they feared, as well as courted him. Though it was known, that some of the liberty songs, which he composed, were parodized by him, in favour of the British, yet none dare charge him with it. I was a constant and critical observer of him, and I must say, that I never thought him a man of principle ; and I doubted much in my own mind, whether he was a real whig. I knew that he kept company with a Capt. Price, a half-pay British officer, and that he frequently dined with him, and Robinson, one of the Commissioners. I know that one of his intimate acquaintance asked him why he was so often with Robinson and Price ? His answer was, that he kept company with them on purpose to find out their plans. The day after the battle of Lexington, I met him in Cambridge, when he shew me some blood on his stocking, which he said spirted on him from a man who was killed near him, as he was

urging

urging the militia on. I well remember, that I argued with myself, if a man will risque his life in a cause, he must be a friend to that cause; and I never suspected him after, till he was charged with being a traitor.

The same day I met Dr. Warren. He was president of the committee of safety. He engaged me as a messenger, to do the out doors business for that committee: which gave me an opportunity of being frequently with them. The Friday evening after, about sunset, I was sitting with some, or near all that committee, in their room, which was at Mr. Hastings's house in Cambridge. Dr. Church, all at once, started up—Dr. Warren, said he, I am determined to go into Boston to-morrow—(it set them all a staring)—Dr. Warren replied, Are you serious, Dr. Church? they will hang you if they catch you in Boston. He replied, I am serious, and am determined to go at all adventures. After a considerable conversation, Dr. Warren said, If you are determined, let us make some business for you. They agreed that he should go to get medicine for their and our wounded officers. He went the next morning; and I think he came back on Sunday evening. After he had told the committee how things were, I took him aside and inquired particularly how they treated him. He said, that as soon as he got to their lines, on Boston neck, they made him a prisoner, and carried him to General Gage, where he was examined, and then he was sent to Gould's barracks, and was not suffered to go home but once. After he was taken up, for holding a correspondence with the British, I came across deacon Caleb Davis;—we entered into conversation about him;—he told me, that the morning Church went into Boston, he (Davis) received a billet from General Gage—(he then did not know that Church was in town)—when he got to the General's house, he was told, the General could not be spoke with, that he was in private with a gentleman; that he waited near half an hour, when General Gage and Dr. Church came out of a room, discoursing together, like persons who had been long acquainted. He appeared to be quite surprised at seeing Deacon Davis there; that he (Church) went where he pleased, while in Boston, only a Major Caine, one of Gage's Aids, went with him. I was told by another person, whom I could depend upon, that he saw Church go into General Gage's house, at the above time;

time; that he got out of the chaise and went up the steps more like a man that was acquainted than a prisoner.

Sometime after, perhaps a year or two, I fell in company with a gentleman who studied with Church; in discoursing about him, I related what I have mentioned above; he said, he did not doubt that he was in the interest of the British; and that it was he who informed General Gage; that he knew for certain, that a short time before the battle of Lexington, (for he then lived with him, and took care of his business and books), he had no money by him, and was much-drove for money; that all at once, he had several hundred new-British guineas; and that he thought at the time, where they came from.

Thus, Sir, I have endeavored to give you a short detail of some matters, of which perhaps no person but myself have documents or knowledge. I have mentioned some names which you are acquainted with; I wish you would ask them, if they can remember the circumstance I allude to.

I am, Sir, with every sentiment of esteem,

your humble servant,

Boston, Jan. 1, 1798.

PAUL REVERE.

A LETTER FROM GOV. SHUTE TO RALLÉ THE JESUIT.

Sir :

IT is now some time since I received your long letter of August last; and had sent you an answer to it before now, but that I was willing, and in some measure obliged, to communicate it to the Général Assembly of this province; and which I accordingly did at our last session; and who are very much surprised at many of the articles contained therein, and especially at your unchristian, as well as unkind treatment of Mr. Baxter; but of that I shall take notice in its proper place, as I come to it in your letter, which I have now before me.

I observe, you begin it with professing yourself a lover of peace; I shall be very glad to understand you approve yourself so, in your management and conduct with respect to the Indians, and especially those that are under the allegiance and protection of his majesty the king of Great-Britain, and that accordingly inhabit within his territories in America.

rica. And this is what you ought always to remember when you are treating with the eastern Indians ; and therefore you must expect to be accountable, first to God Almighty by whom kings reign, and then to his majesty and his government, if a people that have in many solemn treaties put themselves, with great willingness and seriousness, under the government and protection of the crown of Great-Britain, should by your influence be seduced from it, and drawn into a disturbance of his majesty's government and people of this province, who are so willing to live in peace and good affection with them. But I hope and expect better things from a missionary of the gospel of peace. When you say *Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine*, I suppose you mean *vera Ecclesia*, the church of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone ; for otherwise we read in the revelation of a false church, or spiritual Babylon, who was drunk with blood, viz. the blood of the saints, and of the martyrs of Jesus ; and it will be very terrible where even a drop of that blood is found, when inquisition is made.

Your allegorical character of the Indians' temper and resentments is a little mysterious ; however, I cannot apprehend any danger or mischief from them so long as we are just, and keep our solemn agreements and treaties with them, which I shall always endeavour, with utmost sincerity and exactness, to perform and make good ; and that you may the better understand what those are, I have herewith sent you a printed copy of the last treaty I made with them myself at Arowsick, which will set you right in many things, that hitherto you are either mistaken in, or not well informed of.

After all, if the Indians should, without any just provocation on our part, maliciously, or by ill advice, give us any disturbance, (which God forbid) we shall endeavour to defend ourselves, and punish them ; always trusting in the protection and favour of a good, almighty, and a righteous God.

As to the affair of the man of justice, by whom I suppose you mean Capt. Ephraim Savage, I have inquired into it, and he justifies his proceedings in that matter by the

the laws of this government ; and you know the old saying, *Cum fueris Romæ, Romano vivito more*. If the Indians or French come into our towns, they must observe the laws of the land, and especially those referring to the Sabbath or Lord's-day, and the preservation of the peace, drunkenness, or the like : and the old gentleman avers, that he did not otherwise with the Indians than he would have done by English people in the like circumstance. After all, it is such a trifle, that it is scarce worth mentioning, much less can it deserve to be a foundation of a public quarrel, especially when the Indian had no indignity done his person, and all went off with a small mulct. Besides, Capt. Savage was a magistrate, under oath, and so obliged to do what he did. Before I leave this paragraph, I must needs desire you, in your religious instructions to the Indians, to observe and press upon them how very necessary it is for them and all christians to sanctify the Lord's-day Sabbath.

As to the business of rum or strong drink, I am perfectly of your opinion, concerning the mischievous consequences of supplying the Indians there-withal ; that it is destructive to soul and body ; and that it has all along had a great hand in private murders, as well as the open and cruel wars we and they have in times past been engaged in—but how to prevent it, *Hic labor, hoc opus*.

The clergy of this country have, from the pulpit, bore a very affectionate and solemn testimony against this wickedness—and the government have made very wholesome and severe laws, with penalties, against it ; and as often as the transgressors are convicted, they are punished ; but *belas!* it is almost impossible to prevent it, the country and sea coast being so large. However, you may be assured this government have nothing more at heart than this very thing, to prevent the Indians to the eastward having any rum sent them ; and every session of the General Assembly, we are projecting new and more effectual methods for that purpose ; and I shall take it kindly if you can suggest any thing of that sort, either of yourself or from the Indians.

Besides the laws of the land against this iniquity, I have given strict orders to the officers of the government, and principal

principal persons of the eastern parts, to take special care that the Indians have no rum sold or given them on any pretence whatsoever; and I am in hopes we shall in time attain good reformation in that article. However, you must assure the Indians, that nothing of this sort has ever been transacted by order, or so much as with the knowledge of the government, for they utterly renounce and abhor it; but transacted secretly by villains; for which reason, the iniquity or ill consequences thereof cannot with justice be imputed to the government, no more than a plunder or robbery committed by the pirates.

As to your not having an answer from this government to a letter of yours, dated three years since, it was before my arrival here, and therefore can say nothing to it.

I am now come to that part of your letter which refers to Mr. Baxter. By the treaty I had at Arowsick, which I must again refer you to, you will find that I presented Mr. Baxter to the Indians as a Protestant missionary, to instruct them in the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, according as we find it revealed in the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament; and that as he came with an ardent and sincere desire for their conversion and eternal salvation, so I expected that they should treat him with all affection and respect for his character and work's sake; to which the Indians answered, that it would be strange if they should not love them that came from God. It is true, they added withal, that which was not only very surprising, but even a contradiction, or inconsistency, viz. *That they desired to be excused as to the Bible, giving as a reason, That God had given them teaching already.* Must it not seem strange, even to yourself, that a people whom you pretend to have instructed in the christian religion, and even proselyted thereunto, should disclaim the holy scriptures, which contain the entire rudiments of the christian religion, and are the only rule of faith, worship, and manners? You would do well to explain that matter for them, that they should pretend to have teaching already, and yet avoid the Bible. But as to your charge of Mr. Baxter's want of scholarship, I have never yet seen either your Latin letters to him, or his answers to you, and so cannot judge which of you may have the better as to the Latinist; but certainly

certainly you cannot suppose the main or principal qualification of a gospel minister or missionary among a barbarous nation, as the Indians are, to be an exact scholar as to the Latin tongue. I say with respect to the Indians, for I am perfectly of opinion, that a man cannot be accomplished for the work of the ministry without good literature; and that next to a zeal for the glory of God, and love to souls, learning is not only an ornament, but even necessary to an able minister of the New Testament—and yet, after all, a man may be well skilled in the learned languages and not capable *ex improviso* to write a correct Latin letter.

I hope I need not tell you, the main design of a christian mission among the Indians is to bring them from the darkness of their ignorance and paganism to the marvellous light of the gospel; and, under the influence of the divine spirit, to translate them from the power of Satan, who has had a usurped possession of these parts of the world for so many ages, to the kingdom of the Son of God, whose right it is, and to whom every knee shall bow, &c. And as I can assure you, it was with this design that I carried and left Mr. Baxter in those parts; so I dare answer for it, he had never undertook the blessed work, but with and from the same principle; most seriously and affectionately professing, there was nothing he desired more in the world than to be instrumental in setting up and carrying on the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ among the Indians. And it seems strange to me, that one who professes himself a christian missionary, as you do, among the same people, should not only oppose, but even ridicule a mission in the same glorious name, and for the same blessed end; although the method taken may be very differing. Your conduct in this affair does not seem to be agreeable to the spirit and practice of the great Apostle in his Epistle to the Philipians, chap. i. verses 15, 16, and so on. "*What then? Notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached, and I therein do rejoice, yea and I will rejoice.*" Upon which catholic principle, I had reason to expect, that, instead of hindering and abusing Mr. Baxter, you should have embraced and bid him welcome; if not as a brother on all accounts, yet at least as a fellow-labourer in the work of the Lord; and the rather, when the harvest

vest was so plenteous, and the labourers so few; and instead of excommunicating and unchristian treatment of the poor Indians for only attending on Mr. Baxter's instructions, you had recommended him and his labours to those poor people. This had been not only for the glory of God, the promoting the common cause of religion, but your own honour and comfort.

After your long paragraph; referring to Mr. Baxter, you proceed to tell me of a complaint the Indians make of the treaty of Arowsick being already broken by the English settlements up the river Kennebeck. Here again I must remark to you, that either you never saw, or have forgot the submission and agreement of the Indians to his majesty King George, and his government at Arowsick, in that treaty, which was but the repetition and confirmation of many preceding treaties. You will find, notwithstanding some little difficulty and dispute at first, it was finally agreed on, that the English should have, enjoy, and settle, if they saw good, where their predecessors had done, and be looked upon as the just and rightful owners or proprietors of such places and lands, as at any time heretofore have been under the English improvement; nor would I put it wholly on the foot of possession, but a just and good title by purchase from the natives, the original Indian sachems or proprietors of those eastern lands; for we not only had it in command antiently from the kings of England, but it was one of the fundamental laws of this government, not to enter upon any of the lands belonging to the aborigines without a fair, honest purchase; and accordingly the gentlemen claiming lands about Kennebeck river, and those parts, have their Indian deeds to show for the same.

As to the lands lying to the eastward of Pemaquid, I know of no settlement designed at present from hence in those parts; and whenever any does come forward, by order of this government, I shall take care that no lands be entered upon but such as have been honestly purchased from the Indians, or heretofore possessed by the English; being determined, according to my promise at the treaty aforesaid, to preserve the Indians in their rights of land, as well as other privileges, and at the same time to defend and secure the kings's government and the English proprieties.

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You will also observe by the treaty, that the liberty of fishing, fowling and hunting, was freely, and without exception, granted and secured to the Indians. I am glad to find no complaint upon that head.

In the conclusion of your letter, you were pleased, as in the beginning, to set before me the warlike and terrible genius of the Indians, and the strong alliances they have with some other Indian tribes. This harangue I can look upon no otherwise than a menace and insult to his majesty's government and people of this country; but you will please to remember what a king of Israel once said in a like case, "*Let not him that puts on the harness boast as he that puts it off*"—"Nor is the strong man to glory in his strength:"—and as I have told you already, so I now repeat it, that as long as we are just and true to our treaties of peace, and agreements with them, and give them no just provocation for a war, we shall not fear, or be dismayed, but put our trust in God, and not only defend ourselves, but endeavour to chastise them. And I would have both you and them to know, that I serve a great, a wise, a just, and mighty king, and who will take effectual care not only to protect his subjects, but to punish his enemies; and though they are at some distance from his throne, yet he will find a way to reach them with his arms, and make them sensible of his power and just displeasure; and especially if any of the French King's subjects are found to be promoters of any disturbance or war between us, pursuant to that strict alliance between Great-Britain and France, by virtue of which, the French are obliged to assist us against our enemies. And it seems strange to me, that when there is so strict a union and peace at home, between the two nations, there should be the least mention of war abroad, in the plantations. Nor will it suffice to say, it is the Indians, &c. No; we have found by more than three score years' experience, that we had always lived in perfect peace with our neighbouring Indians, had it not been for the instigation, protection, supply, and even personal assistance of the French; so that in case any unjust war or breach should happen, (which God forbid) we shall look upon the French, and principally the popish missionaries among them, as a main cause thereof. I must therefore advise and charge you

you to employ yourself to interest all the Indians to keep them in peace ; to put them in mind of their own submission and solemn covenants, from time to time, with this government ; to remind them of their being under the happy protection and subjection of King George, as they themselves acknowledge by the treaty—and finally, that you will well and faithfully communicate to them the contents of this my letter, and assure them of my justice and favour to them in whatever they can reasonably desire, upon their faithful, peaceable, and good behaviour ; and that they will certainly find their account in being at peace and friendship with us.

I shall add no more ; but upon your just respect and dutiful behaviour towards his majesty's government of this province, with regard to the Indians, you shall find me,

Sir, yours, &c.

SAMUEL SHUTE.

Postscript. I have also enclosed you a copy of a law of this government, referring to persons of your order, that are found in any of King George's dominions, which you will do well to consider of.

Boston, February 21, 1718.

COPIES OF TWO LETTERS FROM COL. JOSEPH DWIGHT, AND COL. OLIVER PARTRIDGE, TO GOVERNOR SHIRLEY, FEBRUARY, 1754.

Sir,

IT was early the care of the crown of Great-Britain to cultivate a friendship with the aboriginal natives of North-America, even from the first settlement of the English provinces. The necessity and importance whereof is well known to your Excellency, (especially in a time of war with the French.)

The French, being sensible of the importance of these people to them, have spared no pains or treasure to secure them in their interest ; and they have been very successful therein, particularly by sending their own people among them, and building forts and trading houses in their country ; and now they find their account in it, by commanding almost all the fur trade. The French have heretofore extended their forts as far as Oswego and Niagara, which

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lie in about the latitude of the province of the Massachusetts-Bay ; but what is more surprising, they have lately built at Ohio, which is much farther south-west, on a branch of Mississippi river. The Indians of the Six Nations, who always have been in friendship with the English, are justly esteemed a warlike people, and have always had a great influence upon the other tribes of Indians, as far as their fame has reached. But there now seems to be the utmost danger of losing their friendship, and their going into the French interest. The French are continually sending their people among them to learn their language and manners, and some of them intermarry with them ; by which means they will gain the ascendancy over them unless they are prevented. As to the situation of the Six Nations, they live from east to west. The first town or castle is about forty miles west of Hudson's river ; not much north of the latitude of the town of Boston ; and the westernmost of those tribes, known by the name of the Senecas, live near the lake Erie. We would humbly propose, as necessary to retain these tribes in the English interest, that his majesty give orders that there be built as many forts as there are towns or castles, where the said nations dwell ; which are five, to wit, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Chiuigas, Onondagas, and Senecas, which possibly may be thought a very considerable charge ; but the advantages, that will arise therefrom, will abundantly (in all probability) counterbalance the cost ; for by this means, the English crown will have the benefit of the fur trade, and also that of the deer's leather ; the profitable part of which, the French now almost entirely engross to themselves. But what is yet greater, there will hereby be a line of communication from the English settlements even to the very branches of Mississippi river ; and thereby prevent the French from encircling all the English provinces in North-America, which they have been long attempting, and will actually accomplish, if they are allowed to maintain their fort at Ohio, and gain the ascendancy over these tribes. By these forts, all communication between Canada and the several tribes of Indians back of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and even down to South-Carolina, will be entirely cut off ; and these tribes will trade with, and must have

have their dependence on the English. Farther, if these forts are built, and the Six Nations retained in the English interest, there will, in a few years, be *English settlements through that country*, which is capable of making a province ; and in a course of years, a very good province. Great part of the lands are exceeding good ; besides many other natural advantages. And farther, if these forts are built, there will be the best opening, profitably to improve the charitable donations from England and Scotland, that are given for civilizing and christianizing the heathen ; as the missionaries, school-masters, &c. may safely dwell with the tribes, and thereby gain the advantages that the French are now striving after. In order to lay the foundation for accomplishing these great, good things, it will be necessary that Col. Johnson and Major Lydius, (who have a great interest in these tribes) with such others as his majesty shall appoint, treat with these tribes respecting the building these forts. They are a jealous people, and their consent must be obtained. There is this probability, that it will be pleasing to them ; viz. when the French army went through their country against the Twightwees, the Senecas sent messengers to New-York from their own country, requesting the English to come and build a fort where they dwell ; a large significant belt attended the message. As the tribes of the Six Nations chiefly dwell within the lines of the province under your Excellency's more immediate government, we thought it our duty to make this representation to you. And are, &c.

JOSEPH DWIGHT.

OL: PARTRIDGE.

To his Excellency Gov. Shirley.

Boston, Feb. 4, 1754.

Sir,

RELATIVE to my proposal, just hinted at, in a few general terms, of the 23d of January last, Col. Partridge wrote a few of his sentiments in haste, as he was going out of town, and desired me to sign and leave with your Excellency, which I have done accordingly, and now enclose to you : Since which, I have thought that the number of forts he proposes will be more than is needful, as two of the lower castles live in the government of New-York. Towards the

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sketch of a plan, (for it would be in vain in me to pretend to any perfect thing in the affair) I would humbly beg leave to propose, that by *patent from the crown, a grant be made of the Iroquois country* to twenty persons, more or less, of honour and ability ; some whereof naturally formed for, capable and disposed to act in things necessary to be done, for carrying on and completing such an affair ; some whereof again to have a special interest in his majesty's royal favours ; viz. That they have granted to them and their heirs, *a right of pre-emption of the natives of all the lands in that country*, viz. from N. lat. $41^{\circ} 40'$, supposed to be the north boundary of Pennsylvania ; from thence to extend north to lat. 44° inclusively. The east boundary to be, at the end of fifty miles west from Hudson's river ; from thence west to longitude * * * : That the patentees pay a small yearly quit-rent, to the crown, upon each thousand acres, of the whole contents to raise a fund, sufficient for the building three regular fortresses ; to be placed as his majesty shall order, and for the subsistence of three independent companies, of fifty private men each, besides officers to be posted in the said garrisons, during the king's pleasure. That the patentees have granted to them, their heirs and assigns, the *monopoly of the fur and pelt trade*, within the limits aforesaid, for the space of * * * years. That the patentees and their associates be incorporated a province ; and vested with a civil authority, as in the king's government of New-York.

If these thoughts, or any thing else I am capable of, should serve for the interest of the crown, and are acceptable to you, Sir, I am abundantly rewarded.

Your Excellency's most obedient
and most humble servant,

JOSEPH DWIGHT.

To his Excellency Gov. Shirley.

P. S. to the first letter. When the French army went last spring to build the fort at Ohio, it put the nations into a great and universal ruffle. The news of it was sent thro' their whole country ; and down to the tribe at Stockbridge, the Mohawk's nephews, 500 miles at least, in eight days. Great consultations had upon it, but the Onondagas seemed to favour it, and the rest let all pass in silence.

JOSEPH DWIGHT.

LAW CASE.

At a Circuit Court of the United States for the district of New-York, in the eastern circuit, held at the city of New-York, on the 4th day of April, 1798.

Present, the Hon. William Patterson, one of the associate Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States—
Hon. Robert Troup, Judge of the district.

<i>Jedidiah Morse, complainant,</i> <i>against</i> <i>John Reid, defendant.</i>	}	<i>In equity.</i>
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THE facts charged in the complainant's bill substantially, were, that he was the author and proprietor of a book entitled, "The American Universal Geography;" that the same had been published by him according to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and that since the first publication of the said book, he had, at his own expense, caused a sufficient number of the copies of the said book to be printed, and exposed to sale at a reasonable price; that the defendant, without the consent of the complainant, had reprinted and published a certain book, heretofore printed and published in Great-Britain, entitled, "A geographical, commercial, and philosophical view of the present situation of the United States of America," by the Rev. W. Winterbotham; that the same comprised, with some merely colourable alterations and abbreviations, a copy of the said book of the complainant, in derogation of the right of the complainant, by virtue of the said Act; and prayed that the defendant should be enjoined from a further sale of the said book by him so printed, and that he be decreed to account for, and pay to the complainant, the profits of the sales by him already made. From the answer of the defendant, and the report of referees appointed to examine and compare the said books, it appeared that the material facts, stated in the complainant's bill, were true; and that the said book, so reprinted by the defendant, amongst other plagiarisms, essentially comprised, by literal extracts, with some

some colourable alterations and abbreviations, the whole, or nearly the whole, of the matter contained in the book of the complainant; that the defendant had reprinted 3,000 copies of the said book by the Rev. W. Winterbotham, and had sold or disposed of about 1,700 of the said copies, but had lost the proceeds of 200 of such copies by means of the bankruptcy of the vendee.

The Court, on hearing council, unanimously ordered, adjudged, and decreed, that the defendant be enjoined from the further sale of the remaining copies of the said book, so by him reprinted; and that he account for, and pay to the complainant, the nett profits which would arise from 1,700 copies of the said book of the complainant, as part of an impression of 3,000 volumes; and that it be referred to the clerk to state the said account, and report the same to the court.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF VIRGINIA.*

SECT. I.

Of the natural advantages of the country.

IT is astonishing to hear what contrary characters are given of the country of Virginia, even by those who have often seen it, and know it very well; some of them representing it as the best, others as the worst country in the world. Perhaps they are both in the right. For the most general true character of Virginia is this, that as to the natural advantages of a country, it is one of the best; but as to the improved ones, one of the worst of all the English plantations in America. When one considers the wholesomeness of its air, the fertility of its soil, the commodiousness of its navigable rivers and creeks, the openness of its coast all the year long, the conveniency of its fresh-water runs, and springs, the plenty of its fish, fowl, and wild beasts, the variety,

* This MS. was presented to the Historical Society by Carter B. Harrison, Esq. of Prince-George county, in Virginia, by the hands of the Rev. John Jones Spooner, corresponding member; and appears, by intrinsic evidence, to have been written in England, between 1696 and 1698, whilst Sir Edmund Andros was governor of Virginia. The author had been in Virginia, and appears to have had an antipathy to Andros.

riety of its simples, and dying woods, the abundance of its timbers, minerals, wild vines and fruits, the temperature of its climate, being situated betwixt the extremities of both heat and cold; in short, if it be looked upon in all respects; as it came out of the hand of God, it is certainly one of the best countries in the world. But on the other hand, if we inquire for well-built towns, for convenient ports and markets, for plenty of ships and seamen, for well improved trades and manufactures, for well-educated children, for an industrious and thriving people, or for an happy government in church and state; and in short, for all the other advantages of human improvements, it is certainly, for all these things, one of the poorest, miserablest, and worst countries in all America that is inhabited by christians.

It is a common saying among themselves, that if any other nation had had Virginia, but the English, they would have made it an happy country. But it is easier to see their misery, than to find out the causes of it. No doubt it is chiefly to be imputed to the first wrong measures that were taken in *not seating themselves in towns*, and to the narrow, selfish ends of most of their governors, who go easily into any projects, whereby they may make a present gain, but very difficultly into the expensive and generous undertakings of doing good amongst them, which seldom turn to a present, or to a quick account. But after all, perhaps as much is to be imputed to the obstinacy of the people, as to any other mismanagements, as will be seen in the sequel of this narrative, which will discover a sad truth, viz. that the bringing the people of that country to the improvements of cohabitation, must be against their will, by virtue of the king's prerogative, and not by expecting the concurrence of their general assemblies, the major part of the members whereof having never seen a town, nor a well improved country, in their lives, cannot therefore imagine the benefit of it, and are afraid of every innovation, that will put them to a present charge, whatever may be the future benefit.

It is impossible to reckon up all the improvements which might be made in such a country, where many useful inventions would present themselves to the industrious. The following ones are such as naturally offer to any judicious spectator.

The manufacture of iron and other minerals, with which that country, to all appearance, is well stored, together with

all the advantages of wood to burn them, and water to make the carriage easy. They have likewise, in several places, a great deal of a curious transparent stone, finer than marble, which, together with the iron and minerals, might be carried for England as ballast for ships, and so of little or no freight.

It is a good country for the manufacture of silks; for mulberry trees, the proper food for silk worms, thrive as well there, as any tree whatsoever; and a great deal of this work, being the feeding of the worms, and winding off of the silk, might be performed by negro children, that are now so many useless hands. A plant, likewise, called silk-grass, out of which several fine things might be made, is there in great plenty.

It is likewise very fit for potash for soap, by reason of the infinite number of trees, which make that country more to resemble a forest than one of the countries of Europe.

It abounds also in pitch, tar, rosin, masts, and all timbers for shipping, which the Bristol men being sensible of, make use of the opportunity to build ships there at very easy rates.

Wheat, rye, indian corn, oats, barley, pease, and many other sorts of pulse grow there in great plenty, and are very useful for the supply of Barbadoes, and the other Leeward islands, as also of New-England, which produces very little wheat, or indian corn, the frost of late years often taking it, before it is ripe.

That country has also great advantages for the making of cider, wine, oil, distilled spirits, figs, raisins, and conserved fruits. The country producing huge quantities of the best apples, pears, peaches, quinces, cherries, strawberries, mulberries, raspberries, putchamins, and melons, and abounding every where with several sorts of wild grapes, the woods also bringing good store of chesnuts, walnuts, hickery nuts, chincopins, and other shell fruit of a very oily substance.

Flax, hemp, and cotton grow there very fine. Here might be a great trade for sturgeon, drums, sheepsheads, and several other fish; as also for whales.

There might be a vast Indian trade for skins and furs carried on there, they lying near a great many Indians to the west and southwest.

It is an excellent country for dying stuff, and curious
simples,

simples, as also for several other curious woods used in wainscoting and cabinet-making, such as cedar, cypress, sassafras, black walnut, &c.

In many places of that country, there is great store of the myrtleberries, which being boiled up to a wax, make as good candles as the best wax candles whatsoever, the snuff whereof, instead of stinking, does really perfume like incense.

We need not mention tobacco, which would likewise be an excellent staple commodity of that country, if they would make it good, without trash; but so it is at present, that tobacco swallows up all other things, every thing else is neglected, and all markets are often so glutted with bad tobacco, that it becomes a mere drug, and will not clear the freight and custom.

SECT. II.

Of the several sorts of inhabitants and cultivation of Virginia.

SO much for the natural (we cannot say commodities, but) disposition and advantageous circumstances of the country.

But now, if it be inquired, what sort of a country it is? after all this, we must represent it after a quite different manner from what might be expected from the first and eldest of all the English plantations in America. As to the outward appearance, it looks all like a wild desert, the high lands overgrown with trees, and the low lands sunk with water, marsh, and swamp: The few plantations and cleared grounds bearing no proportion to the rough and uncultivated.

The inhabitants are of three sorts, planters, tradesmen, and merchants.

Though the planters are the most numerous, perhaps not the hundredth part of the country is yet cleared from the woods, and not one foot of the marsh and swamp drained. As fast as the ground is worn out with tobacco and corn, it runs up again in underwoods; and in many places of the country, that which has been cleared is thicker in woods than it was before the clearing. It is but in very few places that the plough is made use of; for in their first clearing they never grub up the stumps, but cut the trees down about two or three feet from the ground, so that all the roots and stumps

stumps being left, that ground must be tended with hoes ; and by that time the stumps are rotten, the ground is worn out. And having fresh land enough, of which they must clear some for fire wood, they take but little care to recruit the old fields with dung. Of grain and pulse, they commonly provide only as much as they expect they themselves shall have occasion for, for the use of their families, there being no towns or markets, where they can have a ready vent for them, and scarce any money to serve for a common exchange in buying and selling. The only thing whereof they make as much as they can is tobacco ; there being always a vent for that, at one time of the year or other ; besides that their want of cloaths, and household furniture, and all other necessaries, instigate them to make as much tobacco as they can, this being the money of that country which answers all things. But the great labour about tobacco being only in summer time, they acquire great habits of idleness all the rest of the year.

For want of towns, markets, and money, there is but little encouragement for tradesmen and artificers, and therefore little choice of them, and their labour very dear in the country. A tradesman having no opportunity of a market, where he can buy meat, milk, corn, and all other things, must either make corn, keep cows, and raise stocks himself ; or must ride about the country to buy meat and corn where he can find it ; and then is puzzled to find carriers, drovers, butchers ; salting (for he cannot buy one joint or two) and a great many other things, which there would be no occasion for if there were towns and markets. Then a great deal of the tradesmen's time being necessarily spent in going and coming to and from his work, in dispersed country plantations, and his pay being generally in straggling parcels of tobacco, the collection whereof costs about 10 per cent. and the best of this pay coming but once a year, so that he cannot turn his hand frequently with a small stock, as tradesmen do in England and elsewhere ; all this occasions the dearth of all tradesmen's labours, and likewise the discouragement, scarcity and insufficiency of tradesmen.

The merchants live the best of any in that country ; but yet are subject to great inconveniencies in the way of their trade, which might be avoided if they had towns, markets, and money : For, first, they are obliged to sell upon trust all the year

year long, except just a little while when tobacco is ready.

2. They likewise drive a pitiful retail trade to serve every man's little occasions, being all, in effect, but country chapmen, for want of towns to be a center of trade and business.

3. Besides the charge of it they are necessitated to trust all their concerns to their receivers, who go about among the planters that owe them tobacco, and receive and mark it for them, which receivers, if they want either skill or honesty, it proves very fatal to the merchant. 4. They are at the charge of carting this tobacco so marked and received, to convenient landings; or if it lies not far from these landings, they must trust to the seamen for their careful rolling it on board of their sloops and shallops: and if the seamen roll it in bad weather, or in dirty ways, it is exposed to a great deal of damage. 5. It is a great while before the ships can be loaded, their freight lying at such a distance, and being to be brought together in this scrambling manner. By reason of this, it is an usual thing with ships to lie three or four months in the country, which might be dispatched in a fortnight's time, if the tobacco were ready at certain ports; and this inflames the freight to almost double the price of what it needed to be, if the ships had a quick dispatch.

In New-England, they were obliged at their first settlement to settle in towns, and would not permit a single man to take up land, till a certain number of men agreed together, as many as might make a township; then they laid them out a town, with home lots for gardens and orchards, out lots for corn-fields, and meadows and country lots for plantations, with overseers and gangs of hands, which would have proved an excellent way in such a country as Virginia is. But this opportunity being lost, they seated themselves, without any rule or order, in country plantations; and being often sensible of the inconveniencies of that dispersed way of living, their General Assemblies have made several attempts to bring the people into towns, which have proved all ineffectual.

One error has generally run through all these undertakings, viz. that they always appointed too many towns, which will be still the fault of them, if they are contrived by a General Assembly: For every man desiring the town to be as near as is possible to his own door, and the burgesses setting up every one of them for his own county, they have commonly

commonly contrived a town for every county, which might be reasonable enough hereafter, when the country comes to be well peopled ; but at present it is utterly impracticable, for want of people to inhabit them, and money to build them. And therefore we cannot but think the Governor and Assembly of Maryland have taken a much wiser course, who, in their law for towns, have ordered only two towns, in that whole province, viz. one on the eastern and another on the western shore. So perhaps two or three towns in Virginia would be enough at first. The country might add more afterwards, as they increase in wealth and people.

Another error they ran into, in their last law for towns, was, that they made it utterly unlawful to buy or sell any goods exported or imported but at these towns, under no less a penalty than the forfeiture of ship and goods ; which was a great force upon trade, and would have made all people very uneasy at present ; though on the other hand there is this to be said for it, that their merchants being already seated with their stores in country plantations, and having their customers all round about them, without some considerable force, could not be induced to leave all these, and to come and live in towns.

Some are of opinion, that the King's constituting ports for exportation and importation would do the business, i. e. would bring the trade to these ports ; and perhaps it would at the long run ; for all that set up for merchants, after such a constitution of ports, would probably set up at these places ; but it would be a long time before the old merchants, who are in the present possession of the trade, would be persuaded to leave their country houses, and stores, to come and live at towns. Perhaps if there were great care taken to encourage these port towns with privileges and immunities, and likewise to discourage the country stores, the thing would quickly be more effectual. However, it is *hoc opus hic labor est*, if towns and ports can be brought to bear, the chief obstruction to the improvement of that country will be removed. It is certain that little help towards it is to be expected from the General Assembly ; except they should come to have a Governor, in whom they have a most mighty confidence, that he acts for the public good, which was the case in Governor Nicholson's time, when we see they were not only willing to have towns, but to force them with many

many visible inconveniencies. But for their own temper, they showed it as soon as he was gone, i. e. they are daily more and more averse to cohabitation; the major part of the house of burgesses consisting of Virginians that never saw a town, nor have no notion of the conveniency of any other but a country life. As a proof whereof, perhaps it may not be unfit to give an account of an argument, which was brought against towns, by an ingenious Virginian, who had never been out of the country. His argument was this: "That they might observe already, wherever they were thick seated, they could hardly raise any stocks, or live by one another; much more, concluded he, would it be impossible for us to live when a matter of an hundred families are cooped up within the compass of half a mile of ground."

The want of money, which is another great obstruction of their improvement, is chiefly occasioned by the governor, who finds it his interest to encourage the tobacco and to discourage the money dealings, for by that means he has as much of his salary as he pleases paid him in bills of exchange, which is better for his use to lay up in England, than that country money, being commonly pieces of eight at five shillings. Then for what he wants to buy in the country, he can buy it much cheaper for quit-rent tobacco than for money, v. g. an ox which would cost him 50 shillings or £. 3, he can buy for six hundred pounds of tobacco, which he buys of the King at 4 shillings or 4 and six pence the hundred, so that he hath the ox for about half price of what it would cost him in money.

The Governor thus discouraging money dealings, the auditor is very scrupulous of taking money of the collectors, and the collectors of the merchants, and the merchants of the people, and the people of one another; this being all a natural chain of consequences: For the auditor has but little occasion for money, but to pay it to the Governor, nor the collectors but to pay it to the auditor, nor the merchants but to pay it to the collectors for the 2 shillings a hogshead; nor the people but to pay it to the merchants for such things as they have occasion for; so that a positive instruction that the 2 shillings per hogshead should be paid in money, would cure all this, especially if the value of money were ascertained. Pieces of eight are ascertained by law at 5 shillings, but that law is very imperfect; for there being no weight assigned,

signed, they scruple a light piece of eight, alledging it is clipped, or a Peru piece, as not being good silver; and no other coin is at all ascertained, except English money, of which there is very little in the country.

“Last Assembly, the House of Burgesses sent up a bill for ascertaining all coin, but it was thrown out in the Council, without so much as desiring a conference about it, or offering any amendments.”

It were good some common standard of money was established all over the English plantations of America: For Pennsylvania enhancing the price of money, and ordering a small piece of eight or twelve penny weight to go for 6 shillings, and so still for more, according to its weight, does by that means drain all the money from Virginia and Maryland; the best piece of eight going in Virginia for 5 shillings, and in Maryland for 4 and six pence.

SECT. III.

Of land, viz. How it is taken up; lapses and cheats.

THE method settled by the King, from the first seating of that country, was to allot 50 acres of land to every one that should adventure into that country, which, if it had been punctually observed, would have been a lasting encouragement to adventurers, till the country had come to be well peopled; but as the matter has been managed, the land is now gone from the King, and yet the country but very ill peopled.

The first great abuse of this design was by the ignorance and knavery of surveyors, who often gave out draughts of surveys without ever actually surveying, or even coming on the lands. Only they gave description by some natural bounds, and were sure to allow large measure, that so the persons for whom they surveyed might enjoy much larger tracts of land than they were to pay quit-rent for. Then all courts were very lavish in allowing certificates for rights; for if a master of a ship came into any court and made oath, that he had imported himself, and so many seamen, and passengers, at divers times, into the country, and that he never elsewhere made use of these rights, he had presently an order granted him for so many rights, (i. e. so many times 50 acres of land); and these rights

rights he would sell and dispose of for a small matter. Perhaps the same seamen made oath at another court, that they had adventured themselves so many times into the country, and had not elsewhere proved their rights; and upon this they had an order for so many rights, *loties, quotas*. The masters, likewise, that bought the servants, so imported, would, at another court, make oath, that they had bought so many persons, that had ventured themselves into the country; and upon this, so many rights were ordered them; so that still the land went away, and the adventurers themselves, who remained in the country, for whom it was originally designed, had the least share. Then great liberty was used in issuing certificates for rights, by the county clerks, and especially by the clerks of the secretary's office, which was, and is still, a constant mint of these rights, where they may be purchased at very easy rates of the clerks, from five shillings to one shilling per right.

These things were not unknown to the government, who connived at them, thinking it a very pardonable crime, that the king's land was given away to people, that really and truly had no right, since by this mean the land was taken up, and so the king had so much more quit-rents paid him, whereas that which was not taken up paid nothing. But they little considered that the small profit, that comes by quit-rents, doth not balance the great damage of leaving the country without inhabitants, which is the effect of the methods they have followed; for the king and kingdom of England gain near two hundred times as much by an ordinary planter, as the king would have got by the quit-rents of the 50 acres he should have had, which may be made out thus:—An usual crop of tobacco for one head is 2000 pounds weight, which, at six pence per pound, the present duty in England, amounts to £.50. Then supposing this 2000 pounds of tobacco to be put into three hogsheads, here is six shillings of Virginia duty to the king by the two shillings per hogshead. Then the freight of this, at £.8 per ton, comes to £.6, which is commonly paid in to England; in all, £.56-6, besides the increase of ships and seamen, and the multitudes maintained by the manufacture of tobacco here in England, and the manufacture of English goods sold to the planters.

To find out, on the other hand, how many acres of land it will require to make up the bare £.56-6 out of the quit-rents of it in quit-rent tobacco, sold *communibus annis*, at five shillings per hundred, and 24 pounds of tobacco for every hundred acres at that rate, £.56-6 will purchase 22520 pounds of tobacco; which is the quit-rent for 93833 acres of land; so that one man's labour is equivalent to the quit-rents of near an hundred thousand acres of land, which was the quantity allotted for 2000 men. Besides, the quit-rents would not have been lost, but would have been paid at last, when the country came to be peopled. This fundamental error of letting the king's land go away to lie waste, together with another, of not seating in townships, as they did in some other colonies, is the cause that Virginia at this day is so badly peopled.

Every one that takes out a patent for any dividend, or tract of king's land, is, in the patent, obliged to two things: One is, to seat or plant upon it within three years after the date of the patent, otherwise it lapses again to the king. The other is, to pay the quit-rents at the rate of a shilling for every 50 acres per annum. Seating, by their law, is reckoned the building an house, and keeping a stock one whole year. They matter not how small an house it is; if it be but an hog-house, it serves the turn. And planting, their law reckons the planting and tending one acre of ground; it is no matter how badly; and either of these, viz. either seating or planting, within the three years, saves the whole tract, if it be never so large, which is the cause that though all the good land of the country is taken up, yet there is very little improvement on it.

The land which is neither seated nor planted, within the three years, lapses to the king; and it is called lapsed land; but it never comes into the king's hands, being due by their law to any one that first petitions the General Court for it.

When a man dies seized of land in fee, without will or heirs, such land escheats to the king. The way of disposing of it is thus: The person in possession hath, by the king's charter, the right of the grant; but of late, it depends on the governor's favour, who, among the several petitions that are presented to him for the benefit of the
escheat,

escheat, accepts of any one he pleases, and underwrites it thus ; *This petition is granted, paying composition to the auditor according to law.* Then a warrant issues from the governor to the escheator of the precinct, who makes inquisition, and finds the office by a jury of 12 men ; which inquisition being returned by the escheator to the secretary's office, lies there nine months, that any person concerned may come and traverse the office ; and if nobody appears in that time, a patent passeth according to the petitioner's request. The escheator's fee is £.5 sterling, and the composition by the charter is two pounds of tobacco per acre.

SECT. IV.

Of the Governor.

IT being inconvenient and chargeable, in the infancy of governments, to heap up many officers, the usual way is to trust all to one *good* governor, who, like a tender nurse, is sufficient to take the management of the infant government, till it grow older and wants other tutors and governors to look after it.

All the great offices in Virginia, (being then an infant government), were at first heaped upon one man ; and, which is stranger, continue so to this day ; for one man,

1st. As governor, represents the king, in granting his lands ; naming of several officers to all places of trust in the government ; in calling, proroguing, and dissolving of assemblies, which are their parliaments ; in giving or denying his assent to their laws ; in making peace or war ; and in the whole grandeur, state and ceremony of the government.

2d. As his majesty's lieutenant-general, and commander in chief, he raises and commands all the militia and land forces, and appoints all military officers by commission, during his pleasure. He builds or demolishes what fortifications he thinks fit, and makes up the account of the charge of them.

3d. As vice-admiral of the Virginia seas, he takes account of all prizes ; commands all ships and seamen ; lays on and takes off embargoes ; and does all other things that belong to the admiralty office.

4th.

4th. As lord-treasurer, he issues out his warrants for paying of all publick monies for the several uses of the government.

5th. As lord-chancellor or lord-keeper, he passes, under the seal of the colony, all grants, both of land and offices, and likewise decides all causes in chancery.

6th. As president of the council, he proposes, directs, and manages all consultations at that board.

7th. As lord chief justice of the king's bench and common pleas, and lord chief baron of the exchequer, he sits and presides in a court which is all those, and so disposes of men's lives, liberties, and properties.

8th. As bishop or ordinary, he grants all licenses of marriages, and inductions of ministers, and signs probates and administrations, and decides all ecclesiastical causes.

These being very large powers, there were at first contrived three several checks or restraints upon him, to keep him from abusing them, viz. 1. The king's instructions. 2. The Council; and 3. The General Assembly, which, as the matter was ordered at first, were real checks upon the governors; but they have since found out ways to evade them all, which we are now going to give an account of.

1. The governor's instructions were wont to be communicated to the Council and General Assembly, and entered on record, both in the secretary's office, and the house of burgesses' book; as being the measure and rule of the governor's power, and their guide in all their advices and consultations. But it has been the policy of the late governors to keep the council, and all mankind, in the dark, as to their instructions, and to communicate only now and then one, or a piece of one, to a General Assembly, or council, as they found it make for their interest, or helped them out in case of some difficulty. By these means, no man being able to accuse them as acting contrary to their instructions, the check of the instructions was evaded; for nobody knows them, but some few about Whitehall, and there all was safe enough, as long as nobody from Virginia made any complaint.

2. The governor was appointed to act with the express advice and consent of the council, who at that time were named by the king, and held their place during his pleasure; and so were in some sort exempted from all dependence

ence on the governor. But many ways were found out to take off this check, and such effectual ones, that instead of being a check upon the governor, the council are now, and always will be, by the present constitution, at the devotion of the governor, and the ready instruments to advise, act, or execute, not only what he expressly desires, but whatsoever, by any manner of indirect notice, they can imagine will serve and please him, be governor who will. This being one of the most considerable changes in the government, it will be worth while to consider by what steps it was brought about.

First, then, the king knowing no body in the country, it was thought none was fitter to give him right characters of men than his governor, and so that came to be the common way that men were recommended to be of the council; and by this means the governor found a way to keep out all but his own creatures.

2. There being at the first seating of the country, and for several years afterwards, great sickness and mortality, whereby it came to pass, that sometimes there were many vacancies in the council, from which the governor represented the king's business might suffer in the mean time, for want of a sufficient number of counsellors; upon this, a power was granted to the governor, if at any time the number fell under nine, to choose and swear into the council to the number of nine; and this power being once obtained, the council was still kept about the number of nine or ten, that so the governor might supply the vacancies by persons of his own choosing.

3. After Bacon's rebellion, in the year 1676, this Bacon being one of the council, it was suggested to the king, that if the governor had had power to suspend Bacon in time, as soon as he first perceived him to be a man of a turbulent spirit, that rebellion, perhaps, might have been prevented. Upon this, a new power was conferred on the governor, whereby he might suspend any of the council at his pleasure, only transmitting to the king, afterwards, the accusations against that counsellor, and his answers in writing.

4. The council being generally in haste to get home, contented themselves with giving their opinions upon any subject that was proposed to them, leaving it to the clerk to take the minutes, and draw up the orders; but they never

never saw them fairly drawn, nor heard them afterwards read in council; the consequence whereof was, that this clerk, who was put in by the governor, and held his place during his pleasure, would draw up and word these orders exactly as the governor should dictate; nay, such frauds have been contrived of this nature, that not only the true orders have been misrepresented, and drawn to a sense that never was intended by the council, but also new orders have been framed, quite contrary to what has been voted and agreed to by the council board.

5. But that which finished this great work of subjecting the council to the governor's pleasure, was the power he had of bestowing all the places of trust and profit in the government, and the secret he found of bestowing them all upon the council, howsoever inconveniently they might live for them, and that only during his own pleasure. This was the infallible means of obliging the council to their good behaviour; and not only of delivering himself from all curb and restraint from them, but of gaining all their power as an addition to his own. The places he has to bestow upon them are the eight collectors, and as many naval officer's places, and the four escheators; all which he gives during pleasure; besides the secretaries and auditors, who are nominated in England, but by his recommendation. They are likewise admitted to farm the quit-rents of a county or two, that lies most convenient for them, which, though it is not a certain place, yet it is a certain yearly profit and favour.

This is the true account of the subjection of the council to the governor, which hath made such a mighty alteration in the face of that government, that the governor has all the council's power more absolutely at command than if it had been invested in himself alone by the king. For had he the whole power in himself, he could but order what he pleases, and that he does now; but then he would take care to let nothing be done, but what he could be accountable for, and would have nothing to cloak and excuse him; whereas now, if any thing is amiss, he can still say it was done by the advice of the council; and so has them to screen him, both from the displeasure of the king, and the odium of the people, which is so great a convenience, that

that it is not likely he would wish to be more absolute in that respect, if he could.

3. The General Assembly was a great restraint upon both governor and council for many years after the settlement of Virginia, viz. till my lord Culpepper's government, about the year 1680; for till that time, an appeal lay from the General Court, which consisted of the governor and council, to the General Assembly; and there was always a committee of private causes, as it was called, chosen by the house of burgesses, and joined to a committee of the council; wherein the burgesses were at least treble the number; and this committee decided all such causes as came before them by appeal from the General Court. But there happening a dispute between the members of the council, that were of this committee, and those of the house of burgesses, the burgesses alledging, that the council having given their opinions in the General Court, ought not to set on the same causes again, in a committee of the General Assembly; the lord Culpepper, who had a singular dexterity in making use of all advantages to his own interest, did so represent this at the court of England, that he procured an order from the king, to take away all appeals to the General Assembly, as being inconsistent with the law and practice of England, and that thenceforth no appeal should be made from the General Court, but to the king in council, and that in such causes only, as should exceed £.300 sterling; and wherein good security should be given to pay the principal, with all costs and damages. From that time the country has groaned under the arbitrary proceedings of the General Court, where the people's lives, liberties, and estates are all at the mercy of one man, who, whatever way he inclines, sways the bench as he pleases; and in case of injustice or oppression, there is no hope of relief or remedy; all the courts of England being in one in that country, and the same men judges in all.

The other way the General Assembly might be looked upon as a check to the governor and council, is by making representations of their complaints and grievances to the court of England.

But ways, likewise, have been found to prevent this, and very effectual ones too. For, 1. Whatever is of this nature, will never receive the assent of the upper house, which

which consists only of the council, for the reasons above set down; whereby it appears, that in all human probability, the council will still be devoted to the governor, be governor who will: And therefore these complaints or petitions can never have so much weight and authority, coming only from the house of burgesses, as if they came from the General Assembly.

2. The governor has likewise many ways to make an interest in the house of burgesses, at least so far as to keep things from coming to that extremity; for first, by means of the council, who are the commanders in chief of the several counties, and of the other officers of the militia, who are all either named by him, or by the commanders in chief, he has a great stroke in the elections of burgesses for the assembly, especially the justices, who have great interest in every county, being commissioned by him *during his pleasure*; and the sheriff who takes the poll, being always his fast friend, as enjoying a good profitable place by his gift, together with the collection of all the public, county, and often of the parish levy, for all which he has 10 per cent. This sheriff's place being granted anew every year, either by the continuance of the old sheriff, or the nomination of a new one, is a constant fresh temptation to a great many pretenders to exert their utmost skill and interest in managing the elections of the burgesses of their several counties, for the governor. Then after these two burgesses are actually chosen, one of them is very apt to be gained, by the hopes of the same sheriff's place, next year; or if either of them is a bold man in the house of burgesses, the appointing him sheriff takes him out of the house; and by this art the governor can either oblige and gain one of the two burgesses of a county, or at least lay him aside, that he can do him no hurt. But after all, if oppression, that makes men mad, stir up such a spirit in the house of burgesses that they go about drawing up any petition or address to the king, that may prove to the disservice of the governor and council, it is not to be imagined but that the governor and council will have some friends among so many men, who will give them an account of it, before, by the slow methods of that house, it can be brought to a vote, digested, and framed into a petition. If all the burgesses can be supposed faithfully to keep

keep such a secret, their clerk will certainly give the governor or council an account of it; for his is a place of very considerable profit, and he enjoys it by the governor's gift, and during his pleasure, and would be sure to lose his place if he were wanting to his master's interest on such an occasion, (tho' this is an innovation of the governor's, for till king James's reign the house of burgesses had the nomination of their own clerk). The design being once communicated to the governor and council, the first thing that follows is an immediate dissolution of the assembly, which the governor has every minute in his own power. But if we should suppose (what will never happen) that both members and clerk keep this intrigue till their petition is quite finished, and perhaps an agent named to deliver it to his majesty, and to manage it at the court of England, this being a business of charge and expense, and they, having no power, without the consent of the governor and council, to raise any money upon the country, if they go about any such undertaking, must resolve to defray the charge of it out of their own pockets.

"About 13 years ago, when the house of burgesses had the nomination of their own clerk, after several fruitless applications to the governor and council, they went about a petition of this nature to the king, against a new invention of a seal, made use of by the *Lord Effingham*, who was then governor, whereby he drew from the country about 100,000 lbs. of tobacco per annum, extraordinary fees; and some other grievances. It happened that the business took air a little before the petition was finished, and read in the house, and the governor sent for them, by the messenger, to come immediately before him; they knowing that it was to dissolve them, first dispatched and signed their petition, and ordered their clerk, and one of the members, to transmit it to Whitehall (to what office we do not remember) and to request that it might be delivered to the king, which they ventured to do. But all the effect of it was, that instead of being delivered to the king, the very original was sent back to the lord Effingham, together with an account, how it came to their hands. Upon which it was resolved to make examples of these

“two gentlemen, that transmitted it by order of the house of burgesses, to deter others from the like attempts ; and accordingly one of them being a surveyor and clerk of the house of burgesses, was turned out of these places ; and the other, being a lawyer, was forbid his practice at the bar.”

From all which it appears plainly how fast the door is shut against the house of burgesses, if they offer to present any grievances to his majesty, and for any private man, the thing is so improper and the charge so great, as well as the danger if he miscarries, and returns into that country, that it will be a rare thing to find any man that has the estate and courage to go through with it.

The governor's salary was for many years but £.1000 per annum, to which the country added perquisites to the value of about £.500 more. Afterwards the General Assembly, by a particular act for that purpose, added £.200 a year to Sir William Berkley's salary, and inserted a clause in the act, that this should be no precedent to other governors. But the Lord Culpepper, who was one of the most cunning and covetous men in England, when he came governor of Virginia, persuaded King Charles II. to raise the salary to him, being a peer, to £.2000 per annum, besides perquisites, and £.150 per annum for house rent. And as the yearly return of those salaries makes them to be much better known and remembered, than the first causes and occasions of them, this same settlement has continued ever since, and is paid now to Sir *Edmund Andros*, the present governor, out of the two shillings per hogshead given by the country to the king for the support of the government.

Sir Edmund Andros went governor to Virginia in the year 1692.

SECT. V.

Of the Council.

HAVING in the last paragraph, upon occasion of the governor's management of the council, spoke several things relating to them, such as their constitution, their number, the way of their nomination, and suspension, and framing of

of their orders, we shall not now repeat any of these things, only take it for a thing fully proved, that by the present constitution, they are, and are ever like to be, men devoted to the governor's service, and not in the least any check or restraint upon him; that all their power, interest, and authority is so much addition to his, and therefore that it is no wonder he heaps upon them all the places of trust, honour and profit, that possibly he can; all these being so many ties upon their affection and interest, and so many capacities wherein they are enabled to make suitable returns of duty and obedience. We shall here but just name the several places these gentlemen hold, for the particular accounts of them will come better under some other heads of this narrative.

1. Then—they are the council of state, under the governor, who always presides; and in the vacancy of a governor, and lieutenant-governor, the eldest of the council is president.

2. They are the upper house of Assembly, answering to the house of peers in England.

3. They are by custom, but without commission, the supreme judges (together with the governor, who presides) in all causes, viz. in chancery, king's bench, common pleas, exchequer, admiralty, and spirituality, and their lies no appeal from them, but to the king in council as above.

4. They are colonels or commanders in chief of the several counties, in the nature of the lords lieutenants in England.

5. They are the naval officers, that is, they are entrusted with the execution of all the acts of parliament and general assembly about trade and navigation, though generally great traders themselves. And in this capacity they enter and clear all ships and vessels, and exact great fees of them, to the value of between £.3 and £.4 sterling a vessel.

6. They are collectors of the standing revenue of two shillings per hogshead, and fort duties, as also of the groat a gallon, or any other accidental imposts raised by the General Assembly. Out of all which they have 10 per cent. salary. They are commonly likewise collectors of the penny per pound upon all tobacco exported from Virginia to the other English plantations, and are allowed for this 20 per cent.

cent. But to this last they are named by the commissioners of his majesty's customs in England.

7. They are the farmers of the king's quit-rents in their several counties, which are commonly sold to them by the auditor, with advice of the governor, at very easy rates.

8. Out of them are chosen the secretary, the auditor, and escheators; and if there falls any good gift of escheated lands, or good land belonging to the king, to be taken up, or any other favour from the government, they have the preference of all other people.

Besides a freedom from arrests they have usurped, as will be seen under the head of administration of justice.

To defray the charges of the council, there is allowed by the country out of the revenue of the two shillings per hogshead, the sum of £.350 per annum, which by law is to be proportioned by the governor among the several gentlemen of the council, according to their attendance at general courts and assemblies.

The council meets as often as called by the governor; the governor and they consult of all matters of state, and resemble the king and council in England.

The present clerk of the council is Mr. Robert Beverley,* who, besides perquisites, has £.50 per annum salary, paid out of the two shillings per hogshead.

A list of the present Council.

	The time when they were put in.
Ralph Wormley, secretary, collector and naval-officer of Rappahannock River.	While Sir William Berkley was governor.
Colonel Richard Lee, collector and naval-officer of the upper district of Potomack River.	
Colonel William Byrd, auditor.	While the lord Culpepper was governor.
Colonel Christopher Wormley, collector and naval-officer of the lower district of Potomack River.	While the lord Effingham was governor.
	Colonel

* Author of a History of Virginia, written in 1720.

Colonel Edward Hill; collector and naval-officer of the upper district of James River.

Colonel Edmund Jennings, collector and naval-officer of York River.

Colonel Daniel Park, collector and naval-officer of the lower district of James River, and escheator between James and York River.

Colonel Richard Johnston, escheator between York and Rappahannock Rivers.

Colonel Charles Scarborough, collector and naval-officer on the Eastern Shore.

Mr. John Lightfoot, just come in. We know not if he has any place.

While the lord Effingham was governor.

While Sir Edmund Andros has been governor.

“In the year 1693, it being thought fit in England, that some one representing the clergy of Virginia should be of the council of that country, accordingly Mr. James Blair, my lord bishop of London’s commissary, and president of the college of William and Mary in Virginia, was, by the king’s letter, put into the council that year. But upon a frivolous occasion, on pretence that he spoke words reflecting on the governor, Sir Edmund Andros, as obstructing the business of the college, he was by him suspended in the year 1694, without any process in writing, just as the accounts of the government were going to be laid before the council. This suspension being disapproved at Whitehall, was, by the king’s express warrant to Sir Edmund Andros, taken off in the year 1695; and in that warrant a clause was inserted, whereby the said Mr. Blair was not only ordered to be restored to the council, but to continue so, till it appeared to his majesty, that he had justly forfeited the good opinion (he was pleased to say) he had of his abilities and good conduct. Upon this warrant, Mr. Blair was immediately restored to his place in the council. But there being an act of parliament, for preventing frauds in his majesty’s customs, sent into Virginia, in order to its publication at the same time with this warrant, that act of parliament was ordered to be read in council, just as they were a going to bring in the accounts of the revenue for the year 1696. After Mr. Blair had taken out his pass
to

“to come for England, and taking occasion of a certain clause in the said act, which provides that all places of trust in the courts of law, or what relates to the treasury of the said islands, shall be from the date of the act in the hands of the native born subjects of England and Ireland and the said islands. The governor and council did thereupon declare Mr. Blair, as being a native born subject of Scotland, incapable of being a member of the council of Virginia; since the council are judges of the general court of that country, and accordingly voted him out of the council.”

The multitude of places held by the council occasions great confusion, especially in such things wherein the places are incompatible; as when their collector's office obliges them to inform their judges' office against an unfree bottom; or when their honours, as counsellors, set upon, and pass their own accounts as collectors; or when they, in different capacities, do both sell and buy the king's quick-rents; or when the same man, who, as ministerial officer, takes and returns the inquisitions of escheats, as judicial officer gives sentence in points of law upon the same office; and many other cases of that nature.

SECT. VI.

Of their Laws and Legislative power.

IT is none of the least misfortunes of that country, that it is not clear what is the law whereby they are governed. They all agree in this, that the two fountains of their law are the laws of England, and the acts of their own general assemblies; but how far both, or either of these is to take place, is in the judge's breast, and is applied according to their particular affection to the party; sometimes it is said, that of the law of England, they are only to regard that part which was in being at the first seating of Virginia, and none of the latter laws, except where the English plantations in general, or Virginia in particular, are mentioned. At other times, they pretend to observe all the laws of England; sometimes, if there is a difference between the law of Virginia and the law of England, the Virginia law shall take place, as being suited to their particular circumstances. At other times, the advantages shall be given on the side of the English

lish laws, because the legislative power was given them with this proviso, that they should enact nothing derogatory to the laws of England or to the king's prerogative.

The legislative power there is lodged in the governor and the two houses of assembly.

The upper house consists only of the council, though the governor commonly sits along with them, and directs the votes and consultations.

A clerk belongs to this house of the governor's nomination, and during his pleasure. His salary is ten thousand pounds of tobacco and cask, every session.

The lower house consists of two burgesses from every county, chosen by the majority of the freeholders. James-Town sends likewise one burgess; and the president and masters of the college of William and Mary have the privilege of sending another. These burgesses choose a speaker, and claim the same privileges, and observe the same form in their proceedings, with the house of commons in England.

The assembly being called by the governor's writ, and the election of the burgesses being made, there is commonly a court held in every county, called the court of claims, where all that have any claim from the public are admitted to put in their claims to their burgesses, together with their propositions and grievances, if they have any; all which the burgesses carry to the assembly. And to know the pressures, humours, common talk, and designs of the people of that country, perhaps there is no better way than to peruse the journals of the house of burgesses, and of the committee of grievances, and propositions, which is one of the committees of that house.

The house, after they have met, and chosen their speaker, proceed next to the nomination of their committees, which are usually three, viz. 1. The committee of elections and privileges. 2. The committee of claims. 3. The committee of propositions and grievances.

Formerly there was a fourth committee, called the committee of private causes, of which we have spoken, as also how it was destroyed by the cunning of the lord Culpepper.

The clerk of the house of burgesses was formerly chosen by themselves, till about the year 1684, that the lord Effingham, upon Colonel Milmer's sending home the house of burgesses' petition, claimed the power of turning him out, and

and putting another in his room. This has been often since controverted between the governor and the house of burgesses. The governor seems at present to have wrung it out of their hands, by giving a commission to one they had formerly chosen, viz. Mr. Peter Beverley, the present clerk; his salary is twenty thousand pounds of tobacco and cask for every session, besides three hundred pounds of tobacco and cask for every copy of the laws made in one session, which he sends to all the county courts in the country, with some other fees.

Every county burgess is allowed by law one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco and cask per diem to defray his charges at the General Assembly, together with man and horse, if he goes and comes by land; and boat and hands, if he goes and comes by water; all which is levied upon the county that sends him.

Such laws as are agreed upon by both houses, and approved by the governor (who has a negative), are laws pro tempore till the king's pleasure is known; and of this nature are most of their laws, viz. such as have not yet been ratified by the king; and any one of these can be at any time repealed at the king's pleasure; but after the law is ratified by the king, no less authority than that of the king and General Assembly can repeal it.

There being a great scarcity of able lawyers and wise politicians in that country, this has occasioned that very few of their laws has been so well drawn and framed in the beginning; but that experience has discovered many errors and imperfections in them, which they have endeavoured to patch up and mend with subsequent laws, and sometimes by repealing the old law, and making a new one. By this means, the body of their laws is now become not only long and confused, but it is a very hard matter to know what laws are in force, and what not; several of them having been repealed by proclamation, and several by act of assembly. For remedy whereof, several of their General Assemblies have entered upon an useful design of the revisal of their laws; but that work is so great, and their other avocations so many, that they could never yet bring it to any perfection; and till this work is finished, most of their laws are like to remain without applying for the royal assent.

We may add, that their laws want revisal, not only to bring

bring them into a good order and method, but in order to the paring away several of them that seem inconsistent with law and equity, and are apt to bring disparagement on the legislative power of their country. By a law in 1663, no debt is recoverable in that country, unless the goods for which it became due be imported thither; so that in case a man become bound here, or in any other part of the world, for his necessary subsistence, as meat, drink, lodging, &c. yet such obligation is of no force or validity there: Nay, though the goods for which the bond is passed be actually shipped on board, and by some misfortune perish, either by falling into the enemy's hands, or be cast away upon the voyage, and though the debtor become rich after the time. There are several other laws of the like nature.

S E C T . VII.

Concerning the administration of justice.

THE courts of justice are not distinct, as in England; but causes belonging to chancery, king's bench, common pleas, exchequer, admiralty, and spirituality, are decided altogether in one and the same court. And if any one, that apprehends himself to be injured at common law, would appeal to chancery, he only desires an injunction in chancery, and has another hearing, but before the same men still.

For deciding of all causes, there are two sorts of courts in the country, viz. the county court, and the general court.

There is a county court in every county, which consists of eight or ten gentlemen of the inhabitants of that county, to whom the governor gives a commission during pleasure to be justices of the peace for that county; he renews that commission commonly every year, for that brings new fees, and likewise gives him an opportunity to admit into it, new favourites, and exclude others that have not been so zealous in his service. These justices take the oath of a judge, with the other oaths of allegiance, &c. They hold a court once a month, or, if there be but little business, once in two months; and have a power of deciding all sorts of causes in their several counties above 20 shillings or two hundred pounds of tobacco value, except such as reach to the loss of life or limb, which are reserved to the general court, to which also appeals lie from these county courts.

These county courts having always been held by country gentlemen, who had no education in the law, it was no wonder if both the sense of the law was mistaken, and the form and method of proceedings was often very irregular; but of late the insufficiency of these courts has been much more perceived and felt than in former times, while the first stock of Virginia gentlemen lasted, who having had their education in England, were a great deal better accomplished in the law, and knowledge of the world, than their children and grand-children, who have been born in Virginia; and have had generally no opportunity of improvement by good education, further than that they learned to read and write, and cast accounts, and that but very indifferently.

The general court, so called, because it tries the causes of the whole country, is held twice a year, by the governor and council, as judges, at James-town, viz. in the months of April and October. It is strange that they never had a commission for holding of this court, nor never took the oath of judges; perhaps it was not designed by the crown that they should hold it, since, besides that they are unskilful in the law, it is thought an inconvenient thing in all governments that the justice and policy of the government should be lodged in the same persons, who ought indeed to be a check upon one another; and therefore the governor had power, by the advice of the council, to set up courts of judicature, but that they should make themselves the supreme court, proceeds either from the same spirit of engrossing all power into their own hands, of which are discovered so many instances before, or perhaps rather from the poverty of the country in its infancy, which was not able to go to the charge of maintaining judges well skilled in the law; for this, we must acknowledge, is of an elder date, than the other usurpations, which generally had their original but of late years, to wit, about the time of the lord Culpepper's government, when the government of Virginia, which before had been a business of care and danger, came now to be a business of gain and advantage. However it is, it is certain, that it is a continual heavy grievance in that country, that if a man be injured in point of law or equity, there is no superior there to whom he can make his complaint, nor no possible way of redress, without an infinite charge in bringing the matter to Whitehall, which few of that coun-

try have purse and skill to manage. And indeed we are so much the more confirmed in the opinion, that it was never designed by them, whosoever they were that had the first modelling of the Virginia government, but has proceeded from some of the abovementioned causes; because we perceive in all other English, as well as foreign plantations, judges were established in distinct persons from the governor and council who had the administration of the policy and government.

Any cause may commence in the general court that exceeds the value of £.16 sterl. or sixteen hundred pounds of tobacco; and by appeal, any cause whatsoever may be brought thither. This court takes cognizance of all causes in chancery, the king's bench, the common pleas, the exchequer, the admiralty and spirituality.

There lies no appeal from this court, (as there did formerly, see page 139,) but to the king in council, and that only where the value exceeds £. 300 sterl. and where good security to pay the principal, with all costs and damages, is given.

The forms of proceeding in this court are almost in every thing disagreeable to the laws of England, and very irregular. Original and judicial writs run not in the name of the king, but resemble warrants made by justices of the peace; there are no formal declarations *there*, petitions are made use of in their stead; neither is there any method observed in pleading. There are not above four several original writs allowed of, i. e. such as they make use of. No writ of error is allowed of; appeals are made use of in their place; and by a rule made in the general court, no new matter is to be moved upon an appeal. By a law of that country, the respective sheriffs are obliged to make returns, that the writs which they received are executed; and this return must be three days before the day of hearing in the county court, otherwise they are to be fined; notwithstanding this law, in *all the time that we were there*, we could never hear that any writ issued from the county court, but the sheriffs *colore officii* made arrests without them, which has been the occasion of great troubles, and as yet never rectified. No venire issues there for summoning juries but in criminal cases only, and then but six are returned from the vicinage. The sheriff does return juries summoned without any warrant or other authority, and they are not out of the vicinage, but often-
times

times from the remotest parts of the county from the place where the fact arises, and many times inhabitants of other counties are of the jury, nay sometimes the whole jury. There is no pannel returned into the office. The sheriff, when the jury are to appear, calls over their names, which he knows by his pocket book, or by a little scrap of paper, which he holds in his hand.

Coroners are not there elected by the county, but receive their authority by a commission from the governor.

The granting of probates and administrations is by law lodged solely in the county courts, yet the general court often grants them. As this is against law, so it may be of ill consequence ; notwithstanding the county courts grant the administrations and probates, yet the governor signs them or appoints other persons to do it. Sometimes administrations and probates are granted by a county court, and yet no part of the estate lies in that county.

S E C T . VIII.

Concerning the Secretary's office.

IT is almost impossible to give a full and perfect account of the secretary's office ; there is such a medley in it, that it is scarcely credible : for indeed that one office comprehends all the offices in England, and more, which makes it a most difficult thing to keep it in order. All proceedings relating to the general court, viz. all proceedings in chancery, the king's bench, common pleas, exchequer, admiralty and ecclesiastical courts, are here recorded ; all conveyances, letters of attorney, and other writings from foreign parts, are there entered ; all surveys are sent thither ; all commissions, both civil and military, go from thence. When by an office it is found that land escheats to the king, the inquisitions are returned thither, and the grants thereof pass from thence, and the warrants upon which they are grounded. The clerks of the respective county courts are obliged by law, to return into that office an account annually of all probates of wills and administrations granted in the respective county courts. All probates of wills and administrations granted in foreign parts, if they in any way relate to Virginia, are there entered on record.

All rights upon which patents are grounded, are there entered.

tered. All writs for choosing of burgesses issue from thence, and after election are there returned. All original and judicial writs, that is, such as they make use of relating to any proceedings in the general court, issue from thence, and are there returnable. All certificates of births, marriages and burials, are to be returned thither. All fines and forfeitures are certified thither. All matters whatsoever relating to the duty of a coroner, are returned thither. All admissions, institutions and inductions, are there entered. All freedom of ships are recorded there. All naturalizations and denizations go from thence, and are there entered.

By a law of that country, no person that has lived there any time can go from thence without a pass, which generally issues from this office. All appeals made from the county courts are returned thither. All certificates of the licenses of ordinary keepers, selling drink, and keeping public houses of entertainment, are returned from the several county courts thither. All matters and proceedings relating to the admiralty and ecclesiastical courts, are registered here.

The secretaries, who seldom or never understand or mind this office, have all the profits belonging to all the foregoing and many other matters. They generally place a clerk under them, who is styled, *the clerk of the general court*. There are generally one or two other clerks under him; they neither take an oath to discharge their duty, nor give any security. The secretaries themselves are properly the clerks of the general court, for they receive all the profits arising from that place, and allow only a salary to him that discharges that duty; yet the secretaries sit always as judges of that court.

There are many patents and other records in that office in loose, torn pieces, that are scarce legible; and if some speedy care be not taken, they will become of no use. In case two patents, bearing the same date, be granted for the same land, the first that is entered on record is preferred; but to obtain that favour, it has been usual to give a gratuity to the clerk, who formerly, for such gratuity, used to enter the patents immediately on the record, before they were either signed by the governor or sealed with the colony's seal; in such cases no date was inserted, the clerk not knowing what day they might pass. Many of those patents are entered on record without any date, and for some cause never passed at all.

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The governor signs all patents ; there is a recital in them, that the governor grants that land by and with the advice and consent of the council, and yet the patents are never read by the governor, nor in council, nor do the council take any notice of them. The secretary likewise signs all patents after these words are inserted, *Compared, and agrees with the original* ; and yet the Secretary neither reads nor compares any of them ; and in truth, the patent which he signs is the original itself.

S E C T . IX.

An account of all public money and tobacco, viz. how it is raised, collected, lodged, and issued out, and to what uses disposed of. As also the present state of the revenue of Virginia.

BEFORE we enter upon this subject, it will be necessary to give a brief description of the office of the sheriffs, collectors, and auditor, of whom there will be frequent mention made in the following account.

The sheriff is an officer that executes all writs, &c. and is the public collector of all tobacco for the county or country's use, and of the king's quit-rents ; in which notion of a collector, he is only here considered.

The collectors collect all money duties. The auditor audits the collector's accounts, to which he sees them sworn before the governor ; he also takes in the sheriff's accounts of quit-rents, which he sells by the governor's advice ; he is the receiver-general of all public money, and keeps it in his hands till it is issued out by the king's or governor's warrants ; he transmits his accounts yearly to William Blathwait, Esq. auditor of the plantations.

There is one sort of taxes, well known in that country by the name of levies, which is a poll tax, paid every year, for the use of the parish, county, or country, and so goes by the name of the parish levy, county levy, and public levy.

The fund, upon which these levies are paid, is the polls or heads of several tithable persons in the country : now all slaves, both men and women, and all white men above the age of 16 years, are reckoned tithables ; and there is a certain time every year, viz. about the beginning of June, before the 10th day of it, when all masters of families are obliged to give in a list of all the tithable persons, within their several families,

families, to a certain justice of the peace in that district where they live, who is authorized by the county court to take it, and is obliged to give it in, at the next county court, where it is affixed at the court door, to the end, that if any tithables, in any family, are not listed, they may be discovered and found out; for it is every man's interest to have the list of tithables as full as is possible, it being so much ease to him in his own levy, as will appear by and by: and there is a great penalty upon every master of a family that conceals a tithable, viz. the loss of the slave, if he or she is a slave that is concealed, and the penalty of 2000 pounds of tobacco if it is a free man or woman. The list of tithables being thus exactly taken out of them, the parish, county and public levy are raised in this manner.

For the parish levy, the vestry of every parish meet usually some time about the month of October, (when the tobacco is ready), and making a computation of all the parish debts for that year, viz. so much for the minister's salary, so much for the clerk, so much for building, reparations and ornaments of the church, so much for the poor, &c. and adding 8 per cent. to that part of it which is to be paid with cask, and 5 per cent. in some places 10, for collection, they divide the whole sum of tobacco (for all levies are paid in tobacco), by the number of tithables in their parish list, which the church wardens are obliged, for the above salary, to collect from the several masters of families, and to pay away to the several persons to whom it is due. At the easter vestry the church wardens make up their accounts with the vestry.

The same method is observed for the county levy, viz. the justices of the peace meet, and compute all the county debts, viz. the charge of building and repairing their court house and prison, keeping up their bridges, causeways, and ferry-boats, the charge of coroners inquests, and especially (which is the greatest charge of all), the allowance to their two burgesses at the General Assembly, if there has been any that year, which allowance is 120 pounds of tobacco and cask per diem to each of them, besides extraordinaries for going and coming. All which charge, with 8 per cent. for cask and 10 per cent. for collection, is divided equally according to the list of tithables for the county, and collected by the sheriff from the several masters of families, who is obliged

obliged to pay it away to the several persons to whom it is due; and at some county court afterwards, he makes up his accounts with the justices of that county.

The public levy is laid by the General Assembly in this manner. There is a committee appointed by the house of burgesses, called the committee of claims, to which all that have any thing due from the public bring in their claim; and they make a computation of all the public charges of the country, viz. the salary of the clerk of the house of burgesses, and the clerk of the upper house, and the clerks of committees, and of the messengers, door-keepers, &c. as also the charge of the present forces maintained by the country; writs for assemblies, building and repairing the state house, rent for the council chamber, taking up of runaway servants, &c. All which charge, with 8 per cent. for cask and 10 per cent. for collection, is divided equally according to the number of titheables in the whole country, being at present about twenty thousand. This is called the public levy, for raising of which there is an act passed of course, agreed to by the governor, council, and burgesses every assembly. This public levy being in the several counties added to the county levy, is gathered altogether by the sheriffs of the several counties, and for the most part, the church-wardens likewise throw in the parish levy to it, so the sheriff collects all three.

Their parish, county, and public taxes in Virginia have always been laid in this fashion, viz. not upon land, houses, stocks of horses, cattle, trade, &c. but the number of titheables. The land, they think, pays tax enough in the quit-rents, and their trade by the two shillings per hogshead upon tobacco, besides custom in England, and other ports to which it is exported: And for their stocks of cattle, horses, &c. they turn to so little account, that they think it not reasonable to lay a tax upon them. Their servants and slaves being the most considerable part of their estate, are the only rule they observe in laying the levy. These three levies, of parish, county, and public, may come, *communibus annis*, to about 100 pounds of tobacco for every titheable. None of these levies come into the hands of the auditor, as all the following revenues or customs do, of which we shall now give an account.

They are of four sorts, and made up in four separate accounts.

1. The

1. The account of the king's quit-rents, which is one shilling per annum upon every 50 acres of land in Virginia, paid generally in tobacco at one penny per pound, which is 24 pounds of tobacco for every 100 acres.

Only the northern neck, viz. that great tract of land lying between Rappahannock and Potomack rivers, being given away by king Charles II. for a certain number of years, and afterwards by king James in fee simple to Thomas Lord Culpepper, (the same man that got the governor's salary augmented £.950 per annum, and the appeal to the general assembly to be taken away, and the suspension of the counsellors to be at the governor's pleasure, and had once a thirty years' grant of the quit-rents of all Virginia, which put the country in such a flame, that king Charles II. to appease them, bought it off with a pension of £.600 a year upon the establishment of the horse guards in England, paid at this day to his executors;) the quit-rents of that northern neck are not now in the king's hands, but are paid to the heirs of the said lord Culpepper. The quit-rent tobacco of the rest of Virginia is paid by the several landlords to the Sheriff of each county, who is allowed 10 per cent. by the king for collecting it. He collects it by the old rent-rolls, and as good information as he can get of what land is lately taken up, then it is sold privately by the auditor, with the advice of the governor, at very easy rates, commonly to the gentlemen of the council, viz. the tobacco of every county, with the next perhaps adjacent to it, to the counsellor that lies convenient; the governor and the auditor buying some share: they pay for it to the auditor in money or bills of exchange, according to the quantity they have received, which appears by the receipt to the sheriff, who makes up his account with the auditor; the auditor transmits this account yearly to William Blathwait, Esq. but keeps the money arising from these quit-rents in his own hands, till it is drawn out by orders of the lords of the treasury, directed to the governor, upon which he issues his warrant to the auditor of course. For this receiving and paying away, the auditor hath seven and a half per cent.

The revenue of quit-rents amounts to about £.800 a year. There has been great talk of concealment of quit-rents, and private compositions with the governor and auditor, of which we can give no distinct account, nor of the present money.

money in bank in the auditor's hands, upon the balance of this account of quit-rents, this being a secret betwixt the governor, auditor, and Mr. Blaithwait. Only when governor Nicholson left the government of Virginia in the year 1692, there was then in bank, upon this account, about £.2500, besides £.1985-14-10 the king gave out of the quit-rents at that time, towards the building of the college of William and Mary, in Virginia.

2. The account of the 2 shillings per hogshead. The particulars of this account are the duty of 2 shillings upon every hogshead of tobacco exported out of Virginia, given to the king, by act of assembly, for the use of the government ; as also sort duties, being 15 pence per ton upon all ships and vessels trading thither, together with the fines and forfeitures upon all acts of parliament and assembly. The total of this account is something less " than it was since a late " law in Sir Edmund Andros's time, about the size of to- " bacco hogsheads, which has enlarged them about one fifth " part, and consequently diminished the king's revenue about " so much." Perhaps now the whole of this account may amount, communibus annis, to £.3000 sterling.

There is paid out of it to the masters of ships and vessels, to encourage them to give a true account, 10 per cent.

To the collectors, 10 per cent.

To the auditor, who receives it from the collectors, 7½ per cent. ; then the auditor pays away the rest by the governor's warrant, viz.

To the governor himself, for salary,	2000 pounds.
To the governor for house-rent,	150
To the council,	350
To the clerk of the council,	50
To the attorney-general,	40
To William Blaithwait, Esq.	100
To Mr. John Povey,	100
To a messenger,	25
To two gunners, about	25

The present collectors are

For the upper district of James river, Col. Edward Hill.

For the lower district of James river, Col. Daniel Park.

For York river, Col. Edmund Jenings.

For

For Rappahannock river, Ralph Wormley, Esq.

For the upper district of Potomack river, Col. Richard Lee.

For the lower district of Potomack river, Col. Christopher Wormley.

For two districts of the eastern shore, Col. Charles Scarborough and Capt. John Custis.

This revenue would turn to better account if there were any certain ports for exportation and importation, and likewise if the collectors kept their offices convenient. Many of them do now live at great distance, and trust to unsworn deputies, and they to unsworn masters of ships and other exporters.

The collectors are commonly paid this duty in money or bills of exchange ; they pay it into the auditor, who makes up the account, and for fashion, brings it before the governor and council : but nobody offering to say any thing to it, it is by him transmitted to William Blaithwait, Esq. auditor general of the plantations. What becomes of it afterwards we know not. There was remaining in cash in the auditor's hands upon the balance of this account, in the year 1692, when Colonel Nicholson left the government, the sum of £.1500, which is since spent, and this account is further in debt to the auditor above £.4000 sterling.

3. There is a revenue of one penny per pound given to his majesty by act of parliament in England, upon all tobacco exported from one English plantation in America to another. There is a provision in the act of parliament, that if the exporter has not ready money, he shall pay to the value of it, in the commodities he exports. The nomination of the collectors, and the inspection of this revenue, is by the same act of parliament, put into the hands of the commissioners of his majesty's customs in England. This revenue in Virginia and Maryland, his majesty, by his royal charter, anno 1692, gave away to the college of William and Mary in Virginia, as a perpetual fund for the maintenance of their president and masters. That college allows 20 per cent. out of it, to several collectors, nominated by the honourable the commissioners of his majesty's customs ; and 5 per cent. to the auditor of Virginia, who is the college treasurer. The estimate of the price of the commodities, in lieu of the penny per pound, hath been hitherto made by the governor and council

council at one pound of tobacco for a penny, which is much higher than the estimate they make of the quit-rents.

The accounts of this revenue are yearly audited by the governors of the college, who see the collectors sworn to them, before the governor, and transmit copies of them to the commissioners of his majesty's customs in England. The clear produce of this revenue in Virginia to the college is, *communibus annis*, something better than £.100 per annum.

The present collectors of the penny per pound, in Virginia, are,

Col. Edward Hill, for the upper district of James river.

Mr. Peter Hayman, for the lower district of James river.

Col. Edmund Jenings, for York river.

Col. Christopher Wormley, for Rappahannock river.

Col. Charles Scarborough, for the eastern shore.

Mr. Nicholas Spencer, for Potomack river.

4. Whatsoever money duty is accidentally raised by the general assembly, is usually collected by the collectors of the 2 shillings per hogshead, who are allowed 10 per cent. salary. They pay it in to the auditor, who is allowed $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ; and it is issued out by the governor's warrants, to such uses as were appointed by the act of assembly that raised it. The accounts of this are laid before the house of burgesses, that they may be satisfied, both how much is risen from such a fund, and that it is employed to the uses for which the general assembly appointed it.

The house of burgesses have likewise pretended to a privilege of naming a treasurer for all money raised by themselves, without putting it in the auditor's hands, and that the treasurer should pay it away by their immediate orders, without any further warrant from the governor ; which two things being lately denied them, they are much more averse to the raising of money ; and perhaps their late refusing to renew an act for an imposition on rum, and other liquors imported, called the imposition of the groat a gallon, is to be attributed partly to this, and partly to the council's refusing to ascertain the value of money as above, page 132.

SECT.

S E C T. X.

Concerning the militia, and other forces.

ALL the white men bear arms, and are listed in the several companies of foot, and troops of horse, in the several counties where they live.

The governor is lieutenant-general and commands all the forces. The due mustering of the militia used to be a great part of the governor's care; but this gentleman being disabled from travelling on horseback, is necessitated to leave that care to others, so that the musters are at present very much neglected.

Under the governor the chief command of every county is by him committed to the gentlemen of the council, with the title of colonel. But if the command of any county lies very remote from all the counsellors, then the governor gives that to some other person, under the title of major.

The governor, by the advice of the colonels and majors, gives commissions to the captains and lieutenants of the several troops and companies; and the colonel himself to the other inferior officers.

Besides the militia, the general assembly gave power to Governor Nicholson, when he was governor of that country, with the advice and consent of the council, from time to time, to raise as many forces as he should judge necessary for the defence of the country; which power is continued from year to year, to the governor, ever since. At present, by act of assembly, there is a lieutenant and 12 troopers maintained in constant pay, at the heads of each of the four great rivers, viz. James river, York river, Rappahannock river, and the Potomack, under the title of rangers; their business being to range the woods, to look out for the Indian enemy; which is commonly a remote nation of Indian robbers, who, if they are not looked after, are apt, in their travels, to fall in on the frontier plantations and plunder them.

S E C T. XI:

Concerning the church and religion.

THE inhabitants do generally profess to be of the church of England, which accordingly is the religion and church by law established.

There are few or no dissenters in that country ; not so many of any sort as to set up a meeting house ; except three or four meetings of Quakers, and one of Presbyterians.

That country is divided into 50 parishes, in most of which there are two, sometimes three, churches and chapels ; yet some of these parishes are exceeding small in proportion to the rest, so that they are not able to maintain a minister. The reason whereof was, that these parishes were in the most fertile and lovely spots of ground, where the first English inhabitants did chiefly settle, and it is very like when the division of the parishes was made, it was thought towns would be built in those places, and therefore they assigned them but a small compass of country ; but this design miscarrying, it is great pity that there is not a more convenient division of the parishes ordered.

As to the government of the church, from the first settlement, that whole matter, as all things else, was put into the hands of the governor. By the laws of that country, the ministers were obliged to produce their orders to him, and to shew that they had episcopal ordination.

In every parish, by the law of that country, there is a vestry consisting of twelve men, chosen at first by all the masters of families in the parish. They have a power to continue themselves, for as one dies or removes out of the parish, the remaining vestrymen choose another in his room. Those vestrymen lay the parish levy, and manage all other parochial matters.

The power of presenting ministers is in them, by the law of that country ; but the law in this point is little taken notice of, by reason of a contrary custom of making annual agreements with the ministers, which they call by a coarse enough name, *hiring* of the minister, so that they seldom present any ministers, that they may by that means keep them in more subjection and dependence. This custom has had a great many bad consequences : no good ministers that were informed of it, would come into the country, and if they came, ignorant of any such custom, they quickly felt the effects of it, in the high hand wherewith most vestries managed their power, and got out of the country again as soon as they could. The mansion houses, if there were any, went to decay, the minister holding the living so precariously, that it could not be expected he would bestow much on reparation ; and

and very often the glebe was not in his hand. He stood likewise on so precarious terms, that he must have a special care how he preached against the vices that any great man of the vestry was guilty of; for if he did, he might expect a faction would be made in the vestry, to be against renewing the agreement with him for another year. In short, several ministers were turned out by the vestries, without any crime proved, or so much as alledged against them: and this is their case at this day. They are only in the nature of chaplains, and hold their livings by annual agreements with the vestries; at the expiration of which agreement, the minister is dismissed, or retained again at the vestry's pleasure. By reason of these their precarious circumstances, it comes to pass that the country is very badly provided with ministers, there not being at present above half so many ministers as there are parishes. The governor connives at this, and though he is ordinary, yet never presents *jure devoluto*. So that really many parishes choose to be without a minister, for by that means they save all the minister's dues in their own pockets.

The yearly salary of the ministers, established by law, is 16000 pounds of tobacco without cask. This tobacco is levied by the vestry on the parish, according to the number of tithables, and collected by the church wardens with the rest of the parish levy; they have 5 per cent. for their pains.

King Charles II. gave the bishop of London jurisdiction over all the churches in the English plantations, except as to three things, viz. licenses of marriages, probates of wills, and inductions of ministers, which he reserved to the several governors.

In Virginia, the lord bishop of London deputes a commissary for this part of his jurisdiction, whose business is to make visitations of churches, and to take the inspection of the clergy. The present commissary is Mr. James Blair; he hath no salary, nor perquisites, but the king makes it up by his royal bounty, having been graciously pleased for two years to order him an hundred pounds a year, out of the quit-rents of Virginia, which we suppose his majesty intends to continue.

SECT.

S E C T. XII.

Concerning the College of William and Mary, in Virginia.

IN the year 1691, colonel Nicholson being lieutenant-governor, the general assembly considering the bad circumstances of the country for want of education for their youth, went upon a proposition of a college, to which they gave the name of William and Mary college.

They proposed that in this college there should be three schools, viz. a grammar school for teaching the Latin and Greek tongues; a philosophy school for philosophy and mathematicks; and a divinity school for the oriental tongues and divinity; for it was one part of their design, that this college should be a seminary for the breeding of good ministers, with which they were but very indifferently supplied from abroad. They appointed what masters should be in each of these schools, and what salaries they should have.

For the government and visitation of this college, they appointed a college senate, which should be eighteen, or any other number not exceeding twenty; who were then, the lieutenant-governor, four gentlemen of the council, four of the clergy, and the rest named out of the house of burgesses, with power to them to continue themselves, by election of a successor in the room of any one that should die, or remove out of the country. They petitioned the king that he would make these men trustees for founding and building this college, and governing it by such rules and statutes, as they, or the major part of them, should from time to time appoint. Accordingly, the king passed his charter, under the great seal of England, for such a college, and contributed very bountifully both to the building and endowment of it.

Toward the building he gave near £.2000, in ready cash, out of the bank of quit-rents, in which governor Nicholson left at that time about £.4500; and towards the endowment, the king gave the neat produce of the penny per pound in Virginia and Maryland, worth £.200 per annum, (mentioned page 159), and the surveyor-general's place, worth about £.50 per annum, and the choice of ten thousand acres of land, in Pamunkey neck, and ten thousand more on the south side of the Black-Water swamp, which were tracts of land till that time prohibited to be taken up.

The

The general assembly also gave the college a duty on skins and furs, worth better than an £.100 a year, and they got subscriptions in Virginia, in governor Nicholson's time, for about £.2500 towards the building. With these beginnings the trustees of the college went to work, but their good governor, who had been the greatest encourager in that country of this design, (on which he has laid out £.350 of his own money), being at that time removed from them, and another* put in his place, that was of a quite different spirit and temper, they found their business go on very heavily, and such difficulties in every thing, that presently, upon change of the governor, they had as many enemies as ever they had friends; such an universal influence and sway has a person of that character in all affairs of that country. The gentlemen of the council, who had been the forwardest to subscribe, were the backwardest to pay; then every one was for finding shifts to evade and elude their subscriptions, and the meaner people were so influenced by their countenance and example (men being easily persuaded to keep their money) that there was not one penny got of new subscriptions, nor paid of the old £.2500 but about £.500. Nor durst they put the matter to the hazard of a lawsuit, where this new governor and his favourites were to be their judges. Thus it was with the funds for building; and they fared little better with the funds for endowments; for notwithstanding the first choice they are to have of the land by the charter, patents were granted to others for vast tracts of land, and every one was ready to oppose the college in taking up the land; their survey was violently stopped, their chain broken, and to this day they can never get to the possession of the land. But the trustees of the college being encouraged with a gracious letter the king writ to the governor, to encourage the college, and to remove all the obstructions of it, went to work, and carried up one half of the designed quadrangle of the building, advancing money out of their own pockets where the donations fell short. They founded their grammar school, which is in a very thriving way, and having the clear right and title to the land, would not be baffled in that point, but have struggled with the greatest man in the government next the governor, i. e. Mr. Secretary Wormley, who pretends to have a grant in *futuro*, for
no

* Andros.

no less than 13000 acres of the best land in Paumunkey neck. The cause is not yet decided, only Mr. Secretary has again stopped the chain, which it is not likely he would do, if he did not know that he should be supported in it.

The collectors of the penny per pound likewise are very remiss in laying their accounts before the governors of the college, according to the instructions of the commissioners of the customs; so that illegal trade is carried on, and some of these gentlemen refuse to give any account upon oath.— This is the present state of the college.

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East-Windsor, June 20, 1797.

SETTLEMENT AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE TOWN OF WINDSOR, IN CONNECTICUT.

IN January, 1630, a Congregational church was gathered in Plymouth in England, with a view to a removal to New-England; and the Rev. messrs. John Wareham and John Maverick were ordained colleague pastors over it. They arrived at Nantasket the 30th of May following, and settled in Dorchester. Soon after their arrival, they received intelligence from the Dutch of New-York, of a valuable tract of country upon Connecticut river. And the body of the people of Dorchester, and of the towns of Newtown (Cambridge) and Watertown, concluded to remove. In the summer

mer of 1635, they performed the dangerous and laborious journey across the wilderness to this river. At the time of their removal, the Dutch had extended their claim to the river, and made a settlement a few miles below Windsor. Some people from Plymouth had also set up a trading house at the mouth of Little River, in Windsor. The fortitude of those pious adventurers was truly wonderful. About one hundred men, women, and children, took their departure from the three towns before mentioned, to travel through an unexplored wilderness. They were fourteen days performing the tedious journey. The wilderness, for the first time, resounded with praises of God. They prayed and sang psalms and hymns as they marched along; the Indians following and looking on them in silent admiration.

They arrived at this river, the object of their ardent expectation, somewhere not far from the mouth of Scantic river, in East-Windsor. The Dorchester people, with Mr. Wareham, their minister, began the settlement of Windsor, on the west side of the river. They suffered great hardships the first winter, and their cattle perished for want of food.

The Indians on and near the river were numerous. Three sachemdoms were in the vicinity. The seat of one was near the mouth of Podunk river, lying in the S. W. corner of East-Windsor. A second, at Middletown, 20 miles below; and the third, at Farmington, about 12 miles west of Windsor.

Some of the first settlers of Windsor were gentlemen of opulence and education, as were also those of Hartford and Weathersfield, which settlements were begun at the same time. The right of settling here, they purchased of the old Plymouth company in England, and they paid the Indians for the soil. They had sent some men the year preceding their removal, to make the purchase of the natives, whom they looked upon as the only rightful proprietors.

They soon proceeded to form a general system of laws, which were similar to those of the Massachusetts; except that they did not make church membership a necessary qualification for civil office.

Those who were in full communion in the church at Dorchester, and came with Mr. Wareham to Windsor, were Henry Wolcott, Esq. William Phelps, John Whitefield, Humphrey Pinney, Deacon John Moore, Deacon William Gaylord,

Gaylord, Lieut. Walter Filer, Matthew Grant, Thomas Dibble, Samuel Phelps, Nathan Gillet, Richard Vore, Abraham Randall, Bigot Eglestone, George Phelps, Thomas Ford.

In 1639, Rev. Ephraim Huit came from England, and was settled colleague with Mr. Wareham. And with him came Edward Griswold, John Bissell, Thomas Holcomb, Daniel Clark, Peter Tilton. The other settlers of Windsor, whose names are mentioned in the records of the town, anno 1640, were messrs. — Newberry, Roger Ludlow, Esq. Joseph Loomis, John Loomis, John Porter, William Hill, James Marshall, John Taylor, Eltwed Pomeroy, William Hofford, Aaron Cook, Elias Parkman, Thomas Stoughton, Owen Tudor, Capt. John Mason, Matthew Allyn, Richard Oldage, Henry Stiles, William Hayden, George Phillips, Return Strong, John Hillyer, Thomas Barber, Nicholas Palmer, Thomas Buckland, Isaac Shelden, Robert Watson, Stephen Terry, Bray Rosetter, Thomas Dewey, William Hurlburt, Roger Williams, Thomas Bascomb, Nicholas Den-slow, Thomas Thornton.

It is probable the greater part of these came the year after Mr. Wareham ; some from Dorchester and some from Plymouth. Mr. Huit deceased in 1644. He was a man of superior abilities and usefulness. The following lines, expressive of his great worth, though in juvenile poetry, are legible on his tomb-stone :

“Who while he liv'd, we drew our vital breath:
 “Who when he died, his dying was our death:
 “Who was the stay of state, the church's staff;
 “Alas, the times forbid an epitaph.”

Mr. Wareham saw the great increase of the little colony of christians, with whom he had crossed the Atlantic, during 35 years of his ministry, and died anno 1670.

The succession of ministers in the first ancient society in Windsor, after Mr. Wareham, were Rev. Samuel Mather, deceased 1728, aged 77 years. Rev. Jonathan Marsh, ordained 1728, deceased 1748, aged 63. Rev. William Russel, jun. ordained 1751. Rev. David Sherman Rowland, installed 1776, deceased 1793. Rev. Henry Augustus Rowland, the present pastor.

In 1765, the society was formed into two parishes, and the Rev. Theodore Hinsdale was ordained over the north parish,

parish, and continued their worthy pastor until the re-union of the two parishes in 1792, when he resigned.

The boundaries of the original town of Windsor were very extensive; being about 46 miles in circumference, and lying on both sides of Connecticut river, the largest division on the eastern side. Eight Congregational societies have been formed within its limits, and it now contains three incorporated towns.

The succession of ministers in the parish of Poquannock, west side of the river, are Rev. John Woodbridge; Rev. Samuel Tudor, who was ordained anno 1740, deceased 1757; Rev. Dan Foster, dismissed 1784.

Ministers in the parish of Wintonbury, were Rev. Hezekiah Bissel; Rev. Solomon Wolcott; Rev. William Fowler Miller, the present pastor.

In the parish of Turkey-Hills, lying partly in Windsor—Rev. messrs. Ebenezer Mills, Nehemiah Strong, Aaron J. Booge, and Whitefield Cowles, the present pastor.

The above parishes are on the west side of the river.

In 1680, a number of families removed to the east side of the river, and begun the settlement of East-Windsor. Fifteen years they passed the river in boats to attend public worship on the west side.

In 1695, they formed themselves into an ecclesiastical society, and Mr. Timothy Edwards, the father of president Edwards, was ordained their minister.

That part of ancient Windsor which lies east of Connecticut river was formed into a parish, anno 1703, and incorporated a town 1768, and named East-Windsor. The eastern division of East-Windsor was made a parish 1730, and incorporated a town by the name of Ellington, in 1786. The north part was made a parish in 1752, and Rev. Thomas Potwine, the present pastor, ordained 1754. The village of Wapping was allowed the privileges of a winter parish in 1761.

The succession of ministers in the first parish in East-Windsor, are Rev. Timothy Edwards, ordained 1695, deceased 1758, in the 89th year of his age, and 64th of his ministry: Rev. Joseph Perry, ordained colleague with Mr. Edwards, 1755, deceased 1783: Rev. David M'Clure, installed 1786.

It is a remarkable instance, that there have been a succession

sion of but little more than two ministers in this church during a century, while there have been in some of the other parishes of East-Windsor, four or five in about half that period.

The succession of ministers in the parish of Ellington, are Rev. John M'Kinstry, educated at Edinburgh, installed anno 1730, resigned 1746, deceased 1754, aged 77. Rev. Nathaniel Huntington, (elder brother of the late governor) ordained 1749, deceased 1756, aged 32. Rev. Seth Norton, ordained 1757, deceased 1762, aged 30. Rev. John Bliss, ordained 1765, dismissed 1781. Rev. Joshua Leonard, the present pastor, ordained 1791.

Fear of the Indians retarded the settlement of the eastern side of the river, until the year 1680, before mentioned. The year after the settlements of Windsor, Hartford and Weathersfield begun, parties of Pequod Indians killed some people. And although the Windsor and River Indians professed themselves neutrals in Philip's war, which broke out in 1675, yet numbers of their young men stole away and joined him, and never returned. After Philip's formidable league was broken, the English settlements began to extend east from the river. The captains Ludlow, Mason and Stoughton did valiantly in those wars.

There are but few remains of Indian antiquity in this town. Their rude implements of husbandry, &c. are sometimes plowed up in the meadows; such as stone axes, pestles, chisels, &c. A Mr. Mather, of Windsor, informed me that he found, some years ago, near his house, an Indian grave, containing the bones of six persons. They were in a setting, circular position; and where their feet met, was a small quantity of wampum and some horn spoons. Human bones are sometimes washed out of the banks of the river. A small hill in the meadow is still known by the name of King's hill; having been the residence of the sachem of the Podunck Indians. In the sale of the land, the Indians reserved the right of hunting, cutting timber, and planting, wherever they pleased, forever. But none of their descendants now exist, to claim the privilege.

The first settlers, by their prudent management and kindness, conciliated the good will of the Indians; but the aged people among us say, that they could never learn that an individual Windsor Indian ever became a christian.

It

It has pleased God to revive his work of grace in this town in former, and in a less degree, in later times ; particularly in 1737, and again in 1741. Here the faithful labours of the popular and venerable Edwards, during his prolonged ministry, and the occasional preachings of a Whitefield, Wheelock, Pomeroy, and others, were blessed to the spiritual illumination and comfort of many souls.

The above is derived from various sources of information, such as the public records of the towns and parishes—manuscripts—tradition of aged, respectable people, and printed histories. Should it afford you entertainment, or be of any service in the cause of historical and useful science, my labour will be well compensated. Whether the foregoing observations are of sufficient consequence to present to the Historical Society, I submit to your candor and judgment ; and am, Rev. Sir,

your very obedient
and obliged servant,

DAVID M'CLURE.

Rev. Dr. BELKNAP.

A VERY CURIOUS TRACT, AND THE ONLY ONE I EVER
SAW OF IT. T. H.*

Perhaps it may have been written by Sir HENRY VANE, the younger, a man of great parts, natural and acquired, religious to enthusiasm, according to the mode of his days, and several years a resident in New-England.

To Sir HENRY VANE, the younger.

VANE, young in years, *but in sage council old,*
Than whom, a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome, when *gowns* not arms repell'd
The fierce Epirot and the African bold ;
Whether to settle peace, or to unfold
The drift of hollow states, hard to be spell'd ;
Then to advise how war may, best upheld,
Move by her two main nerves, *iron and gold,*
In all her equipage : *besides to know*

Both

* Supposed to be T. HOLLIS, the friend of Harvard College.

*Both spiritual pow'r and civil, what each means,
 What severs each, thou hast learn'd, WHICH FEW HAVE DONE:*
 The bounds of either sword to thee we owe:
 Therefore on thy firm hand religion leans
 In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son.

JOHN MILTON.

Note. Sir HENRY VANE was chosen governor of Massachusetts 1636, Hutchinson observes, that Mr. Haynes being no longer a rival to Mr. Winthrop, he would have been the most popular man, if Mr. Vane's solemn deportment, although he was not then more than 24 or 25 years of age, had not engaged almost the whole colony in his favour. "There was a great friendship between Mr. Cotton and him, which seems to have continued to the last."

It is most likely that one assisted the other in this Abstract, being so intimate, and of the same political and religious principles; for this tract was found in manuscript in Mr. Cotton's study after his death, and a copy rather more full than the present, published 1655, in London, by William Aspinwall, styled, *An Abstract of Laws and Government, wherein, as in a mirror, may be seen the wisdom and perfection of Christ's kingdom*, accommodable to any state or form of government in the world, that is not antichristian and tyrannical.

This book, bound up with *Mr. Cotton's Discourse on Civil Government in a new Plantation whose design is religion*, is in the library of the Historical Society. Also a small quarto volume upon the *Mystery of Godliness*, written by Sir Henry Vane.

Though Sir H. V. was an enthusiast, his writings exhibit proofs of a strong mind as well as vivid fancy—and his conduct was consistent, equally remarkable for his integrity and zeal. He died a martyr to what he supposed the cause of *freedom and truth*.

In the month of July, 1682, says Ludlow, I received a letter from England, with an account of the trial of Sir H. Vane; of which I shall only say, that he behaved himself, on all these occasions, in such a manner that he left it doubtful, whether his eloquence, soundness of judgment, and presence of mind, his magnanimity and gravity, his constant adherence to the cause of his country, and heroick carriage during the time of his confinement, and at the hour of death; or the malice of his enemies, and their frivolous suggestions at his trial, the breach of the public faith in the usage he found, the incivility of the bench, and the savage rudeness of the sheriff, who commanded the trumpets several times to sound, that he might not be heard by the people, were the most remarkable. Vid. Ludlow's Memoirs, fol. Lon. 1751, page 384.

Hume describes the execution of Vane, so to as make him an object of admiration, though he viewed him as an enthusiast. It is among the finest passages in the work of that elegant historian.

AN

AN ABSTRACT OF THE LAWS OF NEW-ENGLAND, AS THEY
ARE NOW ESTABLISHED. PRINTED IN LONDON IN 1641.

CHAPTER I.

Of Magistrates.

1. ALL magistrates are to be chosen. *Deut.* 1. 13, 17, 15.

First, By the free burghesses.

Secondly, Out of the free burghesses.

Thirdly, Out of the ablest men and most approved amongst them. *Ex.* 18, 21.

Fourthly, Out of the rank of noblemen or gentlemen among them, the best *that God shall send into the country*, if they be qualified with gifts fit for government, either eminent above others, or not inferior to others. *Eccle.* 10. 17. *Jer.* 30. 21.

2. The governor hath power, with the assistants, to govern the whole country, according to the laws established, hereafter mentioned : he hath power of himself, and in his absence the deputy-governor, to moderate all public actions of the Commonwealth, as

First, To send out warrants for calling of the general court. *Josh.* 24. 1.

Secondly, To order and ransack all actions in the court where he sitteth : as, to gather suffrages and voices, and to pronounce sentences according the greater part of them.

3. The power of the governor, with the rest of the counsellors, is

First, To consult and provide for the maintenance of the state and people. *Num.* 11. 14 to 16.

Secondly, To direct in all matters, wherein appeal is made to them from inferior courts. *Deut.* 17. 8, 9.

Thirdly, To preserve religion. *Ex.* 32. 25, 27.

Fourthly, To oversee the forts and munition of the country, and to take order for the protection of the country from foreign invasion, or intestine sedition, as need shall require, with consent of the people to enterprise wars. *Cor.* 19, 32 : 23, 6. *Prov.* 24. 5.

And because these great affairs of the state cannot be attended, nor administered, if they be after changed ; therefore the counsellors are to be chosen for life, *unless they give just*

just cause of removal, which if they do, then they are to be removed by *the general court*. *Kings 2. 6.*

4. The power of the governor, sitting with the counsellors and assistants, is to hear and determine all causes whether civil or criminal, which are brought before him through the whole Commonwealth : *yet reserving liberty of appeal from him to the general court.* *Ex. 18. 22. Deut. 1. 16, 18.*

5. Every town is to have judges within themselves, whose power shall be once in the month, or in three months at the farthest, to hear and determine both civil causes and pleas of less value, and crimes also, which are not capital : yet reserving liberty of appeal to the court of governor and assistants. *Deut. 16, 18.*

6. For the better expedition and execution of justice, and of all affairs incident unto every court ; every court shall have certain officers, as a secretary to enrol all the acts of the court ; and besides ministers of justice, to attach and fetch, and set persons before the magistrates ; and also to execute the sentence of the court upon offenders : and for the same end it shall be lawful for the governor or any one or two of the counsellors, or assistants, or judges, to give warrants to an officer, to fetch any delinquent before them, and to examine the cause, and if he be found culpable of that crime, to take order by surety or safe custody for his appearance at the court. *Deut. 16, 18. Jer. 36. 10, 12. 1 Sam. 20. 24, 25. Acts 5. 26, 27.*

And further for the same end, and to prevent the offenders lying long in prison, it shall be lawful for the governor, with one of the council, or any two of the assistants or judges, to see execution done upon any offenders *for any crime that is not capital*, according to the laws established : *yet reserving a liberty of appeal from them to the court, and from an inferior court to a higher court.*

CHAP. II.

Of the free Burgesses and free Inhabitants.

1. FIRST, all the free burgesses, excepting such as were admitted men before the establishment of churches in the country, shall be received and admitted out of the members of some or others of the churches in the country, such churches as are gathered or hereafter shall be gathered with the

the consent of other churches already established in the country, and such members as are admitted by their own church unto the Lord's table.

2. These free burgesses shall have power to choose in their own towns, *fit and able men out of themselves*, to be the ordinary judges of inferior causes, in their own town; and, against the approach of the general court, to choose two or three, as their deputies and committees, to join with the governor and assistants of the whole country, to make up and constitute the general court.

3. This general court shall have power,
First, By the warrant of the governor, or deputy-governor, to assemble once every quarter, or half a year, or oftener, as the affairs of the country shall require, and to sit together till their affairs be dispatched.

Secondly, To call the governor, and all the rest of the public magistrates and officers into place, *and to call them also to account for the breach of any laws established, or other misdemeanor, and to censure them as the quality of the fact may require.*

Thirdly, To make and repeal laws.

Fourthly, To dispose of all lands in the country, and to assign them to several towns or persons, as shall be thought requisite.

Fifthly, To impose of monies a levy, for the public service of the Commonwealth, as shall be thought requisite *for the provision and protection of the whole.*

Sixthly, To hear and determine all causes, wherein appeal shall be made unto them, or which they shall see cause to assume into their own cognizance or judicature.

Seventhly, To assist the governors and counsellors, in the maintenance of the purity and unity of religion; and accordingly to set forth and uphold all such good causes as shall be thought fit, for that end, by the advice and with consent of the churches, and to repress the contrary.

Eighthly, In this general court nothing shall be concluded but with the common consent of the greater part of the governors, or assistants, together with the greater part of the deputies of the towns; unless it be in election of officers, *where the liberty of the people is to be preferred*, or in judging matters of offence against the law, wherein both parties are to stand to the direction of the law.

4. All the householders of every town shall be accounted as the free inhabitants of the country, and accordingly shall enjoy freedom of commerce, and inheritance of such lands as the general court or the several towns wherein they dwell, shall allot unto them, after they have taken an oath, or given other security to be true and faithful to the state, and subject to the good and wholesome laws established in the country by the general court.

CHAP. III.

Of the Protection and Provision of the Country.

1. FIRST, a law to be made (if it be not made already) for the training of all men in the country, fit to bear arms, unto the exercise of military discipline and withal another law to be made for the maintenance of military officers and forts.

2. Because fishing is the chief staple commodity of the country, therefore all due encouragement to be given unto such hands as shall set forwards the trade of fishing : and for that end a law to be made, that whosoever shall apply themselves to set forward the trade of fishing, as fishermen, mariners, and shipwrights, shall be allowed, man for man, or some or other of the labourers of the country, to plant and reap for them, in the season of the year, at the public charge of the commonwealth, for the space of the seven years next ensuing ; and such labourers to be appointed and paid by the treasurer of the commonwealth.

3. Because no commonwealth can maintain either their authority at home, or their honor and power abroad, without a sufficient treasury : a law therefore to be made for the electing and furnishing of the treasury of the commonwealth; which is to be supplied and furnished,

1st. By the yearly payment,

First, Of one penny, or half a penny an acre of land to be occupied throughout the country. Land in common by a town, to be paid for out of the stock or treasury of the same town.

Secondly, Of a penny for every beast, horse or cow.

Thirdly, Of some proportionable rate upon merchants.— This rate to be greater or less, as shall be thought fit.

2d. By the payment of a barrel of gunpowder, or such goods

goods or other munitions, out of every ship that bringeth foreign commodities.

3d. By fines and mulcts upon trespassers' beasts.

4. A treasurer to be chosen by the free burgesses, out of the assistants, who shall receive and keep the treasury, and make disbursements out of it, according to the direction of the general court, or of the governor or counsellors, whereof they are to give an account to the general court. It shall pertain also to the office of the treasurer, to survey and oversee all the munitions of the country, as cannons, culverins, muskets, powder, match, bullets, &c. and to give account thereof to the governor and council.

5. A treasury also, or magazine, or storehouse, to be erected, and furnished in every town, [as *Deut.* 14. 28.] distinct from the treasury of the church, that provision of corn, and other necessities, may be laid up at the best hand, for the relief of such poor as are not members of the church; and that out of it such officers may be maintained, as captains and such like, who do any public service for the town. But chiefly, this treasury will be requisite for the preserving of the livelihood of each town within itself. That in case the inheritance of the lands that belong to any town, come to be alienated from the townsmen, which may unavoidably fall out; yet a supply may be had and made to the livelihood of the town, by a reasonable rent charge upon such alienations, laid by the common consent of the landowners and townsmen, and to be paid into the treasury of the town. This treasury to be supplied,

First, By the yearly payment of some small rate upon acres of land.

Secondly, By fines and amercements put upon trespassers' beasts.

A town treasurer to be appointed for the oversight and ordering of this, chosen out of the free burgesses of the same town, who is so to dispose of things under his charge, according to the direction of the judges of the town, and to give account, at the town's court, to the judges and free burgesses of the town, or to some selected by them.

CHAP. IV.

Of the right of Inheritance.

1 **FIRST**, forasmuch as the right of disposals of the inheritance of all lands in the country lyeth in the general court, whatsoever lands are given and assigned by the general court, to any town or person, shall belong and remain as right of inheritance to such towns and their successors, and to such persons and to their heirs and assigns forever, as their propriety.

2. Whatsoever lands, belonging to any town, shall be given and assigned by the town, or by such officers therein as they shall appoint, unto any person, the same shall belong and remain unto such person and his heirs and assigns, as his proper right forever.

3. And in dividing of lands to the several persons in each town, as regard is to be had, partly to the number of persons in a family—to the more, assigning the greater allotment, to the fewer, less—and partly by the number of beasts, by the which a man is fit to occupy the land assigned to him, and subdue it; eminent respect, in this case, may be given to men of eminent quality and descent, in assigning unto them more large and honorable accomodations, in regard of their great disbursements to public charges.

4, Forasmuch as all civil affairs are to be administered and ordered, so as may best conduce to the upholding and setting forward of the worship of God in church fellowship; it is therefore ordered, that wheresoever the lands of any man's inheritance shall fall, yet no man shall set his dwelling-house above the distance of half a mile, or a mile at the farthest, from the meeting of the congregation, where the church doth usually assemble for the worship of God:

5. Inheritances are to descend naturally to the next of kin, according to the law of nature, delivered by God.

6. Observe, if a man have more sons than one, then a *double portion* to be assigned and bequeathed to the eldest son, according to the law of nature; unless his own dermerit do deprive him of the dignity of his birth-right.

7. The will of a testator is to be approved or disallowed by the court of governor and assistants, or by the court of judges in each town: yet not to be disallowed by the court
of

of governors; unless it appears either to be counterfeit, or unequal, either against the law of God, or against the due right of the legators.

8. As God in old time, in the commonwealth of Israel, forbade the alienation of lands from one tribe to another; so to prevent the like inconvenience in the alienation of lands from one town to another, it were requisite to be ordered:

1st. That no free burgess, or free inhabitant of any town, shall sell the land allotted to him in the town, (unless the free burgesses of the town give consent unto such sale, or refuse to give due price, answerable to what others offer without fraud), but to some one or other of the free burgesses or free inhabitants of the same town.

2d. That if such lands be sold to any others, the sale shall be made with reservation of such a rent charge, to be paid to the town stock, or treasury of the town, as either the former occupiers of the land were wont to pay towards all the public charges thereof, whether in church or town; or at least after the rate of three shillings per acre, or some such like proportion, more or less, as shall be thought fit.

3d. That if any free burgesses, or free inhabitants, of any town, or the heir of any of their lands, shall remove their dwelling from one town to another, none of them shall carry away the whole benefit of the lands which they possessed, from the towns whence they remove: but if they still keep the right of inheritance in their own hands, and not sell it as before, then they shall reserve a like proportion or rent charge out of their land, to be paid to the public treasury of the town, as hath been wont to be paid out of it to the public charges of the town and church, or at least after the rate of three or five shillings an acre, as before.

4th. That if the inheritance of a free burgess, or free inhabitant of any town, fall to his daughters, as it will do for defect of heirs male, that then if such daughters do not marry to some of the inhabitants of the same town where their inheritance lyeth, nor sell their inheritance to some of the same town as before, that then they reserve a like proportion of rent charge out of their lands, to be paid to the public treasury of the town, as hath been wont to be paid out of them, to the public charge, of the town and church; or at least after the rate of three or five shillings an acre; provided always that nothing be paid to the maintenance of
the

the church out of the treasury of the church or town, but by the free consent and direction of the free burgesses of the town.

CHAP. V.

Of Commerce.

1. FIRST, it shall be lawful for the governor, with one or more of the council, to appoint a reasonable rate of prizes upon all such commodities as are, out of the ships, to be bought and sold in the country.

2. In trucking or trading with the Indians, no man shall give them, for any commodity of theirs, silver or gold, or any weapons of war, either guns or gunpowder, nor swords, nor any other munition, *which might come to be used against ourselves.*

3. To the intent that all oppression in buying and selling may be avoided, it shall be lawful for the judges in every town, with the consent of the free burgesses, to appoint certain selectmen, to set reasonable rates upon all commodities, and proportionably to limit the wages of workmen and labourers; and the rates agreed upon by them, and ratified by the judges, to bind all the inhabitants of the town. The like course to be taken by the governor and assistants, for the rating of prizes throughout the country, and all to be confirmed, if need be, by the general court.

4. Just weights and balances to be kept between buyers and sellers, and for default thereof, the profit so wickedly and corruptly gotten, with as much more added thereto, is to be forfeited to the public treasury of the commonwealth.

5. If any borrow ought of his neighbour upon a pledge, the lender shall not make choice of what pledge he will have, nor take such a pledge as is of daily necessary use unto the debtor, or if he does take it, he shall restore it again the same day.

6. No increase to be taken of a poor brother or neighbour, for any thing lent unto him.

7. If borrowed goods be lost or hurt in the owner's absence, the borrower is to make them good; but in the owner's presence, wherein he seeth his goods no otherwise used than with his consent, the borrower shall not make them good; if they were hired, the hire to be paid and no more.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Trespasses.

1. IF a man's swine, or any other beast, or a fire kindled, break out into another man's field or corn, he shall make full restitution, both of the damage made by them, and of the loss of time which others have had in carrying such swine or beasts unto the owners, or unto the fold. But if a man puts his beasts or swine into another's field, restitution is to be made of the best of his own, though it were much better than that which were destroyed or hurt.

2. If a man kill another man's beast, or dig and open a pit, and leave it uncovered, and a beast fall into it; he that killed the beast and the owner of the pit, shall make restitution.

3. If one man's beast kills the beast of another, the owner of the beast shall make restitution.

4. If a man's ox, or other beast, gore or bite, and kill a man or woman, whether child or riper age, the beast shall be killed, and no benefit of the dead beast reserved to the owner. But if the ox, or beast, were wont to push or bite in time past, and the owner hath been told of it, and hath not kept him in, then both the ox, or beast, shall be forfeited and killed, and the owner also put to death, or fined to pay what the judges and persons damnified shall lay upon him.

5. If a man deliver goods to his neighbour to keep, and they be said to be lost or stolen from him, the keeper of the goods shall be put to his oath touching his own innocency; which if he take, and no evidence appear to the contrary, he shall be quit: but if he be found false or unfaithful, he shall pay double unto his neighbour. But if a man take hire for goods committed to him, and they be stolen, the keeper shall make restitution. But if the beast so kept for hire, die or be hurt, or be driven away, no man seeing it, then oath shall be taken of the keeper, that it was without his default, and it shall be accepted. But if the beast be torn in pieces, and a piece be brought for a witness, it excuseth the keeper.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Crimes. And first, of such as deserve capital punishment, or cutting off from a man's people, whether by death or banishment.

1. FIRST, blasphemy, which is a cursing of God by atheism, or the like, to be punished with death.

2. Idolatry to be punished with death.

3. Witchcraft, which is fellowship by covenant with a familiar spirit, to be punished with death.

4. Consulters with witches not to be tolerated, but either to be cut off by death or banishment.

5. Heresy, which is the maintenance of some wicked errors, overthrowing the foundation of the christian religion; which obstinacy, if it be joined with endeavour to seduce others thereunto, to be punished with death; because such an heretick, no less than an idolater, seeketh to thrust the souls of men from the Lord their God.

6. To worship God in a molten or graven image, to be punished with death.

7. Such members of the church, as do wilfully reject to walk, after due admonition and conviction, in *the churches' establishment*, and their christian admonition and censures, shall be cut off by banishment.

8. Whosoever shall revile the religion and worship of God, and the government of the church, as it is now established, to be cut off by banishment. *Cor. 5. 5.*

9. Wilful perjury, whether before the judgment seat or in private conference, to be punished with death.

10. Rash perjury, whether in public or in private, to be punished with banishment. Just is it, that such a man's name should be cut off from his people, who profanes so grossly the name of God before his people.

11. Profaning of the Lord's day, in a careless and scornful neglect or contempt thereof, to be punished with death.

12. To put in practice *the betraying of the country*, or any principal fort therein, to the hand of any foreign state, Spanish, French, Dutch, or the like, contrary to the allegiance we owe and profess to our dread sovereign, lord king Charles, his heirs and successors, whilst he is pleased to protect us as his loyal subjects, to be punished with death. *Num. 12. 14, 15.*

13. Un-

13. Unreverend and dishonorable carriage to magistrates, to be punished with banishment for a time, till they acknowledge their fault and profess reformation.

14. Reviling of the magistrates in highest rank amongst us, to wit, of the governors and council, to be punished with death. 1 *King's*, 2. 8, 9, & 46.

15. Rebellion, sedition, or insurrection, by taking up arms against the present government established in the country, to be punished with death.

16. Rebellious children, whether they continue in riot or drunkenness, after due correction from their parents, or whether they curse or smite their parents, to be put to death. *Ex.* 21. 15, 17. *Lev.* 20. 9.

17. Murder, which is a wilful man-slaughter, not in a man's just defence, nor casually committed, but out of hatred or cruelty, to be punished with death. *Ex.* 21. 12, 13. *Num.* 35. 16, 17, 18, to 33. *Gen.* 9. 6.

18. Adultery, which is the defiling of the marriage-bed, to be punished with death. Defiling of a woman espoused, is a kind of adultery, and punishable, by death, of both parties; but if a woman be forced, then by the death of the man only. *Lev.* 20. 10. *Deut.* 22. 22 to 27.

19. Incest, which is the defiling of any near of kin, within the degrees prohibited in *Leviticus*, to be punished with death.

20. Unnatural filthiness to be punished with death, whether sodomy, which is a carnal fellowship of man with man, or woman with woman; or buggery, which is a carnal fellowship of man or woman with beasts or fowls.

21. Pollution of a woman known to be in her flowers, to be put to death. *Lev.* 20. 18, 19.

22. Whoredom of a maiden in her father's house, kept secret till after her marriage with another, to be punished with death. *Deut.* 22. 20, 21.

23. Man-stealing to be punished with death. *Ex.* 21. 16.

24. False-witness bearing to be punished with death.

CHAP. VIII.

Of other Crimes less heinous, such as are to be punished with some corporal punishment or fine.

1. FIRST, rash and profane swearing and cursing to be punished,

1st.

1st. With loss of honour, or office, if he be a magistrate, or officer: meet it is, their name should be dishonoured who dishonoured God's name.

2d. With loss of freedom.

3d. With disability to give testimony.

4th. With corporal punishment, either by stripes or by branding him with a hot iron, or boring through the tongue, who have bored and pierced God's name.

2. Drunkenness, as transforming God's image into a beast, is to be punished with the punishment of beasts: a whip for the horse, and a rod for the fool's back.

3. Forcing of a maid, or a rape, is not to be punished with death by God's law, but,

1st. With fine or penalty to the father of the maid.

2d. With marriage of the maid defiled, if she and her father consent.

3d. With corporal punishment of stripes for his wrong, as a real slander: and it is worse to make a whore, than to say one is a whore.

4. Fornication to be punished,

1st. With the marriage of the maid, or giving her a sufficient dowry.

2d. With stripes, though fewer, from the equity of the former cause.

5. Maiming or wounding of a freeman, whether free burgess, or free inhabitant, to be punished with a fine; to pay,

1st. For his cure. 2d. For his loss. *Ex.* 21. 18, 19. And with loss of member for member, or some valuable recompence: but if it be but the maiming or wounding of a servant, the servant is to go forth free from such a service. *Lev.* 24. 19, 20. *Ex.* 21. 26, 27.

6. If any man steal a beast, if it be found in his hand he shall make restitution two for one; if it be killed and sold, restitution is to be made of five oxen for one; if the thief be not able to make restitution, then he is to be sold by the magistrate for a slave, till by his labour he may make due restitution. *Ex.* 22. 1, 4.

7. If a thief be found breaking a house by night, if he be slain, his smiter is guiltless; but in the day time, the thief is to make full restitution as before; or if he be not able, then to be sold as before. *Ex.* 22. 2.

8. Slanders

8. Slanders are to be punished.

First, With a public acknowledgment, as the slander was public.

Secondly, By mulcts and fine of money, when the slander bringeth damage.

Thirdly, By stripes, if the slander be gross, or odious, against such persons whom a man ought to honor and cherish; whether they be his superiors, or in some degree of equality with himself and his wife.

CHAP. IX.

Of the trial of causes, whether civil or criminal, and the execution of sentence.

1. IN the trial of all causes, no judgment shall pass but either upon confession of the party, or upon the testimony of two witnesses.

2. Trial by judges *shall not be denied*, where either the delinquent requireth it in causes criminal, or the plaintiff or defendant in civil causes, partly to prevent suspicion of partiality of any magistrates in the court.

3. The jurors are not to be chosen by any magistrates, or officers, but by the free burgesses of each town, as can give best light to the causes depending in court, and who are least obnoxious to suspicion of partiality; and the jurors then chosen, to be nominated to the court, and to attend the service of the court.

4. The sentence of judgment given upon criminal causes and persons, shall be executed in the presence of the magistrates, or some of them at least.

5. No freeman, whether free burgess or free inhabitant, to be imprisoned, but either upon conviction, or at least probable suspicion, or some crime, formerly mentioned; and the cause of his imprisonment, be declared and tried at the next court following, at the furthest.

6. Stripes are not to be inflicted, but when the crimes of the offender are accompanied with childish or brutish folly, or with lewd filthiness, or with stubborn insolency, or with brutish cruelty, or with idle vagrancy; but when stripes are due, not above forty are to be inflicted.

CHAP. X.

Of causes criminal, between our people and foreign nations.

1. IN case any of our people should do wrong to any of another nation, upon complaint made to the governor, or some other, of the council or assistants, the fact is diligently to be inquired into, and being found to be true, restitution is to be made of the goods of offenders, as the case shall require, according to the quality of the crime.

2. In case the people of another nation have done any important wrong to any of ours, right is first to be demanded of the governor of that people, and justice upon the malefactors, which if it be granted and performed, then no breach of peace to follow. *Deut. 20, 10, 11. 2 Sam. 20. 18, 19.*

3. If right and justice be denied, and it will not stand with the honour of God and safety of our nation that the wrong be passed over, then war is to be undertaken and denounced.

4. Some minister is to be sent forth to go along with the army, for their instruction and encouragement. *Deu. 20.2,3,4.*

5. Men betrothed and not married, or newly married, or such as have newly built or planted, and not received the fruits of their labour, and such as are faint-hearted men, are not to be pressed or forced against their wills to go forth to wars. *Deut. 20. 5, 6, 7, 8 : & 24. 5.*

6. Captains are to be chosen by the officers.

7. All wickedness is to be removed out of the camp by severe discipline. *Deut. 23. 9, 14.*

8. And in war men of a corrupt and false religion are not to be accepted, much less sought for. *2 Chron. 25. 7, 8.*

9. Women, especially such as have not lain by man, little children, and cattle, are to be spared and reserved for spoil. *Deut. 20. 14.*

10. Fruit trees, whilst they may be of use for meat to our own soldiers, are not to be cut down and destroyed, and consequently no corn. *Deut. 20. 19, 20.*

11. The spoils got by war are to be divided into two parts, between the soldiers and the commonwealth that sent them forth. *Num. 31. 27.*

12. A tribute from both is to be levied to the Lord, and given to the treasury of the church ; a fiftieth part out of

of the commonwealth's part, and a five hundredth part out of the soldiers' part. *Num. 31. 28, 29, & 47.*

13. If all the soldiers return again in peace, not one lacking, it is acceptable to the Lord if they offer, over and above the former tribute, a voluntary oblation unto the treasury of the church, for a memorial of the redemption of their lives by the special providence and salvation of the Lord of Hosts.

Isaiah 33. 22.

The Lord is our Judge,
The Lord is our Law-giver,
The Lord is our King: He will save us.

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[Mr. ASPINWALL, who published the manuscript found in Mr. Cotton's study after his decease, as mentioned in the note, page 172, wrote an address to the reader, which was never seen by T. H.—perhaps the only copy of it is in the library of the Historical Society. It is offered to the public in connection with the Abstract of Laws, as a curious specimen of the manner of writing, and their opinion of laws and religion in the last century.]

TO THE READER.

Gentle Reader,

I HAVE here presented thee with an Abstract of Laws and Government, collected out of the scriptures, and digested into this method by that godly, grave and judicious divine, Mr. John Cotton, accommodated to the colony of the

the Massachusetts, in New-England, and commended to the general court there. Which, had they then had the heart to have received, it might have been better both with them there, and us here, than now it is. Concerning which model, I dare not pronounce that it is without imperfection in every particular; yet this I dare be bold to say, that it far surpasseth all the municipal laws and statutes of any of the Gentile nations and corporations under the cope of Heaven. Wherefore I thought it not unmeet to publish it to the view of all, for the common good. If any thing be wanting in the copy, let it not be imputed unto the author, who, had his labour found deserved acceptance, would undoubtedly have made a more thorough search, and perfect explanation of all the rules and laws of judgment and justice, scattered here and there throughout the books of Moses, and other scriptures. Which had he perfected in his life time, might have redounded to the universal good of all the nations that acknowledge the kingly office of our Lord Jesus. For though the great ones of the world, who covet to grasp more power into their hands than Christ ever betruſted them withal, are ready to asperse the poor saints of Christ, which wait for the coming of his kingdom, as if they were a company of giddy heads, and unstable, such as are either averse to all government, or know not what government they would have; yet the truth is, they know well what government they would have, and, might they be encouraged and countenanced, are able to give a clear demonstration thereof from the scriptures of truth, both what the laws thereof be, and what manner of officers of all sorts, from the highest to the lowest; which I doubt not but some of them will take opportunity to do, according to the holy will and word of Christ. So as if any thing be yet wanting in this which I here present thee withal, they will make a supplement thereof in due time.

In the mean while accept of this, which is worthy thy consideration, and doth contain the very marrow and sum of all, or most of those laws, which Jesus Christ, the eternal wisdom of the Father, thought necessary for the administration of his kingdom in righteousness and peace. And if thou possibly meetest with some rules, to which no scriptures are annexed for proof (as in the 2d and 3d chapters, and some sections in the 4th, 5th, and 9th chapters) consider, that

that those are not properly laws, but prudential rules, which he commended to that colony, to be ratified with the common assent of the freemen in each town, or by their representatives in the general court, as public contracts. Which being once made and assented to for their own convenience, do bind as covenants do, until by like public consent they be abrogated and made void. For though the author attribute the word [law] unto some of them; yet, that it was not his meaning they should be enacted as laws (if you take the word *law* in a proper sense) appears by his conclusion, taken out of Isaiah 33. 22. *The Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-giver, the Lord is our King; he will save us.* He knew full well that it would be an intrenchment upon the royal power of Jesus Christ, for them or any other of the sons of Adam to ordain laws: And indeed laws of righteousness, such as Christ's laws be, have these three incommunicable properties.

1. They are unvariable, and bind all persons in all ages and in all nations.

2. They are indispensable by any created powers.

3. They bind not only the outward man to obedience, but also the spirit and conscience. None of which can be spoken of any human laws or constitutions whatsoever.—Wherefore, when thou meetest with such an expression (calling such prudential rules and contracts by the name *law*) interpret it candidly. Beccuse such agreements being once made by mutual consent, the covenantees are obliged by the law of righteousness, to make good their agreements, until they be reversed by the like common consent, for a public good, which in all prudential contracts and covenants may lawfully be done. For *cujus est instituere, ejus est destituere.*

Possibly thou mayest meet with some particulars, which may not be fully cleared to thine apprehension; but in that case have recourse to the word of God itself, whereunto the author doth faithfully lead thee, and would have thee receive nothing from him, but what agrees therewith. And if any thing may possibly be thought to be omitted (as who can see all things* at once) let thine ingenuity make diligent search, and supply what the author in his life time had not opportunity to perfect. And be persuaded this to do;—weigh the laws here collected, I mean the scriptures themselves,

* Uno intuitu.

selves, which yield right rules of judgment in all causes both civil and criminal; and judge equally and impartially, whether there be any laws in any state in the world, so just and equal as these be. Which, were they duly attended unto, would undoubtedly preserve inviolable the liberty of the subject against all tyrannical and usurping powers.

The perfection of these laws may appear from hence; that though they be but few, yet are they such as reach to all persons, nations, and times, and are a perfect standard to admeasure all judicial actions and causes, whether civil or criminal, by sea or by land.

The impartiality of these laws appears in this, that there is no respect of persons in judgment, whether they be poor, or whether they be rich.

And thirdly, the consideration of the author of these laws might be a sufficient argument to commend them unto us, to wit, Jesus Christ, the eternal wisdom of the Father, he is our Law-giver: and he had no secret design to rear up an external glorious pompous government for himself or his vicegerents and substitutes, but to preserve his people in a state of holiness, righteousness, and peace. Neither did he attain this dignity by the blood and treasure of his subjects; but he laid down his own life, and shed his dearest blood to purchase and procure this liberty for them. Oh! who would not be in love with such laws, and such a Sovereign?

If it be said, But what may be done to attain this? I answer; it is not my purpose to persuade this, or any other nation, were they willing to hear, to enact or ratify these by any power of their own, in a solemn convention of their representatives, as laws; neither do I believe it was the author's intention so to do, when he drew up this model. For alas, what energy or virtue can such an act of a company of poor sinful creatures add unto the most perfect and wholesome laws of God? It is enough for us, and indeed it is all that can be done by any people upon earth,

1st. To declare by their representatives, their voluntary subjection unto them, as unto the laws of the Lord their God.

2d. After such professed subjection, to fall unto the practice thereof, in the name and strength of Christ, their King and Law-giver. According as it is written, Deut. 5.

27, 28,

27, 28, 29. *All that Jehovah our God shall speak unto thee, we will both hear and do. And Jehovah heard the voice of your words, when ye spake unto me : And Jehovah said unto me, I have heard the voice of the words of this people, which they have spoken unto thee, they have done well [in] all that they have spoken. Who will give to them, that this may be their heart, to fear me, and to keep all my commandments all days, that it may be well with them, and with their sons for ever.*

This Abstract may serve for this use principally (which I conceive was the main scope of that good man, who was the author of it) to shew the complete sufficiency of the word of God alone, to direct his people in judgment of all causes, both civil and criminal, as we are wonted to distinguish them. Which being by him done, and with all sweetness and amiableness of spirit tendered, but not accepted, he surceased to press it any further at that season, knowing full well that the Lord's people shall be a willing people in the day of his power. But the truth is, both they and we, and other the Gentile nations, are loth to be persuaded to dwell in the tents of Shem, and to lay aside our old earthly forms of governments, to submit to the government of Christ. Nor shall we Gentiles be willing, I fear, to take up his yoke which is easy, and burthen light, until he hath broken us under the hard and heavy yokes of men, and thereby weaned us from all our old forms and customs. The principal *remoraes* and *lets* whereof I conceive to be in courtiers and lawyers : For should Christ's kingdom be erected indeed, it would cross the lusts and lustre of external pomp and glory of the one, and the mammon of unrighteousness of the other. So that there will be a necessity, that the little stone, cut out of the mountain without hands, should crush and break these obstacles, ere the way can be prepared for erecting his kingdom, wherein dwells righteousness. — And verily great will be the benefit of this kingdom of Christ, when it shall be submitted unto by the nations, for then *righteousness and peace will kiss each other*, Psalm 95. 10. *And God will extend peace as a river, and the glory of the Gentiles as a flowing stream*, Isa. 66. 12. All burdens and tyrannical exactions will be removed ; *God will make their officers peace, and their exactors righteousness*, Isa. 60. 17. And then it will be no difficult matter to spare *many hundred thousand pounds*

pounds per annum, in so great and populous nations as these be, without neglecting the public tranquillity of the state, and the security of the same by a powerful militia, both at land and sea, so long as the necessity of the nations may require. But the season is not yet full come for these things, and there yet remains some of the sufferings of Christ to be fulfilled in the saints, and judgments upon his and their enemies. Wherefore I shall cease to say any more hereof at this time, and commend all these things to thy wise consideration. And the Lord give thee understanding in all things, which is the hearty prayer of him that wisheth all health and happiness to thee, and peace upon all the Israel of God.

WILLIAM ASPINWALL.

A LETTER FROM HIS MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS TO GOVERNOR PRINCE, WRITTEN AT RHODE-ISLAND, IN 1664.

SIR,

WE desire, that when you send us your assent to the third proposition, you would let it, and the other three, be fairly written together, that they may be presented to his majesty. And that, at the end of them, you would, add something to this purpose, That the articles of confederation, when the four colonies entered into an offensive and defensive league, neither did, nor shall oblige you, to refuse his majesty's authority, though any one, or all the other three, should do so: not that we have the least imagination of your denying your obedience to his majesty, but that we might stop some foul mouths in America, and that his majesty may be the more confirmed in his good opinion of your loyalty, who was informed (as we are told) that, that union was a war combination made by the four colonies, when they had a design to throw off their dependance on England, and for that purpose. We had told you this sooner, had we known it sooner. We have also sent you a short declaration of our meanings in the appointments of your bounds, which was not clear before, though intended. Hoping this messenger (whom we have hired and paid) may not come too

too late, and returning you many thanks for your cost, kindness, and good company, we rest, Sir,

your affectionate friends and servants,

Robert Carr,
George Cartwright,
Samuel Mavericke.

P. S. Thursday next we intend for Narraganset, and so on to Connecticut; and intend to call at Mr. Willet's as we come back; when, if you please, we will underwrite the four propositions, as we promised at Plymouth, if you will send the papers thither. How it came to be forgotten, we know not. We hope you got well home; and desire to be remembered to Major Winslow and Mr. Southworth.

Sir, if you know not of an opportunity to send this inclosed to Boston, I pray you hire a messenger, agree with him, and write word to Capt. Breedon what he must have, and he will pay him for your affectionate friend,

Geo. Cartwright.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE COURT OF NEW-PLYMOUTH AND AWASUNCKS, THE SQUAW SACHEM OF SACONETT, AS FOLLOWS.

IN admitting that the court are in some measure satisfied with her voluntary coming in now at last, and submission of herself unto us; yet this *we expect* that she give some meet satisfaction for the charge and trouble she has put us upon by her too long standing out against the many tenders of peace we have made to her and her people.

And that we yet see an intention to endeavour the reducement of such as have been the incendiaries of the trouble and disturbance of her people and ours—and as many of her people as shall give themselves and arms unto us at time appointed, shall receive no damage or hurt from us; which time appointed is ten days from the date hereof. Thus we may the better keep off such from her lands as may hereafter bring upon her and us the like trouble; and to regulate such as will not be governed by her, she having submitted her lands to the authority of the government.

And

And that if the lands and estates of such as we are necessitated to take arms against, will not defray the charge of the expedition; that she shall bear some due proportion of the charge. In witness whereof, and in testimony of the sachem her agreement hereunto, she hath subscribed her hand in presence of

Samuel Barker.
John Almy.

†
Mark of the Squaw
Sachem Awasunck.

The mark † *Totalomet.*

Somagaonet, &c.

Plymouth, July 24, 1671.

The names of the Indians which are the people *Awasuncks*, Squaw Sachem of Saconett, who have, and do hereby engage their fidelity to his majesty's colony of New-Plymouth, and their subjection to his majesty's colony there established, and faithfully to observe the agreement made between the government there, and the said *Awasuncks* Sachem, in behalf of herself and her people, subscribed by her, at Plymouth, in July, 1671. In witness whereof, they have hereunto subscribed their names, this last day of August, 1671, before

Totalomet,
Tunnokum,

Thomas Hinckley,
Constant Southworth.

Sausaman, &c. to the number of 42.

DARTMOUTH INDIANS' ENGAGEMENT, SEPT. 4, 1671.

MEMORANDUM—that we, the Indians living near or about the town of Dartmouth, in the jurisdiction of New-Plymouth, whose names are here underwritten, do freely own ourselves to be loyal subjects to his majesty of England, and to his colony of New-Plymouth; and do hereby solemnly engage ourselves and ours, to be subject to his majesty's authority there established, and to behave faithfully and friendly towards them; and that we will from time to time, if we hear of any malicious design acting against them, discover it to some of them with all speed; and also that we shall be ready to afford them any assistance against their enemies according to our ability, even as we expect friendship, and

and amity, and protection from them. For the performance thereof, we have hereunto set our hands, in the presence of

*Ashawanomuth,
Noman,
Marhorkum,
Jeffery,
James,
John, &c.*

Between 40 and 50 Indians, living near or in the town of Dartmouth.

A LETTER FROM AWASUNCKS TO GOVERNOR PRINCE.

August 11, 1671.

HONORED SIR,

I HAVE received a very great favour from your Honor, in your's of the 7th instant; and as you are pleased to signify, that if I continue faithful to the agreement made with yourselves at Plymouth, I may expect all just favours from your Honor; I am fully resolved, while I live, with all fidelity to stand to my engagement, and in a peaceable submission to your commands, according to the best of my poor ability. It is true, and I am very sensible thereof, that there are some Indians who do seek an advantage against me, for my submitting to his majesty's authority in your jurisdiction; but being conscious to myself of my integrity and real intentions of peace, I doubt not but you will afford me all due encouragement and protection. I had resolved to send in all my guns, being six in number, according to the intimation of my letter; but two of them were so large, the messengers were not able to carry them; I since proffered to leave them with Mr. Barker, but he not having any order to receive, told me he conceived I might do well to send them to Mr. Almy, who is a person concerned in the jurisdiction, which I resolved to do; but since then an Indian, known by the name of broad faced Will, stole one of them out of the wigwam in the night, and is run away with it to Mount Hope; the other I think to send in to Mr. Almy. A list of those that are obedient to me, and, I hope
and

and am persuaded, faithful to you, is here inclosed. Honored Sir, I shall not trouble you further ; but desiring your peace and prosperity, in which I look at my own to be included, I remain,

your unfeigned servant,

† AWASUNCKS.

Mr. Barker presents his humble services to yourself and the honored magistrates.

AN ORIGINAL LETTER OF GOVERNOR PRINCE, DATED
AUGUST 24, 1671.

GOODMAN COOKE,

IN your last you shewed the earnest desire of the Indians with you to have their arms again, for their use and benefit. Truth is, we have not heard any thing of them all this while, but that they have carried it neighbourly and peaceably, and that, upon our first motion, they delivered them up to you ; and since they have been in like fears of danger with you from other Indians ; nor has it yet been made out, that they will assort with Phillip at first or last ; and be for looking at him as friends. We are willing they should have their arms again ; and would have you appoint a day when they will come together to a place appointed, and yourself, John Tessel, your constable, and such others as you may think meet ; and see that they have them in as good a condition as you received them ; which being done, as a treaty of amity and love between them and us, as also to prevent suspicions and jealousies between them and us ; and that we may know our friends from others and so have to put confidence in time of need, let them subscribe this submission to his majesty of England, and his authority here established, according as all other Indians have done, and stand upon record of court. And let it be done in presence of competent witnesses ; and let some man write their names fairly, that they may be read. And let the Indians get the scrawl mark to their names,—let the month and day when it is done be set down, in the page preserved for it on the other side : and when this is done, let the paper be safely handed to me, as also the names of such as refuse to subscribe, if any be.

No

No more at present ; but, committing you all to the safe keeping of the only blessed God,

I rest your loving friend,

THOMAS PRINCE.

Plymouth, October 20, 1671.

FRIEND Awasuncks, be you and your husband kindly saluted. I received by Mr. H. and Mr. Southworth, August the last, a list of the names of such of your men, as also your husband's that do freely submit to his majesty's authority here, and likewise own your government and engagement with us. And be well assured, we shall be ready, upon all just occasions, to carry friendly to you and them. But I see they fall much short of your persuasions and hopes, and indeed of my expectations by your last to me. Though I fault not you, with any failing to endeavour, only to notice your good persuasions of them outwent their deserts, for ought yet appeareth. I could have wished they had been wiser for themselves, especially your two sons, that may probably succeed you in your government, and your brother also, who is so nearly tied unto you by nature. Do they think themselves so great as to disregard and affront his majesty's interest and authority here, and the amity of the English? Certainly if they do, I think they did much disservice, and wish they would yet show themselves wiser, before it be too late ; but let them take their course till they be convinced of their folly. I think you may do well to send some of yours to the next court, to desire your arms that are here, that you may have the use of them in this season. Let me hear from you or your husband. Nothing else at present, but prosperity to you and your people.

Your loving friend,

THOMAS PRINCE.

A LETTER FROM JEREMIAH DUMMER, ESQ. TO DR. BENJAMIN COLMAN.

DEAR SIR,

I HAD your letter by Col. Byfield, for which, and for all other letters and favours, I thank you. The second time that gentleman and I met was at my chambers, where

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we soon came to a full understanding of each other with respect to the present governor. I told him that both my duty and my inclination led me to stand by his commission, with what friends and interest I could make; and he replied, that he would by the help of God, get him turned out, and therein please God and all good men. Accordingly we have both been pretty diligent but I think he is now a little out of breath. His age makes him impatient of the fatigues of application, and his frugality makes him sick of coach hire, fees to officers and door-keepers, and other expenses; so that I believe he now heartily wishes himself safe in his own government at Poppy-squash. He is really an honest, worthy man, but he is so excessively hot against Col. Dudley, that he cannot use any body civilly that is for him. In a conversation I had with him before Mr. Newman, he used me very unhandsomely. The argument was, whether the general assembly was for or against the governor. He said the latter, because they would not address for him; to which I answered, my intelligence was, that Dr. Noyes opposed it upon the foot of its being a bad precedent, which future governors might claim the advantage of, when they did not deserve it, and that thereupon the house rejected it. To this the Colonel in great indignation said, *Well, Sir, then you say the whole house of representatives are turned about by one man? Take notice, Sir, that I shall go back again to New-England.* Upon this, I told him, his inference was so disingenuous, and the menace he added was so little like a gentleman, that I would never talk with him any more on that subject, which I have strictly kept to, though we have frequently met since.

I agree with you perfectly in the fine character you give of Dr Noyes. Where there is a concurrence of good natural sense, acquired parts, knowledge of men, an active genius, and a public spirit, I don't know what there can be wanting. And whoever says that gentleman possesses all these, says but the truth. I don't know how to express his character better than by saying, if he were in the commons of Great-Britain, he would be another Walpole.

I pray your acceptance of the prints inclosed. The sermon and preface of Doctor Welton about the altar piece will show you how poorly he defends a bad cause, and what a whining he makes about the decorations of the church, as if therein

therein consisted the beauty of holiness. The other pieces were sent me by the authors. I have committed to captain Willard, a book presented you by your good friend the dean of Peterborough, which he will give you. I hope your lady and all your family are well, to whom I give my humble service. I wish you health and every thing that's good, being, Sir,

your faithful, humble servant,

JEREMIAH DUMMER.

Charing-Cross, January 15, 1714.

P. S. When I say above, that my duty and inclination lead me to serve the governor, it is because it appears to me that the country is well pleased with him; for if my father were governor, and the country were against him, I would be so too, as long as I have the honour to serve in the agency.

Dr. BENJAMIN COLMAN.

A LETTER FROM THE REV. DANIEL NEAL TO THE REV. BENJAMIN COLMAN, OF BOSTON; DATED LONDON, SEPT. 19, 1718.

REV. SIR,

THIS comes to acknowledge the favour of your's of the 5th of July, and to thank you for the kind present you have sent me in my brother Harris's packet, though I have not yet received it, having been out of town about ten weeks. I have brought down my account of the New-England affairs to the end of the last century, where I shall conclude, or go forward, according as I receive encouragement and materials from your kind hands. The scheme you have seen in Mr. Watts's letter to Mr. Mather is almost the very plan I go upon, only I do not confine myself to his book. I shall be proud of the materials you encourage me to hope for, and beg you would favour me with some account of the gentlemen to whom I shall be obliged for them, that I may do them all the justice I can. I have nothing in view but impartial truth, and the honour of New-England, which is a country next my own, for which I have the greatest value.

I wish

I wish I may be able to relate their story with equal justice ; however, my papers shall lie by till I hear further from you. We have seen here a letter from Dr. Cotton Mather to Mr. Pollioniere, full of sentiments of that liberty and freedom, which has gained him a great deal of reputation among the men that contend for those principles among us ; it were only to be wished that it had been freed from *those puns and jingles that attend all his writings*, before it had been made public. But the scene of affairs is now changing, and we are in danger of falling to pieces among ourselves, about the principles of Dr. Clark, in his scripture account of the Trinity, unless some of our considerable men come to a better temper than they seem to be in at present, though I am not without hopes that it will still blow over without coming to an open debate ; but I shall leave Mr. Harris, if he thinks fit, to set this matter before you in its true light, and heartily wish it may not have any influence on New-England.

I am obliged to you, Sir, for the kind sentiments you are pleased to entertain of me, and my endeavours. I will assure you, I shall prosecute them no farther than I apprehend them for the public good. I beg a share in your addresses to the throne of grace, and remain

your most humble and affectionate

friend and brother,

DANIEL NEAL.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM DR. WATTS TO DR. C. MATHER, CONCERNING NEAL'S HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND, DATED FEBRUARY 19, 1719, 20.

—ANOTHER thing I take occasion to mention to you at this time is, my good friend Mr. Neal's History of New-England. He has been, for many years, pastor of a Congregational church in London ; a man of valuable talents in the ministry. I could wish indeed that he had communicated his designs to you, but I knew nothing of it till it was almost out of the press. I hoped when I first heard of it that I should there find an abstract of the lives and spiritual experiences of those great and good souls that
planted

planted and promoted the gospel among you, and those most remarkable providences, deliverances, and answers to prayers, both among the English and Indians, that are recorded in your *Magnalia Christi*; but I am disappointed of my expectations; for he has written with a different view, and has taken merely the task of an historian upon him. Considered as such (as far as I can judge) most of the chapters are well written, and in such a way as to be very acceptable to the age.

But the freedom he has taken to expose the persecuting principles and practices of the first planters, both in the body of the history and his abridgment of their laws, has displeased some persons here, and perhaps will be offensive there. I must confess I sent for him this week, and gave him my sense freely on this subject. I could wish he had more mollified some of these relations, and had rather left out those laws, or in the same page had annexed something to prevent our enemies from insulting both us and you on that subject. His answer was—"That the fidelity of an historian required him to do what he had done:" and he has, at the end of the first and second volume, given such a character of the present ministers and inhabitants of the country, as may justly secure this generation from all the scandal; and that it is a nobler thing to tell the world that you have rectified the errors of your fathers, than if mere education had taught you so large a charity. He told me likewise that he had shown in the preface that all such laws as are inconsistent with the laws of England, are, *ipso facto*, repealed by your new charter. But methinks it would be better to have such cruel and sanguinary statutes, as those under the title of heresy, repealed in form, and by the public authority of the nation; and if the appearance of this book in your country shall awaken your general assembly to attempt and fulfil such a noble piece of service to your country, there will be a happy effect of that part of the history which now makes us blush and ashamed.

I have taken the freedom to write a line or two to your most excellent governor on this subject, which I entreat you to deliver, with my salutations—And I assure myself that Dr. Mather will have a zealous hand in promoting so glorious a work, if it may be thought expedient to attempt it.

There is another thing wherein my brother is solicitous
lest

lest he should have displeased you, and that is the chapter on witchcraft; but as he has related matters of fact by comparison of several authors, he hopes you will forgive that he has not fallen into your sentiments exactly. For my own part (though I cannot believe that the spectral evidence was sufficient for condemnation) yet I am much persuaded that there was much immediate agency of the devil in those affairs, and perhaps there were some real witches too.

Mr. Neal is not unacquainted with your character for learning and piety, and the influence you have so deservedly obtained among the good people of New-England. He intends making you a present of his two volumes, and hopes you will accept them. I would have feign persuaded him to add a third volume, on the more spiritual parts of the history; and since I find he does not incline to it, I intend to desire it of your brother at Witney in Oxfordshire, with whom, last year, in my journey to Bath, I commenced a very pleasing acquaintance.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CAPE-BRETON TO THE BRITISH NATION—HUMBLY REPRESENTED BY ROBERT AUCHMUTY, JUDGE OF HIS MAJESTY'S COURT OF VICE-ADMIRALTY FOR THE PROVINCES OF THE MASSACHUSETTS-BAY AND NEW-HAMPSHIRE, IN NEW-ENGLAND.

THIS island, situated between Newfoundland and Nova-Scotia, the English exchanged with the French for Placentia, in the treaty of Utrecht; and during the late peace between the two nations, the French, by the advantage of the place, carried on an unbounded fishery, annually employing at least a thousand sail, from two hundred to four hundred tons, and twenty thousand men. In the year 1730, there was a computation made of twenty-two hundred thousand quintals of fish at Marseilles only, for a market; and communibus annis they cure above five millions of quintals. How dangerous a nursery of seamen this island, therefore, has been, and ever will be, while in their possession, is too obvious to a British constitution; and it is as demonstrable, the recovery of a place of this consequence will entirely break up their fishery, and destroy this formidable seminary of seamen; for if they are happily removed from this advantageous

tageous shelter, no protection is left for them on the fishing ground nearer than Old France; therefore they will not expose themselves to the frequent surprises and captures of the English from this island and the continent, but finally will be obliged to quit the undertaking, leaving the English in the sole possession of this most valuable branch of trade, which annually will return to the English nation two millions sterling for the manufactures yearly shipped to her plantations, and constantly employ thousands of families, otherwise unserviceable to the public, and greatly increase shipping and navigation and mariners. It is further to be observed, while the English solely supply foreign markets with this commodity, Roman Catholic countries must have a sort of dependency on them.

Moreover, the acquisition of this important island cuts off all communication between France and Quebec, the navigation to Canada river bearing near it, and must obstruct the French navigation through the bay of St. Lawrence to the only possessions the French have upon the sea coast to the northward of Louisiana, in the great bay of Mexico. By this means Quebeck must, in the run of very little time, fall into the hands of the English; and the Indians, wanting the usual protection and supplies from France, will be obliged to court the English for both; and having once experienced the treatment of both nations, as the latter can supply them better and cheaper than the former, they will consequently be riveted in interest to her; and thus the English will render themselves entirely masters of the rich and profitable fur trade, at present chiefly engrossed by the French.

But the consideration alone, that the British navigation and settlements on the sea coasts, throughout North-America, at present lie terribly exposed to men of war and privateers from this island, claims an attention to proper measures for immediately regaining possession of it; for from thence the French, with ease and little time, may station themselves in latitudes proper to intercept the navigation between England and all her plantations, and the intercourse of trade subsisting between one plantation and another, by captures; supplying themselves with English manufactures, naval stores, masts, yards, plank, lumber, sugar, cotton, provisions, &c.; and from its vicinity with the continent may, with

with the like ease, surprise our settlements all along the coast, and take the mast ships when loaded out of Casco and Ports mouth harbours ; whereas, the accession of this island to the British dominions, will not only secure our navigation, and guard our coasts in America, but will be a safe retreat for our men of war in the hurricane months, or when threatened with a superior force ; besides, there they, with greater safety and less expense to the crown, may refit, than in any other harbour in North-America.

The expense and danger in taking this place will bear no proportion to the advantages and profits thereby resulting to the English nation, and her plantations. To favour, therefore, an enterprise of so much consequence, it is humbly proposed that proper laws should be enacted, making it felony, without benefit of the clergy, in North-America, to supply the enemy with warlike stores, provisions, &c.

And whereas Virginia, Maryland, New-York, Massachusetts-Bay, and Canso, in time of peace usually have each a station ship of twenty guns, it is humbly proposed to add to each, one of fifty guns, and they immediately to sail from home to their respective stations, with orders constantly to keep cruising on the fishing banks, and in latitudes proper to obstruct the French fishery and navigation, protect our own, and especially to intercept stores, provisions, &c. getting into Cape Breton.

It is likewise humbly proposed, that those men of war should carry clothing, arms, and all manner of warlike stores, necessary for a body of three thousand men, to be raised in the following governments, viz. in Virginia three hundred, in Maryland one hundred and fifty, Pennsylvania three hundred and fifty, New-York two hundred and fifty, Jerseys one hundred and fifty, Connecticut three hundred and fifty, Rhode-Island two hundred and fifty, Massachusetts-Bay one thousand, and New-Hampshire one hundred and fifty ; and instructions to these governments to encourage the speedy raising of their respective complements, in order to have the more time to discipline them, concealing the real design under the specious pretence that those troops are raised to defend the governments from invasion, or the surprise of an enemy.

It is also humbly proposed, that these levies should be formed into three regiments, each regiment to consist of a colonel,

colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, seven captains, twenty lieutenants, ten ensigns, and adjutant, a quarter-master, and sergeants and corporals in proportion, and one thousand private men; and, to encourage the raising them with expedition, that all the officers (ten lieutenants, the adjutant and quarter-master excepted) should be gentlemen of interest in those several colonies; the American half pay officers therein to be provided according to their merit and rank; and the several governments to have transports, provisions, &c. necessary for the transportation of their respective quotas, by the beginning of April, 1745; and, having experienced the loyalty of the Massachusetts for twenty-seven years, I presume to engage they will cheerfully furnish their complement.

It is with great submission further proposed, that a squadron of six sail of the line, with two thousand regular troops, and all things necessary for a formal siege, should take their departure from hence the beginning of March next, so as to anchor in Gabaron bay, within four miles of the rampart of Louisbourg, by the middle of April following; there to be joined by the American troops under the convoy of the station ships. This may be executed without loss of men, no cannon commanding the entrance of this harbour, and where the navy of England may safely ride. It may be conceived advisable there to land the troops, and from thence to march and make regular approaches to the rampart, which is near three quarters of a mile in length, has a fosse and bastions suitably disposed; but both bastions and curtains are of masonry to the summit, which is thirty-six feet above the field; the quoins and embrasures are of hewn stone, the rest of small round stones cemented with mortar composed of their own lime, which is very bad, and saltwater sand, incapable of standing the frost; insomuch that every winter there is repair almost equal to new. It is judged by connoisseurs that the fire of their own cannon will shake down the works, and that they will not stand a battery. If the rampart is taken the citidel and four other batteries that command the harbour must yield; and, what facilitates the design, there is no outworks, glacis, or covert-way.

ROBERT AUCHMUTY.

*From my lodgings in Cecil-street,
the 9th of April, 1744.*

HISTORICAL SCRAPS.

Natick, June 17, 1727. DIED, John Thomas, aged 110 years. He refused to join with the Pequods against the English when they enticed him. He was among the first of the praying Indians. He joined in full communion when the apostle John Eliot gathered a church. He was exemplary through life, and had his reason and speech till a few hours of his death.

Marshpee, (an Indian society in the county of Barnstable) Nov. 26, 1729. This day was ordained here, Mr. Joseph Bourne. The council were, the Rev. Mr. Lord of Chatham, and two Indian pastors of Martha's Vineyard. Mr. Bourne preached in the Indian language, 1 Tim. iv. 16.—Mr. Lord preached in English, John, i. 7. One of the Indian pastors began the solemnity with prayer, the other gave the right hand of fellowship. The service was concluded with singing, and the benediction, both in Indian and English.

The first *Congregational* church, since the days of primitive christianity, was gathered at Geneva, and the Rev. William Whittingham was chosen pastor, a famous Puritan, who fled from England in the reign of queen Mary, leaving an estate of £. 1100 sterling a year, which was a great estate in those times, and shows how conscientious principles will subdue the passion of avarice in good minds.

Upon the accession of queen Elizabeth, he returned to England, was made dean of Durham, assisted Mr. Sternhold in the old English version of the psalms, being the author of those composures signed W. W. and compiled a very learned treatise against the *ecclesiastical constitutions*. His estate lying near Boston, Lincolnshire, his son Baruch was the principal builder of the church in that place, but his object was to come and dwell in New-England. He was taken sick and died; his widow, then pregnant, came over, was delivered of a son John, the only heir of the family. He married a daughter of the Rev. Mr. Hubbard of Ipswich, and there lived much beloved; and died as much lamented. He left three sons; John and Richard went to England; William remained

1. Richard, who took his degree at Harvard College, 1689, went to London, enjoyed the family estate in Boston, Lincolnshire, and there died, leaving only female children.—2. William, a merchant, who went to the West-Indies and died. 3. Mary, the wife of governor Saltonstall, Connecticut. 4. Elizabeth, who married first the Hon. Samuel Appleton of Ipswich, then Rev. Mr. Payson of Rowley.—5. Martha, married to Rev. John Rogers of Ipswich. The male line of the Whittinghams is now extinct.

Madam Saltonstall, the daughter mentioned above, lived in Boston till the death of the governor. He died in 1724, at New-London. She died in January, 1729. She was a most accomplished lady, a friend to literature and religion. Before the death of her husband, she gave £.100 to each college in New-England; and in her will, £.1000 to the college in Cambridge, for the support of two sober and ingenious students, professors of religion. She also left a very large silver bason to the Old South church, of which she was a great ornament, a considerable sum to their poor, and £.100 to the poor of the town, besides many other legacies. Her will was written in her own hand.

Is the following worth any thing as an *historical scrap*? It was found in an old almanac of a worthy gentleman lately deceased.

Number of inhabitants above the mill-creek, 6018 }
north end, 4549 } 10,567

Of these, had it S. of mill-creek, 3217 }
north end, 2596 } 5813 .

Died, S.	490	} 771
N.	281	

In

In 1752. The account of the overseers of the town.

Inhabitants,	14190 whites	} 15731
	1541 blacks	

Rateable polls, 2789.

Had the small-pox in the natural way, 5059 whites.
485 blacks.

5544

Inoculated, 2113, but of these there were 139 blacks.

Died, natural way, 452 whites.
62 blacks.

Died of inoculation, 24 whites.
7 blacks.

Removed out of town, 1843.

Those who are not inhabitants who had it in town, 84.

Sick, 23, at the time the account was taken.

To have it, 174.

A NARRATIVE OF THE NEWSPAPERS PRINTED IN NEW-
ENGLAND—IN A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FROM ONE OF THE MEMBERS.

SIR,

AN account of Newspapers from the Boston News-letter, the first ever published in America, about the fourth year of the present century, to the revolution of the country, must give peculiar satisfaction to all curious inquirers, and certainly comports with the object of our society.

It is observed in the life of Dr. Franklin, that in 1720, or 21, the New-England Courant was published, and that it was the *second* ever printed in America—the first being the Boston News-letter. “Great men are not always wise;” they are very frequently careless and inaccurate, especially in *little* matters of chronology. The doctor tells us, that his brother, who was engaged in this business, undertook it against the advice of his friends, who were persuaded that the

the country could not support a second paper. It seems strange, as he was in the office with his brother, that he should not recollect which of the years the *Courant* was published. It was printed in the summer of 1721. It was not the second paper. We have many papers of the *Boston Gazette*, which was printed in 1720, toward the end of the year. This was the second paper, and printed by *S. Kneeland*. In July and August, 1722, the numbers of the papers were,

Boston News-letter, Monday, July 2,	961	} 1722.
Boston Gazette, Monday, July 2,	136	
New-England Courant, Monday, July,	48	

There are files of papers; which I mention, lest a mistake may be thought to arise from one or two numbers often found among typographical errors.

What makes it surprising that Dr. Franklin should not recollect the *Boston Gazette*, is, that it was the *post paper*. The post-office first gave rise to the publication of newspapers in this country. The *Boston News-letter* was printed by *B. Green*, Newbury-street, for *John Campbell*, post-master. The *Boston Gazette* was printed by *Samuel Kneeland* for *P. Musgrave*, post-master.—Mr. *Green*, at this time printed the *News-letter* for Mr. *Campbell*, who was not in office.*

Some time after this, the old paper, or *Boston News-letter*, fell into other hands: for we find Mr. *Green* undertook another paper, called only the *Weekly News-letter*. Thursday, August 27, is the only paper I have seen—number 192. It is by *B. Green*; his office in Newbury-street. This was the fourth newspaper in America. Soon after, the famous *New-England Journal* was issued from the press; the first number, March 27, 1727—printed by *Samuel Kneeland*; his office in Queen-street—and afterwards by *S. Kneeland* and
Thomas

* A complete set of the *Boston News-letter*, for the years 1716 and 17, were in the library of the late Rev. Andrew Eliot, of this town, who was peculiarly fond of historical researches; as they relate to the early state of this country. These papers now make a part of the collections of the Historical Society.

They have likewise the first years of the *New-England Courant*, the donation of Mr. Benjamin Burt.

In the *Boston News-letter*, there is an account of the snow which fell in Feb. 1717, commonly called the *great snow*, as it exceeded any ever known before or since. Many have heard of it—some now alive can recollect how they have heard older people tell of it, but there are no printed accounts, perhaps, but what are taken from these papers.

Thomas Green—and continued to be published jointly by them from July, 1727, nearly 25 years.

Our design, say the editors, in this paper, is to “entertain the public with as edifying things as occur to our enquiries. Now we know not what can be more so than a brief and plain account of the Protestants, oppressed and languishing at this time under the tyranny of Rome. There are many good people, who, for very good reasons, will be thankful to be informed of this matter.”

They publish several extracts from a book called *Suspiria Vincitorum*, in which it is said, 2000 churches in France were broken up by edicts from the king.

The Protestants of the Palatinate, though still refugees from other countries, were still kept under the Diet, and persecuted by the Jesuits.

The state of the Vaudois is described in as melancholy strains as ever flowed from the harp of any sad wight whose spirit would keep his instrument going, whilst others, more dejected would hang theirs upon the willows.

“Then poor Bohemia! once almost entirely Protestant, now what an Aceldama!” The same in Hungary and Poland.

The foreign and domestic intelligence seems to have been collected with great care; and such accounts of births and burials as make a newspaper valuable to those who make calculations concerning the population of places. It may be excusable in the writer of this in saying, that if more attention was paid of occurrences, such as we find in the old newspapers, no readers could be displeased, and a few would be highly entertained. The most craving appetite for political discussion and sentimental essays might be gratified, and yet a small space given to things, apparently trifling, but which become important afterwards, as matters to which we can refer. In the first number of the journal, mention is made of the ordination of Thomas Smith, Falmouth.—This gentleman lately died, a remarkable instance of longevity, and continued minister of that church, having the pleasure of seeing the wilderness subdued, and the country, far and wide, settled, which was without inhabitants—and how many churches gathered!—the Vine now extends her boughs to the sea, and her branches to the rivers.

There is also mention made in this paper of the death of Benjamin

Benjamin Franklin, aged 77, "a rare and exemplary christian."

The New-England Journal was enriched with periodical essays, like the *Courant*, written by men of wit and learning, and were called *Essays on miscellaneous subjects*. The twenty-two first numbers are complete, in our collection of papers; but they were soon dropt. Except a chasm for two months, the Journal is nearly complete for the years 1727, 28, 29, 30, and among the bound volumes of the Historical Library. The editor of these periodical essays styles himself Proteus Eccha, Esq.* Some of them were printed in the Boston Magazine, 1784. It is a desideratum to have the whole republished.

The Journal united the sentimental excellence of the *Courant* with the domestic and foreign intelligence, which it seems to have been the object of the other papers to gather. The pieces are more of a classical and moral than political kind. The design of the Franklins was to write with freedom upon subjects of religion and government, in which they went too fast for their interest, and perhaps some have thought for their honour, or the reputation of the country. In the disputes upon the new method of treating the small-pox by inoculation, the editors of this paper took a decided part against inoculation, and were acrimonious in their reflections upon those who introduced it. Perhaps in their zeal against the influence of the clergy, they were angry at the thing, because they were active in recommending it; though for the *health* of the people.

In January, 1729, a new set of periodical essays were written in the New-England Journal, with Latin mottoes. It continued as many as eighteen or twenty numbers, regularly. And there is a wish frequently expressed by the customers, that

* The literary club who were concerned in this business are said to consist of a number;—among them were the late Dr. Byles, and Matthew Adams, a sensible *mechanick*; of him Dr. Franklin thus speaks in his life—"At length Mr. Matthew Adams, an ingenious tradesman, took notice of me, who frequented our printing-office, and had a handsome collection of Books. He invited me to see his library, and had the goodness to lend me any books I was desirous of reading."

A son of this Matthew Adams was minister of Durham, in New-Hampshire—the Rev. John Adams; a man of superior natural talents, but rather eccentric in his genius. A specimen of fine writing was exhibited in a letter sent to this town, with a donation, 1774, signed John Adams, and John Sullivan, the committee—the allusion to the *land of promise* was thought to be as elegant as it was pious.

that learned gentlemen would resume their pens with like periodical essays in favour of virtue and science.

Monday, September 27, 1731, began the Weekly Rehearsal—the printer, J. Draper—the editor, Jeremy Gridley, Esq. who became one of the greatest characters in the line of his profession, and whose powers of speech and thought are remembered by those who were personally acquainted with him.*

That the rehearsal might appear with proper dignity, it is enriched with mottoes from the classicks. The first is—

Floriferis ut apes in saltibus, omnia libant,

Omnia nos itidem. *Lucret.*

Fungar vice cotis, acutum

Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi. *Hor.*

It will be agreeable to some to read the address to the public by the editor, who continued the sentimental strain so long as the paper lasted.

“There is nothing of greater disservice to any writer, than to appear in public under too forward and sanguine expectation. But either he must elevate himself to the fondness of his reader’s fancy, or both of them expect to be dissatisfied, the reader by a disappointment, and the writer by a cold reception. To prevent, therefore, any inconvenience of this nature, I shall here enter into the design of the present undertaking, and delineate the idea I would have every reader conceive of it. As to the reasons that have engaged me in it, several, I find, have been assigned, all which I leave in the same uncertainty and suspense, since there is no necessity of declaiming upon motives, where the production is to be useful and entertaining. And to be so, as far as possible,

* In a London edition of a Dissertation on the *Canon and Feudal Laws*, printed in the Boston Gazette 1766, the author of it is said to be Jeremy Gridley, Esq. Attorney-General of the province of Massachusetts-Bay, Member of the General Court, Colonel of the first regiment of militia, President of the Marine Society, and Grand Master of the Free Masons. He died at Boston Sept. 7, 1767.

The Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law, says a writer in the London Chronicle, July 19, 1728, is one of the very finest productions ever seen from North-America. Happily, the writer still lives, as appears in a letter to T. H. from his friend in Boston.

The writer was not J. Gridley, but John Adams, being the first rays of that rising light so splendid in the meridian lustre.

This illustrious statesman speaks in the highest terms of respect of J. Gridley, in his answer to the address of the Free Masons.

possible, is the professed design of this paper—an intention that takes in a wide extent, and variety of subjects. For what is there, either in art, or nature, or history, not to be accommodated to this view. The minutest things, when set in a due light, and represented in apt words, will divert, and the greater be entertaining of themselves. The nature of this design, then, is not to be confined to any particular argument, and in fact will be circumscribed by nothing but duty, discretion, and good manners. These are the fences and boundaries, therefore I would think myself obliged never to transgress. For however uneasy a dissolute and licentious pen might be, under these limitations, yet without them there is certainly no real pleasure in any action of life; and with them, there is room for the widest range of thought, and the freest excursions of fancy. Room enough, every one will be ready to admit, but where shall we find the powers to traverse and cultivate it? Where the man equal to it? This is a hard unnecessary question. I need not go far to say where he is not, neither is there need of proceeding far to shew where he is. For without any pretence to genius, or universal capacity, an indifferent hand may be allowed once in seven days to publish a Rehearsal, and perhaps to entertain. A Rehearsal, what can we suppose it, but in the general course to be derivative? And what an infinity of sources have we to derive from. The ancients are yet living, and many of these later ages will ever live with them. They are too pure to displease, too numerous to fail us. And it is impossible for an industrious hand to give them a different course? May he not be useful to the public, by directing them where they will be valued, and where otherwise perhaps they would not have been enjoyed? This is all the vanity that can be imputed to the publisher of a Rehearsal; for as the paper takes its name, the readers should form their opinion from the general design. I am well aware of the exceeding and almost insuperable difficulty of being an original to this knowing and polite age. For besides the fertile and comprehensive genius nature must bestow, how many other qualities are requisite to form a good and a just writer. Easiness of mind, and a competent fortune are indispensably necessary. For how can wit and humour be employed by a man in want? How can the arrangement of ideas be attended to, by him whose affairs are in confusion? Travel, and the most refined conversation,

are to be added to these accomplishments: and beyond these it were easy to select many others, that enter the character of an original author, and discountenance those who want them from any pretences to it. I would therefore decline this path, and presume no farther than Mr. Locke says every man may, without the least imputation of vanity.—“Since no man (saith that great author) sees all, and we generally have different prospects of the same thing according to our different positions to it, it is not incongruous to think, nor beneath any man to try, whether another may not have notions of things, which have escaped him, and which his reason would make use of, if they came into his mind.”—These views and attitudes we apprehend things in, are infinitely diversified by the circumstances of persons. And there is, I am persuaded, scarce any man of the least observation and remark, who has not been entertained with some appropriate cast of thought, and turn of humour, even where he least expected it. Should I ever venture, therefore, beyond the limits of a *rehearsal*, this would be my plea and vindication: and should I fail in the attempt, what a great pleasure and obligation would it be, for some of my better readers to imitate the example of the Oxford scholar, who, although he had acquired an excellent hand in music, yet afterwards falling into the deepest melancholy, grew averse to it, and could not be prevailed upon by his friends to touch it. They had but one way to excite him, and that was, for some unskilful hand to take his violin and scrape upon it. He would then immediately snatch it from him, and in a kind of resentment, give it the utmost elegance of sound and harmony.

“What has been said, considers this paper only in the essay kind and speculative view; which is but half the design, for it is intended to be a narrative of whatever shall occur in commerce, in the civil and learned world, as far as it deserves our attention and comes within our notice. It will be the endeavour of the publisher to procure the best intelligence, and to digest it in the most suitable method. He would aim to give the sheet all the variety and aspects it is capable of receiving; for upon looking over the list of subscribers, he finds names of every quality, and presumes there are tastes of every degree to be pleased.

“He owns himself under indelible obligations to the gentlemen that have favoured and advanced the design, and

would not question their continuance till it deserves their disesteem, and it becomes an opiate, by having too great an infusion of the poppy.—”

This paper was printed only one year—the editor changed his printer toward the latter part of it; then it was printed by *Thomas Fleet*, at the Heart and Crown, Cornhill.

Mr. Fleet came from England, was among the zealous whigs that opposed Dr. Sacheverel and the high church party. He and his sons printed the paper called the *Evening Post*, which, for its impartiality, collection of facts, news, political speculations, and *journal of the times*, was always valued as one of the very best publications in any part of America. The first number was emitted soon after the *Rehearsal* ceased—and the last number was April 24, 1775.

Thus have I brought down the history of news. If this narrative is worth pursuing, I shall continue it to the revolution; but since that important period in the annals of this country, they have become innumerable.

In the year 1771, Dr. Franklin says there were twenty-five printed in America. I should suppose more, considering how many were then emitted from the presses in New-England.

None were printed in any other of the four New-England states, I believe, till after the year 1730.

In 1732, the first week in October, the Rhode-Island Gazette was first printed, by *James Franklin*.

There was no newspaper in New-Hampshire till Mr. *Daniel Fowle* left Boston, who set up the first printing-press at Portsmouth, in August, 1756, and there published, on the 7th of October following, the first number of the New-Hampshire Gazette. Mr. Hall, the printer of our Historical Collections, was then with him, and, under his direction, performed the first printing which ever was done in that province. Mr. Fowle died in 1787, having, by himself or in company, edited the Gazette about 30 years.

I am not so well acquainted with Connecticut as to say when the first newspaper was issued—but am informed that some of the family of Green are now there in that line of business. Dr. Trumbull says, that there was no printer in Connecticut till they sent for Mr. Timothy Green, a descendant of Mr. Samuel Green, the first printer in America. He was invited by the council; and the assembly, for his encouragement, agreed that he should be printer to the gov-

ernor and company, and have fifty pounds, the salary of the deputy-governor, annually. He was obliged to print the election sermons, the proclamations for fasts and thanksgivings, and laws which were enacted at the several sessions of the assembly. He came to Connecticut in 1714, and fixed his residence at New-London. He and his descendants were for a great number of years printers to the governors and company of Connecticut.

This respectable author mentions, in a note, that Mr. Thomas Short was sent by Mr. Green, in 1709, and should be considered as the first printer in the colony.

The typographers of America, and all who reflect how much indebted we are to the printing-press for the diffusion of knowledge, will ever respect the name of GREEN.—For mine own part, I experience a sensation similar to what I feel when I read the history of the family of Medici—
—parva componere magnis.

A. Z.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE SEVERAL SETTLEMENTS AND GOVERNMENTS IN AND ABOUT THE LANDS OF THE NARRAGANSET-BAY, IN NEW-ENGLAND.

Anno 1634. MR. Roger Williams purchased lands of the Narraganset sachems, bordering on Pau-tucket river; and, with others that came to him, built a town, and called it Providence; and in a short time after, purchased an island in said bay, and called it Providence, being about or near 7 miles long, and may be counted 3000 acres.

1637. Mr. William Coddington and his friends purchased an island of the said sachems, called Aquetneck, and next year settled it with inhabitants, and named it Rhode-Island; built two towns on it, about ten miles asunder, and called them Portsmouth and Newport. The island may be about 15 miles long, and the broadest place may be 4 miles wide, and may contain 20,000 acres. The inhabitants, by consent, erected a government amongst themselves, and were ruled by judge and elder, Mr. Coddington being judge.

1641. Mr. Richard Smith purchased a tract of land of the same sachems, in the Narraganset country, amongst the thickest of the Indians, who were very numerous, and re-puted

puted to be 30,000, and erected a house for trade, being far from English neighbours, and gave free entertainment to all travellers, it being the great road of the country.

1642. Some persons, to the number of 11 or 12, purchased also a tract of land about 14 miles to the northward of Mr. Smith's trading-house, built a town, and called it Warwick.

1643. The inhabitants of the Massachusetts-Bay procured an order from the Earl of Warwick, Oliver Cromwell, and other persons; for the rule and government of the Narraganset country. In the same year, afterwards, Mr. Roger Williams procured the like order, from the same persons, for the rule and government of the said tract, with whom the inhabitants of Rhode-Island joined, and made a government between them.

1650. Sundry disputes and differences arising among them, Mr. Coddington went for England, and procured a commission from the powers there regnant, for the government of Rhode-Island, distinct from the main land, to which the inhabitants submitted; but in seven or eight months overthrew the government, and forced the governor to flee for his safety, and then returned to the late government they left.

When Oliver Cromwell assumed the throne, they ruled by a letter from him, &c.

1657. Mr. William Coddington and Mr. Benedict Arnold purchased an island of the same sachems, called Quononoquot, for themselves and friends, and settled it, and is now made a town, and called Jamestown.

In the same year, Mr. John Hull, Mr. John Porter, and three persons more, purchased a large tract of land in the southern parts of the Narraganset country, and called Potaquamscut purchase, and have settled a part of it.

1658. Mr. Richard Smith, jun. purchased an island, called Hog-Island, of Wamscott, sachems of Whampinages, and lies in the mouth or entrance into Bristol harbour, may contain 2 or 300 acres.

In the bay are many more islands, most of them small; were all, one or other, purchased of the natives.

1659. Mr. John Winthrop, Major Humphrey Atherton, and associates, purchased of the Narraganset sachems, two tracts of land, joining to the bay, one lying to the southward of Mr. Smith's trading-house, and the other to the northward of it, and settled it with inhabitants.

1660. Mr. John Winthrop, Major Humphrey Atherton, and their associates, paying a sum of money for the Indian sachems to redeem their lands that they had mortgaged, for the payment, took a mortgage of them of the same lands, and allowing them a longer time for the payment, and failing therein also, anno 1662, surrendered up their lands to them, and gave them quiet and peaceable possession and seizin, by turf and twig.

1662. Connecticut people, by their agent, obtained of his majesty, king Charles II. a charter of incorporation for a government, including the Narraganset country.

1663. The inhabitants of Rhode-Island, &c. petitioned his majesty for a charter, and to include the Narraganset country; which bred a dispute between the two agents, who both agreed to a reference, and was accorded and issued, under four heads, two whereof were;—that property should not be destroyed, and that the inhabitants and proprietors of the lands about Mr. Smith's trading-house, should choose to which government they would belong; and they chose Connecticut. Upon this agreement of the two agents in England, a patent was granted to the agent for Rhode-Island, mentioning the agreement in the charter.

Note, that all the lands in the Narraganset country, and islands in the bay, were purchased by several persons of one and the same sachems, and their successors, before any charter of incorporation for government for those lands, so contested for, was granted; and his majesty, in the charter granted to Rhode-Island, allows and confirms all our purchases already made.

1664. Four commissioners were deputed, by commission from his majesty, to settle all differences between colony and colony, namely, Mr. Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, Mr. George Cartwright, and Mr. Samuel Maverick; but the power lay in Mr. Nichols, for without him they could act nothing that was valid. The other three, without Col. Nichols, passed some orders in Narraganset country, and took the country from both governments (as they said) until the king's pleasure was known, and called it the king's province, and ordered fourteen persons to exercise authority there, as justices of the peace, until, &c. Col. Richard Nichols, understanding what the other three commissioners had done without his knowledge, reversed their orders, and declared them null and void, and that all and every one

should keep their possession until the king's pleasure were known.

1665. The government and council of Rhode-Island, &c. passed an order for outlawing the people called Quakers, because they would not bear arms, and to seize their estates; but the people in general rose up against these severe orders, and would not suffer it.

1672. The general assembly of the colony of Rhode-Island confirmed all the purchases of Major Atherton and his associates, as may be seen in page

1675. A war broke out with the Indians round about us, and continued about two years; but at length the Indians were killed and fled away.

1678. Capt. Randal Houlden and Capt. John Greene, agents for the town of Warwick, in a private difference went for England, and informed his majesty that both government and soil of the Narraganset country belonged to him, and that there was never any legal purchase there made.

1678, 9. His majesty writes to all the colonies in New-England of this information, and commands them forthwith to make their right and title, both of soil and government, to appear before him at Whitehall, or else he would proceed so and so, &c.

1679. In obedience to the king's command, the colony of Rhode-Island and Providence plantations made their address to his majesty, claiming only right to the government of the Narraganset, by virtue of the charter, and laid no claim to the soil, desiring his majesty would bestow it on them. The colony of Connecticut employed one Mr. William Hains to carry the address to his majesty, laying no claim to the soil, but to the government by virtue of a prior charter to the charter of Rhode-Island, &c. Major Atherton's associates made their address to his majesty, and claimed the soil by virtue of purchase from the natives.

The commissioners of the united colonies (so called from their annual meeting) laid the matter before his majesty in a very methodical manner, laying no claim either to soil or government, only Connecticut aforesaid, as by their several addresses to his majesty may more plainly appear.

1683. Upon these several addresses, his majesty grants a commission to Edward Cranfield, Esq. Mr. Samuel Shrimton, and sundry other persons, to examine into the right with the several claims, and to make a report thereof to his majesty.

In the same year, in obedience to his majesty's commands, the said Edward Cranfield, Esq. with a competent number of the persons, convened at Mr. Richard Smith's house, in the Narraganset country; where was the greatest appearance of the most ancient English and Indians that were then living (that the like can never be again) to testify to the truth of their knowledge, &c. And from thence the commissioners adjourned to Boston.

1683. Edward Cranfield, Esq. and the rest of the persons commissioned, that met, made their report to his majesty in full and ample manner, declaring that the government of said country belonged to the colony of Connecticut, and the soil to Major Atherton and his associates:

1685. Upon this report, his majesty, king James II. declares his pleasure, and grants a commission to Col. Joseph Dudley for the government of the Massachusetts-Bay, &c. Narraganset country or king's province being included in it.

1686. Col. Dudley exerts the government of the said Narraganset, and takes possession thereof; establishes courts of judicature, and constitutes officers proper for such courts, and made justices of the peace, and did all acts suitable for a government; and all persons, there inhabiting, submitted to it. In the same year, Sir Edmond Andros came into New-England governor of the Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Narraganset, and Rhode-Island. The president and council having examined the right and titles of Major Atherton and associates to the lands of the Narraganset, by them claimed, approved and allowed thereof.

1689. The Massachusetts seized their governor and imprisoned him, and overthrew the government. After some time he made his escape from them, and came to Rhode-Island for safety; but the people there following the example of the Massachusetts, imprisoned him, and delivered him up to those that before imprisoned him.

From that time forward to this day, the strongest party in Rhode-Island, &c. who imprisoned their governor, have ruled with a high hand, by virtue of their charter, and compelled, by force, the people of Narraganset to submit to them, and are now selling and disposing their old proprietors and rights to whom they see good.

FRANCIS BRINLEY.

CHARLES THE SECOND'S LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR AND
MAGISTRATES OF RHODE-ISLAND.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.

WHEREAS in pursuance of an order of our privy council of the 4th of December last, directing our beloved subjects, William Stoughton and Peter Buckley, agents for the corporation of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, to show by what authority or title Simon Broadstreet, deputy-governor, and other inhabitants of that colony, had, by a printed paper called an advertisement, dated at Boston the 30th of July last, laid claim to the lands of Narraganset and Niantick country, called the king's province; they the said agents did declare, that the government of the Massachusetts is not at all concerned in this claim, but only some inhabitants who had purchased those lands from the Indian sachems: And whereas our well-beloved subjects, Randall Houlden and John Green, deputies of the town of Warwick in the colony of Rhode-Island, have certified our said privy council of their certain knowledge, as having inhabited the country for above forty years, that never any legal purchase had been made thereof from the Indians by the Massachusetts or any others; and there likewise being produced an act of the voluntary submission of the chief sachems and the rest of the princes, together with the rest of the people of the Narraganset, unto the government of our late royal father, of blessed memory, together with two declarations made by our commissioners on the 20th of March and 8th of April, 1664; whereby it appears that they had then received from some of the principal sachems of the Narraganset Indians, a surrender of themselves, their subjects, and their lands to our government and dispose, not only by their personal acknowledgments and sending us presents, but by putting into the hands of our said commissioners the deed aforementioned, of the 19th of April, 1644; and that as for the pretended purchases made by major Atherton, and others of Massachusetts colony, our said commissioners did then declare the said purchases to be void, ordering the purchasers to have the use and possession of those lands, and that the

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magistrates

magistrates of Rhode-Island should exercise the authority of justices of the peace in the Narraganset country, by them called the king's province, and do whatever they should think fit for the peace and safety thereof, until our further pleasure should be known, (we having taken the premises into our royal consideration, have thought fit hereby strictly to will and require you to take care that all things relating to the said Narraganset country, or the king's province, be left in the same condition as now they are, or have lately been in, as to the possession and government thereof), and the absolute and immediate sovereignty, as well as the particular property of all the country appertaining by the surrender of the sachems to be vested in, our farther pleasure is, that you do forthwith signify to all persons within your government who pretend any right or title to the soil or government of the said land, that they do with all speed, by the first convenience, send over hither persons sufficiently empowered and instructed to make their right and title appear to us ; and that upon default thereof, we will proceed to give such order for the government and settlement of the said province, as we shall judge to be most consistent with justice and the good of such our subjects who do already inhabit, or shall desire to make any further improvement within the said province : And whereas we have been humbly informed by our well-beloved subject, John Crowne, gentleman, that his father, William Crowne, had sustained great loss by our surrendering Nova-Scotia unto the French ; of part of which country he was proprietor, and therefore praying us to grant unto him the land of Mount Hope in New-England, in compensation thereof ; and we having referred the consideration of this his humble suit to the lords of the committee of our privy council for foreign plantations, and have received their opinion about that matter ; it appears to them that the said land did belong to sachem Philip and his adherents, and was conquered by our subjects of New-England, in the late war against the Indians, not without great charge and bloodshed ; we have thought hereby to signify the same to you, together with our pleasure that you forthwith certify unto what right or title any of our colonies there may pretend unto the said country, and also the true extent, value, and property of the said lands of Mount Hope, with the grounds and evidences of their respective claims, if any shall be

be made, that we may thereupon be enabled to give such further directions and orders as may suit with our royal justice and bounty ; and we cannot but upon this occasion take notice to that we have not hitherto received from you, or any other of the said colony, the least intimation, much less account of the conquest, claim, or disposal of the said country, not doubting but for the future you will be more careful to advertise us or our privy council of matters of this kind, and which do any way relate to our prerogative and authority ; and so we bid you farewell.

Given at our court at Whitehall the 12th day of February, 1678-9, in the one and thirtieth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command.

SUNDERLAND.

To our trusty and well-beloved, the
Governor and Magistrates of Rhode-
Island and Providence Plantations in
New-England, now for the time
being.

ADDRESS OF THE GOVERNOR AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF
RHODE-ISLAND TO CHARLES II.

Dread Sovereign,

IN true loyalty we most humbly render your royal majesty, an account of our receiving your gracious letter to us by the hands of your faithful subjects, captain Randall Houlden and captain John Green, bearing date at your royal court at Whitehall the 12th of February, 1678-9, and also your majesty's letters to your colonies Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, which we have taken especial care to deliver to your several governments, according to your royal directions ; and as to your royal commands to us, we do, with all cheerfulness and alacrity, yield obedience, and to the utmost of our ability and power shall, so far as God doth enable us, readily and faithfully be obedient to your royal commands, formerly and now, and also to such as your majesty, in your wisdom and justice, shall please for the future to lay upon us, for the maintaining and upholding your honour and interest, and the good and welfare of your majesty's colony of Rhode-
Island

Island and Providence Plantations in New-England in America: and concerning the late war with the Indians, we render your majesty this account: It began in June, 1675, and broke forth between the sachem Philip and the colony of New-Plymouth, and was prosecuted by the three united colonies, as they term themselves, and afterwards several other nations of the Indians were concerned in said war, whereby many or most of your majesty's subjects in these parts were greatly distressed and ruined; but this your majesty's colony not being concerned in the said war, only as necessity requires for the defence of their lives and what they could of their estates, and as countrymen and fellow-subjects, did with our boats and provisions assist and relieve our neighbours; we being no other ways concerned, cannot render at present you majesty a full and ample account of these affairs.

Only this we are bold to inform your majesty, that sachem Philip, the beginner of this war, was slain in Mount Hope Neck, where the war began, by an Indian belonging to this your Majesty's colony; he was one of a small company under the command of a captain of Rhode-Island, in this your majesty's colony, who was then in the engagement with a captain of Plymouth forces voluntary.

And most gracious Sovereign, we humbly beg your pardon for our remissness in not giving your majesty an account sooner (so far as we are able) of these wars and troubles, in hopes for the future we shall be more careful and observant. Concerning that tract of land called Mount Hope Neck, that belonged to sachem Philip and adherents, and were conquered by your majesty's subjects of New-England in the late Indian war, the contents thereof is about seven thousand acres, a plat thereof we have caused to be taken, and therewith present to your majesty; the soil thereof is for the most part fertile; the value is esteemed to be £.3000 sterling, as now it is uncultivated, the situation thereof being on the eastward of Narraganset-bay; and we humbly conceive, by your majesty's gracious charter granted, the easterly bounds whereof extendeth itself to the eastward of the said bay three English miles, within which limits the said land called Mount Hope Neck, or the greater part, there is situate; but it was, by your majesty's honourable commissioners within these parts of your majesty's territories, settled

settled to be under the government of your majesty's colony of New-Plymouth, until your majesty's pleasure were further known.

And most dread Sovereign, we, in all humble manner, implore and beg your excellent majesty, in your gracious clemency and wisdom, to take the present condition of your poor subjects of this your majesty's colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations and king's province, into your consideration, that those lands being within the limits of your gracious charter to us, also settled upon us by your honorable commissioners, and now confirmed by your royal letters above expressed, notwithstanding the united and confederate colonies, as they term themselves, have endeavoured to insult over your loyal people, and have forbidden us the exercise of your royal pleasure as to the government thereof;—and also have, as we are informed, consulted to dispose of said province lands as their conquest, though we know such lands are only to be at your royal pleasure, which was the natives, unpurchased by the inhabitants of this your majesty's colony.

And that your majesty will please, in your benign favour and bounty, to give and grant unto us the privilege and liberty of the free and clear enjoyments and possession of all those lands by your majesty's subjects of this colony formerly legally purchased by them of the native Indians, that thereby your majesty's subjects may be the better enabled to yield all due allegiance and obedience unto your majesty's authority in this your colony, not doubting your majesty, in your princely clemency, will be pleased to encourage the settlement and increase of this your majesty's colony, have been constrained, for want of lands, to remove themselves and estates into other colonies, to great weakening and impoverishing of this your majesty's colony. The youth of this colony being undisposed to live under any other government, being naturally inclined unto true loyalty, as was and is their predecessors, who ever had a loathing to any usurped power repugnant to your royal pleasure and authority, and therefore humbly beseech your majesty that such of this your colony that want settlements, may be supplied out of those vacant lands, unsettled in your province, before any other, and it may be enjoyed upon the same terms as is express in your gracious charter to us.

And

And dread sovereign, we, in all humble bounden duty, prostrate our real, true, hearty, thankful acknowledgments unto your sacred majesty for all the former and present royal favours and bounty to us these poor subjects of this your colony, so often and so graciously extended, which we hope will be continued; and also our humble, thankful return unto your majesty for those your gracious favours on our behalf offered to our honored neighbours and friends, captain Randall Houlden and captain John Green; and we return hearty praises to God Almighty for your majesty's wonderful preservations and deliverance late from the hellish conspiracy and plot against the life of your sacred majesty and the subversion of the christian religion in your kingdom, with our hearty prayers to God to grant your majesty a long and happy and prosperous reign; we humbly prostrate ourselves and lives to your majesty's feet, and in bounden duty remain your majesty's most loyal, faithful subjects and humble servants. Signed by the name and by order of the General Assembly of your royal majesty's colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations.

JOHN CRANSTON, Governor.

Rhode-Island, August 1, 1679.

LETTER OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW-ENGLAND RESPECTING MOUNT HOPE.

Right Honorable,

IN observance of our duty and allegiance to his dread majesty, our gracious sovereign, and in obedience to his commands by his letter directed severally to the governors of his majesty's united colonies in New-England, given at his royal court at Whitehall, February 12, 1678-9, we perceiving, by mutual advice, that his majesty's letters aforesaid, to each of these colonies, are of the same import, containing like commands of an account of the contents of the lands of Mount Hope and Narraganset, &c. which, in the late wars with the barbarous natives, our neighbours, were taken out of their hands, we crave leave to give your Honours this account following; as for the immediate and more apparent occasion of the said war with the natives, the progress and consequence thereof, the printed narrative, which we here-

with

with remit to your Honours, although the labour of a private hand, yet for the substance thereof doth truly set forth the same. Nevertheless we have (as we apprehend) just ground not only to fear, but, without the breach of the rules of charity, to conclude, that those malicious designs, the Jesuits (those grand enemies to his majesty's crown, as well as to the protestant religion, by us professed) have had their influences in the contrivement thereof, and of the certainty thereof we have been credibly informed by both Indians and English, at home and abroad.

And for those lands of Mount Hope, although Philip (what the Indians, over whom he was sachem, possessed the same;) yet they are not so properly to be called conquered lands, but such whose Indians claim therein, and title thereof, is now forfeited into the hands of the English of the said colony by the breach of covenant with them.

And we thus apprehend for these reasons,

1. In that the lands are indubitably within the limits and bounds of his majesty's colony of New-Plymouth, contained within the express limits of his royal charter, and therein granted, and are within the bounds of an English town of that colony, planted by them near seventy years since, called Secunke and Swansey.

2. Philip, sachem, and all those Indians under him, were orderly subjected to his majesty's government there settled by authority of said charter, as by sundry instruments under the hand and seals of the said Philip and his chief men, as may fully be made appear.

3. The necessity as well as justice of said war on the part of the English, for the preservation of the lives and estates of his majesty's good subjects there settled, the printed narrative above mentioned doth fully declare, and we have no reason to doubt but will be to full satisfaction.

As to the contents and value of said lands, called Mount Hope, they have been formerly esteemed at 7000 acres, but upon a late survey do appear to be of less quantity; and for the value, its advance is the more considerable, by reason of its situation near the sea, and so may be some accommodation to that colony for a place of trade, (otherwise the improvement and benefit thereof would be very inconsiderable) and an invaluable sum towards New-Plymouth part of disbursements, which, in the whole, hath been more than one hundred thousand pounds.

As

As for the proposal made in behalf of Mr. William Crowne, we may truly inform your honours, that neither his former losses, which were rather imaginary than real, nor his present demeanence seem such so to us as should highly deserve of his majesty, being rather a burthen and disservice where he hath been, than otherwise, are particularly to one of our plantations settled before the late unhappy war, where himself (as well as others) had good accommodations freely granted him, but very unhappy disquiets attended that plantation during his residence there.

As for these lands of Narraganset, they are included in his majesty's charter granted to Connecticut, and so regularly under the government thereof, and before the wars began, were peaceably settled with inhabitants in several parts thereof, in right of purchase from the Indians, and were likely to have been a flourishing plantation, under the countenance of his majesty's government there settled by his gracious letters patent to that colony under the broad seal, and by particular commands to other of the colonies freely, requiring their assistance of them.

But since the war, those parts are disturbed by sundry who do intrude themselves upon them by the countenance of the governor of Rhode-Island (as they allege) and are an ungoverned people, incápable to advance his majesty's interest or the peace and happiness of their neighbours. As for the acts of his majesty's commissioners, 1664, we hope none of their conclusions were intended to contradict his majesty's charters granted to his good subjects here, especially considering the absence of colonel Nichols, when such conclusions were drawn up by others of them, without whose concurrence their acts (as their commission exhibited declines to us) were invalid.

We humbly crave to propose, that it will be most difficult, if not impossible, for the several claimers of right in that country, now resident in those colonies, to defend their interest before his majesty's privy council; the whole estate of many of them not being sufficient to transport them over seas, or supply the management of an easy defence at such a distance, whence they must inevitably sink under the burden of the loss of all, if his majesty be not pleased, in his royal wisdom, to order some other expedient to an issue.

The English of these colonies having, by his majesty's
good

good leave, under security of his letters patent, removed themselves into the remote wilderness near fifty years now past, they have confidence that the malice of their adversaries, by their private intimations and unjust reproaches, shall now prevail to disturb them in their so orderly a settlement. We humbly offer to your honours' hands these brief intimations, which we humbly intreat your honours' favour and candor, so far as to communicate and lay before his majesty, as in your wisdom you may judge a service to his majesty's interest and benefit to his good subjects here. A more and particular answer to his majesty's demands, as the colonies may be severally concerned, we shall refer to their General Court at present.

Honorable Sirs, we take leave to subscribe ourselves your most humble servants, the commissioners of the united provinces and colonies in New-England—Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut—in and by the special order of each respective government.

Thomas Hinckley,
John Allen,
James Richards,

Thomas Danforth, Presid.
Joseph Dudley,
Josiah Winslow.

Boston, in New-England, August 25, 1679.

A TRUE AND BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE JUST AND LEGAL RIGHT WHICH WE HIS MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS PETITIONING HAVE OF LANDS IN THE NARRAGANSET COUNTRY AND PARTS ADJACENT, IN HIS MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS IN NEW-ENGLAND. IN ALL HUMILITY PRESENTED.

1. WE his majesty's most loyal subjects have derived our interest long since purchased our lands from the chief sachems of that country, from whom we have received legal and authentic deeds for all our lands, under their hands and seals respectively, with legal possession of the same unto us by the said sachems; the last whereof was about nineteen years since, in the presence of several hundred of English and Indians, and the weight of the money from us by the said sachems and their interpreters at sundry times under their hands and seals, manifesting their free consent to all our grants, &c.

2dly. The sachems had subjected themselves and people

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to our sovereign lord the king his government in and by the united colonies in New-England; and all the said colonies having assented and approved of our purchase rights in said countries, and have by their several acts and instruments manifested the same, and in particular by their late letter and humble address to his sacred majesty; for our deed and evidences being registered, and remain in divers courts of record unto this day.

3dly. His majesty was graciously pleased to allow and confirm our rights to the lands aforesaid by his royal letters to the several colonies, dated 21st June, 1663.

4thly. The chief sachems of the said country did in the time of the late bloody rebellion of Philip (before also they revolted) by their delegates ratify and confirm all and singular the grants of the lands aforesaid unto us the proprietors, as by the seventh article of their treaty, now printed, may appear, &c.

And whereas it hath been falsely affirmed by one John Green and Randall Houlden, of Warwick, that the lands of the Narraganset were never purchased legally by any, but that the Indians gave all their lands to king Charles the first, of blessed memory, which they would seem to prove by a declaration taken out of Mr. Gorton's book: To this we answer,

1st. That part of the lands aforesaid were purchased by Mr. Roger Williams, yet living, and by Mr. Richard Smith, deceased, above forty years ago, and possessed to this day by his son, Mr. Richard Smith.

2dly. That the subjection of the Indians, their land and their people, to his majesty, by that instrument, was, as we humbly conceive, no other than a putting themselves under the protection and owning the sovereignty of the king of England, as his loyal subjects, which was the same that the Indians have ordinarily done in Plymouth colony of old; and desiring to live in amity and peace with the English under his majesty's respective governments.

2dly. Whereas it is objected, three of his majesty's commissioners, viz. Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright, Samuel Maverick, Esqrs. did, in the year 1664, under their hand and seals, make null all the deeds and evidences we the said proprietors had for the said land, and still have, ordering all the tenants and inhabitants to go off and quit their interest and

and possessions of those lands by such a time, but with this proviso or limitation, that the Indians should forthwith pay unto the English proprietors 1053 fathom of wampompeage.

To which we reply,

1st, That the said commissioners (under favour) had no power, by his majesty's said commission, so to determine, much less, without legal precess, to null or make void any title of lands, or dispossess any of his majesty's good subjects of their just rights in these parts.

2dly, If it be admitted, that the said commissioners had power to put out men of their possessions, which they had then quietly enjoyed, some above thirty years, yet there being no act they could do by virtue of their commission valid or binding, except colonel Richard Nichols was with them as chief, and to have the decisive vote, as by said commission may appear.

3dly. But said colonel Nichols was then many hundred miles off, therefore, &c. If it be granted (which we cannot but deny) that what the first named three commissioners then did, was by their commission, and according to law, yet the proviso or condition thereof, viz. that the Indians should forthwith pay to the proprietors so many fathom of wampompeage, being not performed, their said act is void.

4thly, That notwithstanding whatsoever those three commissioners aforesaid had done, or pretended to do, about dispossessing our tenants the inhabitants, or destroying the titles of our proprietries, yet upon better consideration, the said colonel Nichols, and the rest of the said commissioners, did, by several instruments under their hands and seals, make null and void the same. By all this may appear the absurdity and invalidity of the allegations and pleas of the said Houlden and Green against the rights and just interest of us the proprietors in the lands aforesaid.

All which we the said proprietors are ready to prove and make good, by legal deeds and the testimonies of persons yet alive upon the place, at any time when and before whom his majesty shall be graciously pleased to commissionate to hear and determine the justice and legality thereof.

Your majesty's most humble and most loyal subjects, for and in the name and behalf of the said proprietors the petitioners,

RICHARD WHARTON,
ELISHA HUTCHINSON,
JOHN SAFFIN.

Anno 1680.

CHARLES THE SECOND'S COMMISSION TO EDWARD CRANFIELD AND OTHERS TO EXAMINE INTO THE CLAIMS AND TITLES TO THE NARRAGANSET COUNTRY.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES the Second, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to our trusty and well-beloved Edward Cranfield, Esq. our lieutenant-governor and commander in chief of New-Hampshire, and to William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, Edward Randolph, Samuel Shrimton, John Fitz Winthrop, Edward Palmer, John Pynchon, jun. and Nathaniel Saltonstall, jun. Esqrs. greeting. Whereas for the quieting of all disputes that hath arisen concerning the right of propriety to the jurisdiction and soil of a certain tract of land within our dominion of New-England, called the King's Province or Narraganset Country, we have thought fit to cause strict inquiry to be made into the several titles and pretensions which are claimed or challenged thereunto ;— Know ye, therefore, that we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the prudent fidelity and circumspection of you the said Edward Cranfield, William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, Edward Randolph, Samuel Shrimton, John Fitz Winthrop, Edward Palmer, John Pynchon, jun. and Nathaniel Saltonstall, have assigned, ordained, constituted, and appointed, and do by these presents, assign, ordain, constitute, and appoint you the said Edward Cranfield, William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, Edward Randolph, Samuel Shrimton, John Fitz Winthrop, Edmard Palmer, John Pynchon, and Nathaniel Saltonstall, to be our commissioners for examining and inquiring into the respective claims and titles, as well of ourselves as of all persons or corporations whatsoever, to the immediate jurisdiction, government, or propriety of the soil, of or within our province commonly called the King's Province or Narraganset Country, hereby authorizing and empowering you, or any three of you, (whereof Edward Cranfield or Edward Randolph aforesaid shall be the quorum) to examine and inquire into the several titles above mentioned, and to summon and call before you any person or persons, and to search records, as you shall find requisite for your information

formation in this behalf; as also to take examinations upon oath (which the governor and magistrates, under whose respective jurisdiction you shall meet, are hereby required and directed to administer unto such person or persons whom you shall so think fit to call before you) for the clearing of truth in the cases above mentioned: And your proceedings herein, with your opinions on the matters that shall be examined by you, you are to state and report unto us with all convenient speed to the end we may, upon a final determination in our privy council, cause impartial justice to be done and executed where it shall appear to belong. And so we bid you farewell. From our court at Whitehall, the seventeenth day of April, in the five and thirtieth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command.

SUNDERLAND.

SUMMONS OF THE KING'S COMMISSIONERS TO ALL PERSONS CLAIMING RIGHTS IN THE NARRAGANSET COUNTRY TO APPEAR.

By his Majesty's Commissioners for examination, and inquiring into the claims and titles to the King's Province, or Narraganset Country.

WHEREAS by a commission from his majesty, bearing date the 17th of April, 1683, Edward Cranfield, William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, Edward Randolph, Samuel Shrimton, John Fitz Winthrop, Edward Palmer, Nathaniel Saltonstall, and John Pynchon, jun. Esqrs. or any three of them, (whereof Edward Cranfield or Edward Randolph to be of the quorum) are appointed and authorized commissioners to examine and inquire into the respective claims and titles, as well of his majesty as of all persons or corporations whatsoever, to the immediate jurisdiction, government or propriety of the soil of a certain tract of land within his majesty's dominion of New-England, called the King's Province or Narraganset Country, and to call before them any person or persons, and to search records, as they shall find requisite; and their proceeding therein, with their opinions upon the matters that shall be examined by them, to state, and with all convenient speed report thereof to make

to his majesty : In pursuance whereof, we the commissioners have thought fit to certify and publish to all persons and corporations concerned, that we have concluded on Wednesday the 22d of August next to convene an assembly at Mr. Richard Smith's house, in the Narraganset Country, there to hear and receive the claims, proofs, pleas, and pretensions of all persons whatsoever, either in behalf of his majesty or any other persons or corporations and that we do hereby summon and require all persons and corporations that either possess or claim any right or title to the soil or jurisdiction of or within the King's Province or Narraganset Country, whether upon the main, between the rivers of Providence and Pauquatuck, the island of Quononiquut, Prudence, Patience, or any other islands which now or formerly are or were reputed to be part of or belonging to the Narraganset Country, either personally, or by their representatives or agents, fully instructed and empowered, to appear, and give their attendance at the time and place aforesaid ; and produce all letters, acts, and orders from his majesty, his council, or any of his commissioners to the respective colonies, governors, or governments, with all such charters, deeds, records, and evidences whatsoever, that may tend to the clearing of truth herein, or authentic copies thereof : And whereas, upon information given, it is presumed, from the ancient records of the acts of court, and of grants and conveyances of land, kept at Rhode-Island, some collections beneficial to his majesty's interest may be made, the said colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations is hereby especially required to produce all such papers, registers, or books of record, as have at any time been kept, from the year 1640, or authentic copies thereof, to this day : And to the end that all persons and corporations concerned may have seasonable and full notice hereof, we have ordered this summons to be printed, and sundry copies thereof, attested by Mr. William Wharton, (with particular letters under our hands, directed to the several governors of his majesty's colonies in New-England) that the same may be affixed and published in all convenient places within their respective jurisdictions.

By order of his majesty's commissioners.

WILLIAM WHARTON, Register.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS TO THE KING.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

May it please your Majesty,

WHEREAS your majesty hath been graciously pleased, by your commission under your royal signet, bearing date at Whitehall the 17th day of April, in the five and thirtieth year of your reign, to constitute Edward Cranfield, Esq. lieutenant-governor and commander in chief of New-Hampshire, William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, Edward Randolph, Samuel Shrimton, John Fitz Winthrop, Edward Palmer, John Pynchon, and Nathaniel Saltonstall, Esqrs. or any three of them, (whereof Edward Cranfield or Edward Randolph should be of the quorum) commissioners for inquiring into the respective claims and titles, as well of your majesty as well as persons and corporations whatsoever, to the immediate jurisdiction and propriety of soil to the King's Province or Narraganset Country, and to make report of the same, with their opinions upon the matters that should be examined by them, that your majesty might cause impartial justice to be done.

In humble obedience to your majesty's commands, we your majesty's said commissioners, whose names are subscribed, do humbly offer, that upon receipt of your said commission, we, both by our letters to the several governors and councils of your colonies, and by printed summonses sent to them to publish, if they saw cause, in their respective jurisdictions, for information of their people, signified the purport of your said commission, and that we had appointed on Wednesday, the two and twentieth of August, to convene at the house of Mr. Richard Smith, in the Narraganset Country, to receive all such information, evidence, and claim, as well in your majesty's behalf as of all persons and corporations whatsoever, as should be offered, with other necessary intimations; and that upon the 22d of August we convened at the place aforesaid, where captain John Allen and Mr. John Wadsworth, two of the magistrates of Connecticut colony, as their agents; Thomas Hinckley, Esq. governor of New-Plymouth, in person, and Mr. Waite Winthrop, Mr. Simon Lynde, Mr. John Saffin, Mr. Elisha Hutchinson,

Hutchinson, Mr. Richard Wharton, and Mr. Joshua Lamb, in their own behalfs, and as representatives for the rest that claim propriety in right of John Winthrop, Esq. and major Humphrey Atherton and partners, all appeared; and after very dutiful and thankful acknowledgments of your majesty's great and gracious care to inform yourself, and by your final determination to cause impartial justice to be done, the agents of Connecticut and governor of New-Plymouth, in their colonies' behalf, respectively claimed jurisdiction, by patent over the King's Province or Narraganset Country; and the said Mr. Winthrop, Lynde, Saffin, Hutchinson, Wharton, and Lamb, entered their claims and produced their evidences for the soil of the said province and country; sundry other claims were also exhibited to several parts of the said province, all persons any ways concerned expressing great satisfaction in and submitting to your majesty's commands and our proceedings, except only the government of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, from whom, according to the informations given to your majesty's commissioners, anno 1664, and what was some years since suggested to your majesty and council by Randall Houlden and John Green, we expected farther information and evidence as to your majesty's interest and propriety, but instead of their colony's assistance in your majesty's concerns, and prosecution of their own pretensions, their General Assembly was purposely called, and, as we are informed, adjourned in an unlawful manner to a house in the Narraganset Country, distant about a mile from the place of our session, who sent us a letter, interdicting our proceedings; which not availing, they sent their serjeant-general, in a riotous manner, with a great number of horsemen, who, by loud proclamation, prohibited us from keeping court in any part of their jurisdiction, commanding all persons, within the verge of their colony or King's Province, to depart, and not to be abettors to our pretended court, as by their letter and proclamation may more fully appear. Notwithstanding, we continued to make strict inquiry and examination, both of the ancientest inhabitants of the English and Indians, for two days, and received all such claims as were pretended: And in regard none appeared with any claim or plea in your majesty's behalf, we adjourned to Boston, there to meet on the third of September following, and substituted a committee

mittee to carry a letter to Rhode-Island court, intimating our adjournment, and demand in your majesty's name and for the behoof that the said committee might search, peruse, and examine their records, and also sent particular summons, in your majesty's name, to said Houlden and Green, to appear before us on the third of September, to give in evidence pursuant to the information or suggestions given to your majesty in council at Whitehall ; which said letter was delivered to Mr. William Coddington, their governor, and the summons to the said John Green in open court ; the answer and reception whereof, and the methods of our proceedings, and the great contempt offered to your majesty's commission by the General Assembly of Rhode-Island, we humbly refer to a narrative drawn by William Wharton our register, and approved by ourselves, which, with this, will, by our order, be humbly laid at your majesty's feet.

Upon Monday, the third of September, we again convened at Boston, and gave farther opportunity for new claims ; but none from Rhode-Island appeared, so that they then failing in their duty, Mr. Richard Wharton and partners exhibited a printed book, containing a deed bearing date the 19th of April, 1644, being the subjection of two chief sachems, named Passicus and Canonicus, of themselves, their people, and lands, to the care, protection, and government of your royal father, of blessed memory ; and with the said book was presented a breviate or memorial of the occasion and improvement of said subjection, the said Wharton and partners declaring that none of them knew of any other evidence as to your majesty's propriety or interest in the soil, neither hath any been offered by any other hand ; so that we have sincerely and seriously considered the several claims before us to the jurisdiction, which we find, as well by the said printed deed of subjection as by former capitulations and conditions, after the conquest of the Pequods, between your majesty's subjects of the united colonies and the sachems and counsellors of the Narraganset Country, and the purchases, possessions and improvements made by your majesty's subjects, to have been absolutely vested in your majesty ; and that your majesty, by your letters patent, dated at Westminster the three and twentieth of April, in the fourteenth year of your majesty's reign, your majesty granted to the governor and company of Connecticut and their successors, all

Vov. V. G g that

that part of your dominions in New-England bounded on the east by Narraganset river, commonly called Narraganset-bay, where the said river falleth to the sea ; and on the north, by the line of the Massachusetts plantations ; and on the south, by the sea ; and in longitude as the line of the Narraganset, running from east to west, that is to say, from the said Narraganset-bay on the east, to the South Sea on the west part, thereunto adjoining, together with all firm lands, soils, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, waters, fishings, mines, minerals, precious stones, and all and singular other commodities and jurisdictions whatsoever, reserving to your majesty, your heirs and successors, only the fifth part of the ore of gold and silver, as by the said charter may at large appear.

We have also had information that some time after your majesty's grant, and said patent was sent to your colony of Connecticut, the said country of the Narraganset was likewise by patent granted by your majesty to the governor and company of Rhode-Island plantation, and is by charter bounded by a river called Paugautuck, which by said charter is forever to be accounted and called the Narraganset river ; and this latter grant of your majesty to Rhode-Island seems to be founded upon advice submitted to by John Winthrop, Esq. said to be agent for Connecticut colony, and Mr. John Clark, agent for Rhode-Island ; to which the agents of Connecticut plead, that Mr. Winthrop's agency for them ceased when he had obtained and sent the patent to them, and that no submission or act of his could validate or deprive them of any of the benefits graciously granted by your majesty's charter ; and that notwithstanding the seeming boundaries set by the said articles, signed by Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Clark, it is in the same articles provided, that the proprietors and inhabitants of the Narraganset Country shall choose to which of the two governments to belong, and that they unanimously chose and subjected to the government of Connecticut, under which that plantation began to prosper till the year 1664-5, when some of your majesty's commissioners (which is alleged, without colonel Nichols, then absent, could make no valid act) in favour to the Rhode-Islanders, published some inadvertent orders, since by colonel Nichols and themselves reverted ; however, by the said orders and pretensions that the Rhode-Islanders

Islanders by virtue of their patent make, we find they have much molested the inhabitants, and discouraged the settlement of said country, and occasioned controversies between the said colonies.

Pursuant, therefore, to the gracious ends to acquit those disputes, we have carefully endeavoured to obtain certain knowledge of the bounds of your majesty's province of the Narraganset Country; and upon the best evidence offered, and examination of sundry ancient inhabitants, both the English and Indians, it appears, that a brook called Wecapaug, is near the sea, the westerly bounds of the Narraganset Country; all the land, which is in breadth about four or five miles, lying between the said brook and Paugautuck, being the Pequod country, and by conquest taken from them, and disposed of to several persons; within which limits lie sundry farms, belonging, by ancient grant, to Harvard College, to Mr. Simon Lynde, and other persons, whose titles being asserted, have been acknowledged by all others pretending propriety; and that the Narraganset bay or river, where it falls into the sea, bounds the Narraganset Country easterly; and by a testimony given by governor Winslow in his life time, upon another occasion, and also by information of sundry old and principal Indians, it appears that Patucket river lying between Rehoboth and Providence, was the intended country and river between Plymouth colony and Providence plantations, which in Plymouth patent is called Narraganset river; this Patucket river falling into the greater Narraganset river or bay that bounds Narraganset eastward; so that between the said river of Patucket, Quenebaug and Nipmug countries to the northward, and Wecapaug brook westerly, lies the whole dominion and territories, containing the Cowhessett and Niantick countries, formerly and lately belonging to the Narraganset sachems, and generally called the Narraganset Country. As to the claim made by the colony of Plymouth to jurisdiction and soil in the Narraganset Country, we find it hath only foundation from the name given to Paugautuck of the Narraganset river; and if anciently and truly so called, then Plymouth charter, if confirmed by your majesty, being granted by the council of Plymouth, and bears date the 13th of January, in the fifth year of the reign of your royal father, will determine the controversy between Rhode-Island and Connecticut, and comprehend the

the whole Narraganset and part of the Pequod country, the lands granted to Plymouth being bounded southerly by the Narraganset river; but with humble submission we cannot see any cause to judge that the said Paugautuck river anciently was, or ought to be, called or accounted the Narraganset river.

1st. Because it lies some miles within the Pequod country, a nation still extirpated by the English, often or always at war with the Narragansets, and to which territories the Narragansets never pretended.

2dly. Because Paugautuck river falls into the sea many miles westward of any part of the Narraganset bay; is the river anciently called Narraganset river, both because it on the eastward washes and bounds the whole length of the Narraganset Country, and for that Plymouth colony, which hath now been planted near threescore years, have ever since bounded themselves, according to the scheme or limitation of their patent, by the same bay, called Narraganset river, towards the south, into which the freshets of said river called Patucket, empties itself in a precipice.

Thus, in all humility, having represented our opinions as to the bounds and jurisdictions, we humbly report our opinions respecting propriety of soil as follows.

1st. We find that by one deed, dated the 11th of June, 1659, Coginaquand, chief sachem and proprietor of the Narraganset Country, did give, grant, and convey unto John Winthrop, Esq. and major Humphrey Atherton, and partners, their heirs and assigns, one large tract of land, now called the northward tract; and the said Coginaquand, by another deed, dated the 4th of July, 1659, did, in like manner, convey to the said John Winthrop, Esq. major Atherton and partners, another large parcel of land, called the southern tract, or Namcock: And we find, by sundry other deeds from the other sachems, the said conveyances ratified, and sundry receipts and acknowledgments of full satisfaction to all persons any ways concerned.

We also find, that by a deed bearing date the 13th of October, 1660, Suguenth, Ninegret, Scuttup, and Quequakanewet and Narraganset, sachems; for valuable consideration, mortgaged to major Atherton and partners the remaining part of the whole Narraganset Country, containing the Cowhasset and Niantick countries; and find that, as part
of

of the consideration, seven hundred and thirty-five fathom of peague was paid November the 16th, 1660, and sundry other payments made, and gratuities given, to full satisfaction, as by sundry receipts and acknowledgments doth appear; the commissioners of all your majesty's colonies approving these transactions: And also we find, by the testimony of John Poutton, William Cotton, John Rhodes, and Ambrose Leach, sworn before John Endicot, Esq. governor of the Massachusetts, the 22d of September, 1662, and recorded in Hartford, that Scuttup and Ninegret, with sundry other sachems, counsellors and Indians, to the number of two or three hundred, being assembled at a place called Pettequamscot, the said Scuttup, in presence of said Indians and many English, also assembled, did, in behalf of himself, brother, and friends, deliver possession of the country, by turf and twig, to captain Edward Hutchinson, captain William Hudson, and Mr. Richard Smith, jun. in behalf of themselves and partners, declaring the lands then to be already sold by deed, by themselves and the rest of the sagamores, to major Atherton and partners.

We also find, that the said major Atherton, captain Hutchinson, Hudson, and partners, with great expense and industry, applied themselves to the settlement and improvement of said country, many considerable farms being laid out, houses and edifices erected, and two townships also laid out, and methods for improvements; and terms agreed upon with the inhabitants, the town named Wickford and the other Newbury.

Also it appears, that the said purchasers did request and instruct John Winthrop, Esq. to supplicate your majesty to add the said Narraganset Country to the territories and jurisdiction of Connecticut, which your majesty graciously granted; and was farther graciously pleased, by your royal letters, dated the 21st of June, 1663, directed to the governors and assistants of the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut colonies, to approve and encourage the purchasers' designs; and as your majesty pleased then to call them laudable endeavours to settle and plant a colony to the enlargement of your empire, and to recommend said purchasers and proprietors to the neighbourly kindness and protection of said colonies, willing them upon all occasions to be assisting to them against the unjust oppressions of those of Rhode-
Island

Island, with other expressions of your royal grace and favour to the said purchasers; upon which titles and encouragements the claimers offer probable computation and arguments that their predecessors themselves, and persons concerned with them, have expended for purchasing and settling the said country at least twenty thousand pounds; and that had not the ill effects of the orders made by some of your majesty's commissioners that came over in 1664, and the great molestations and pretensions of the Rhode-Islanders obstructed the settlement, the country had, by the planting the said two towns, and other improvements, been so peopled that great part, if not all the miseries of the late Indian war had been prevented. Some other claims have been made by Mr. James Noyes and others, of some other tract of land lying in the Niantick country, as derived from Harman Garret and his son, named —, pretended Indian sachems, who personally appeared before us; but upon examination we cannot find the said Harman Garret or his son had any right or power to dispose of any of the lands, the same having been, beyond the memory of man, possessed by Ninegret; the other Indians acknowledging and testifying the same.

Other claims also were exhibited to sundry other tracts within the Narraganset Country, but the titles being either derived from or depending upon Mr. Winthrop's and major Atherton's purchases, we humbly conceive more proper for a court of judicature.

Thus, after most strict and impartial inquiry and examination, having stated, we most humbly lay before your majesty the several original claims and pretensions offered to us, with respect to the propriety both of jurisdiction and soil in your majesty's province or Narraganset Country; and in farther obedience to your said commission have seriously weighed and considered all evidences, pleas, proofs, and allegations, and added our own observations of the course of the Narraganset river or bay, and situation of the country, so far as we have travelled therein; and with most humble submission and reservation of your majesty's right, so far as it may appear to your majesty, offer our opinions, that by virtue of your said letters patent granted to Connecticut, jurisdiction in and through the said province or Narraganset Country of right belongs to the said colony of Connecticut, and that propriety of soil, as derived from Mr. Winthrop and

and major Atherton, is vested upon the heirs and assigns of said Mr. Winthrop, the heirs of Thomas Chiffinch, Esq. major Atherton, Mr. Richard Smith, Mr. Simon Lynde, Mr. Elisba Hutchinson, Mr. John Saffin, Mr. Richard Wharton, and partners, and such as derive from them ; no considerable opposition being by any corporation or person given before us to their claim and title, the same being granted by the said agents of Connecticut ; notwithstanding, we do not conceive that their said purchases do any ways intitle them to any part of the Pequod country, lying between Wecapaug and Paugautuck river, nor that the former lawful purchases and possessions of the inhabitants of Providence and Warwick ought to be prejudiced thereby.

And finally, we hold it our duty humbly to inform your majesty, that so long as the pretensions of the Rhode-Islanders to the government of the said province continue, it will much discourage the settlement and improvement thereof, it being very improbable that either the aforementioned claimers, or others of like reputation and condition, will either remove their families or expend their estates under so loose and weak a government. And to the end that your majesty may at all times have more particular satisfaction, and the persons concerned opportunity upon occasion farther to prove their interest without hazarding their original evidences upon the sea, we have caused an oath to be administered to our said register, under his hand to attest all such deeds and papers as have been received by us, and so copy and truly examine the same ; and in like manner to attest to such copies, and afterwards to return the originals and copies upon demand to the parties that produced the same. In obedience to your majesty's gracious commission and commands, we, with all humility, offer this our report, which we cause to be duplicate, craving your majesty's gracious acceptance of our dutiful endeavours to approve ourselves

Your majesty's most loyal and obedient subjects,

EDWARD CRANFIELD,
WILLIAM STOUGHTON,
SAMUEL SHRIMTON,
JOHN PYNCHON, jun.
NATHANIEL SALTONSTALL, jun.

Boston, October 20, 1683.

AS farther addition to our report, we humbly offer, that since the close of your majesty's commission, Mr. Edward Randolph arriving and signifying his power in behalf of his grace the Duke of Hamilton to make claim to the King's Province or Narraganset Country, we have again convened, and summoned so many of the proprietors as could in so short time assemble, and in their presence and hearing have read the copy of the said Duke's deed, and heard Mr. Randolph's pleas and improvements therein, and find it takes in part of the said Province or Narraganset Country ; and have also received the answers and defence of the said proprietors, which we humbly transmit and submit to your majesty's consideration ; we have also ordered copies of the Duke's deeds and proprietors' pleas to be sent to the colony of Connecticut, to the end they may have opportunity, by the first conveyance, to make their answers and defence before your majesty.

EDWARD CRANFIELD,
WILLIAM STOUGHTON,
JOSEPH DUDLEY.

Entered upon records, in the first book of public records belonging to the King's Province, from page 36 to 42.

JOHN FONES, *Recorder.*

A true copy, compared out of the records belonging to the King's Province, by SAMUEL FONES, *Clerk.*

Kingston, Sept. 25, 1704.

JAMES THE SECOND'S COMMISSION, CONSTITUTING A PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL FOR MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, NARRAGANSET COUNTRY, &c.

“ JAMES the Second, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting :—Whereas a writ of scire facias hath been issued out of our high court of chancery against the late governor and company of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, whereby the government of that colony and members thereof is now in our hands ; and we being minded to give all protection and encouragement to our good subjects therein,
and

and to provide, in the most effectual manner, that due and impartial justice may be administered in all cases, civil and criminal, and that all possible care may be taken for the just, quiet, and orderly government of the same; *Know ye*, therefore, that we, by and with the advice of our privy council, have thought fit to erect and constitute, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, to erect, constitute, and appoint a president and council, to take care of all that our territories and dominions of New-England, in America, commonly called and known by the name of our colony of the Massachusetts-Bay, and our province of New-Hampshire and Maine, and the Narraganset Country, otherwise called the King's Province, with all the islands, rights, and members thereunto appertaining, and to order, rule, and govern the same according to such methods and regulations as are herein after specified and declared, until our chief governor shall arrive within our said colonies.

“ And for the better executing of our royal pleasure in this behalf, we do hereby nominate and appoint our trusty and well-beloved subject, Joseph Dudley, Esq. to be the first president of the said council, and to continue in the said office until we, our heirs, or successors shall otherwise direct. And we do likewise nominate and appoint our trusty and well-beloved subjects, Simon Bradstreet, William Stoughton, Peter Bulkley, John Pynchon, Robert Mason, Richard Wharton, Waite Winthrop, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Bartholomew Gidney, Jonathan Tyng, John Usher, Dudley Bradstreet, John Hincks, Francis Champernoone, Edward Tyng, John Fitz Winthrop, and Edward Randolph, Esqrs. to be of our council within our said territory and colony; and that the said Joseph Dudley, and every succeeding president of the said council, shall and may nominate and appoint any one of the members of the said council, for the time being, to be his deputy, and to preside in his absence; or the said president or his deputy, and any seven of the said council, shall be a quorum. And our express will and pleasure is, that no person shall be admitted to set, or have a vote in the said council, until he hath taken the oath of allegiance, and the oath hereafter mentioned, for the due and impartial execution of justice, and the faithful discharge in them reposed.”

The above written is part of the commission of charter

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granted to colonel Dudley, that concerns the Narraganset Country or King's Province; the rest is general instruction for the government of the whole, and concluded in these words following:

"In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness Ourselves at Westminster, the 8th day of October, in the first year of our reign.

A true copy.

ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL RESPECTING THE
RECORDS OF THE NARRAGANSET COUNTRY.

By order of the President and Council.

Boston, the 17th day of June, 1686.

WE, John Pynchon, Bartholomew Gidney, and Jonathan Tyng, members of his majesty's council, have examined the several acts, accords, deeds, and entries, in the twenty-seven foregoing pages, and find them to agree with the originals in the hands of captain Elisha Hutchinson, and recommend it to the president and council, that the transactions in this book be allowed and declared good and authentic records; and that the same book be carried on and employed for entry of the subsequent acts, orders, agreements, and transactions of the proprietors, deriving by, with, and from John Winthrop, Esq. and major Humphrey Atherton, deceased, and their associates, and all other matters fit for public records, in the Narraganset Country, or King's Province.

JOHN PYNCHON,
BARTHOLOMEW GIDNEY,
JONATHAN TYNG.

Allowed by the president and council.

EDWARD RANDOLPH, *Secretary.*

PROCEEDINGS OF A COURT HELD BY HIS MAJESTY'S COM-
MISSIONERS AND JUSTICES IN THE NARRAGANSET
COUNTRY.

King's Province, June 23, 1686.

AT a court held by his majesty's commissioners and justices at major Richard Smith, in Rochester, in the King's Province.

Present,

Present,

Joseph Dudley, Esq. President.

John Winthrop, Esq.

Edward Randolph, Esq.

Richard Wharton, Esq.

} of her majesty's council.

John Blackwell, Elisha Hutchinson, Richard Smith, Francis Brinley, John Saffin, Esqrs. John Fones, Thomas Ward, James Pendlington, gentlemen.

Imprimis, The power and commission of the president, and the rest of the honorable gentlemen commissioned and for that purpose, was read, and the president and all the justices there assembled, took the oath prescribed in said commission, and the justices' oaths; also captain John Blackwell, captain Elisha Hutchinson, Francis Brinley, John Saffin, Esqrs. and Mr. Thomas Ward, took the oath of allegiance.

John Fones sworn unto the office of clerk to said court, and all courts which shall hereafter be held in the King's Province for the time being: The king's commission to the president and council of his territories and dominions in New-England openly read.

Commissions unto all the commissioned officers of the respective companies of the militia in King's Province delivered by the president, they having formerly taken the oath of allegiance.

Ordered, That the three towns now in the King's Province shall be called Rochester, the first and chief, formerly called Kingston.

Haversham, the second, formerly called Westerly.

Dedford, the third, formerly called Greenwich.

Elisha Hutchinson, Esq. having exhibited a book and reference, and report thereon, under the hands of John Pyncheon, Bartholomew Gidney, and Jonathan Tyng, Esqrs. and the orders for allowance by the President and council at Boston, dated the 17th day of this instant month June, it is ordered, that the said book and report, and allowance thereon, be committed to captain John Fones, clerk and recorder of this province, and that the matters entered in the said book stand and remain as authentic records of the province, and in the same book the clerk is ordered to enter such further records, grants, and bargains of lands, &c. as shall be acknowledged and allowed before the president, or some members of his majesty's council, from time to time, under

under their hands, with several other deeds as have been allowed by former authority.

For as much as sundry persons have been deluded, whilst no government was settled upon the place, have been encouraged, without license from the proprietors, to build and make improvement upon the lands called the mortgage lands; to the end, therefore, that all such persons may have seasonable time to make their compositions, that so they may, either upon purchase, rents, or other good agreements, enjoy their respective improvements, where they seem not prejudicial to townships nor highways, it is ordered, that no possessor, as incumbent of or upon any such lands, shall be molested, nor any action upon the title of land brought against them, before the twentieth day of August next. In case upon treaty with the proprietors, or their committee, they receive not satisfaction in the terms, the said possessors or incumbents shall, upon their complaints, be heard by the president and council at Boston, and relieved so far as may be consistent with common justice and his majesty's service, who will further direct to the trial and issue of the difference.

FRANCIS BRINLEY.

PAUKATUCK RIVER, THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN CONNECTICUT
AND RHODE-ISLAND.

WHEREAS some difference hath of late fallen out between Mr. John Winthrop, agent for the taking of a patent for the colony of Connecticut; and Mr. John Clarke, agent for the taking out of a patent for the colony of Providence, Rhode-Island, concerning the right meaning of certain bounds set down in a patent lately granted to the colony of Connecticut: And whereas by reason of doubtfulness of some names and expressions mentioned in the said patent, and for the better preventing of all disputes that might arise between the said colonies hereafter, by reason of such uncertainties or dubiousness, they the said John Winthrop and John Clark have jointly and mutually nominated, chosen, and appointed William Brenton, Esq. major Robert Thomson, captain Richard Doane, captain John Brookehaven, and doctor Benjamin Worsely, or any three or most of them, to hear and to consider the state of the said difference, and to determine

determine what they judge might be most commodious, in order to the settling the said bounds, clear of all uncertainties, and giving a mutual satisfaction to both the said colonies, whose names are here underwritten, having, in pursuance of their request, met together, and have at large heard what hath been alleged on each side on the behalf of themselves and the respective colonies to whom they do respectively belong, upon serious debate and consideration had of the whole matter, we have jointly and unanimously agreed to offer their advice as followeth: First; a river, there commonly called and known by the name of Paukatuck river, shall be the certain bounds between those two colonies; which said river shall, for the future, be also called Narraganset or Narroganset river. Secondly; if any part of that purchase at Quenebaug doth lie along upon the east side of the river that goeth down by New-London, within six miles of the said river, that then it shall wholly belong to Connecticut colony, as well as the rest which hath on the west side of the aforesaid river. Thirdly; that the proprietors and inhabitants of that land about Mr. Smith's trading-house, claimed or purchased by major Atherton, captain Hutchinson, lieutenant Hudson, and others, or given unto them by Indians, shall have free liberty to choose to which of those colonies they will belong. Fourthly; that propriety shall not be altered nor destroyed, but carefully maintained through the said colonies.

Benjamin Worsely.
Richard Doane.

William Brenton.
Robert Thompson.
John Brookehaven.

To the four proposals above mentioned, we the said John Winthrop and John Clarke do consent and submit, as a full and final issue of all the controversies between us. In witness whereof, we have interchangeably set our hands and seals the 17th of April, 1663, and in the 15th year of the reign of our sovereign lord Charles the Second by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

JOHN WINTHROP.

Signed, sealed, and delivered
in presence of

J. Beane, Wm. Potter, Robert Thomson.

**ACT OF THE ASSEMBLY OF RHODE-ISLAND IN FAVOUR OF
HUMPHREY ATHERTON AND HIS ASSOCIATES.**

**AT a General Assembly held at Newport the 30th of
October, 1672.**

Mr. Nicholas Easton, Governor.

Capt. John Cranston, Deputy-Governor.

Mr. Richard Smith,	}	Assistants.
Mr. Francis Brinley,		
Mr. John Easton,		
Capt. Arthur Venner,		
Mr. Thomas Harris,		
Mr. Henry Brown,		
Mr. William Baulston,		
Mr. Joshua Coggeshall,		
Capt. John Green,		
Mr. Benjamin Smith,		

Deputies for the several towns.

For Newport, Mr. Walter Clarke,
Mr. John Gould,
Mr. Peter Easton,
Mr. Edward Thurston,
Mr. Daniel Gould,
Mr. Henry Bull.

For Providence, Mr. William Harris,
Mr. Samuel Reape,
Mr. Pardon Tillinghast,
Mr. Thomas Burdon.

For Portsmouth, Mr. John Sanford,
Mr. John Tripp,
Mr. John Anthony,
Lieut. William Codman.

For Warwick, Capt. Randall Houlden,
Mr. Thomas Green,
Mr. John Potter,
Mr. Eleazer Collings.

Voted

Voted—Whereas here is a request made to this Assembly by one of the purchasers with major Atherton of lands in the Narraganset Country, viz. Edward Richmond, desiring a revocation of an act formerly made for the forfeiture of such lands in this colony which should happen to be purchased without the assent of the Assembly, as more fully expressed in the said act and his said paper : The Assembly considering the pains and industry of the said purchasers upon the said land, for so many years, together with the danger they have there been in, by reason of the barbarous Indians, so ready to war, and other outrages as hath appeared of late ; and considering that the removing such a danger and doubt of the forfeiture of their lands in this colony may take off their bias to another, considering themselves and posterity delivered from the said danger, and settled in peace—Be it therefore enacted, and is hereby enacted, that the said purchasers and partners with major Humphrey Atherton, of lands purchased by them, lying and being in the Narraganset Country, as expressed in their deed or deeds, grant or grants, from the Narraganset sachems to them the said purchasers of the said lands, shall be a good and lawful estate and title thereto, according to the purport of the said grants ; to have and to hold, and as firmly and fully to enjoy and possess, forever, the said lands and appurtenances, as if the said act or acts of prohibition of, buying of lands in this colony upon the pain of the forfeiture thereof, had never been acted or made, any other former law or laws, clause or clauses in them, or either of them, to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

A true copy, extracted out of the records and acts of the Assembly of the colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, in page 26.

WEST CLARKE, *Recorder.*

Newport, January 22, 1695-6.

NOTE ON THE FOREGOING ACT.

KNOW that the above act was an act made by the General Assembly, for the security of the lands purchased by major Humphrey Atherton and associates, to them and their heirs, from the colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, who often threatened to give them molestation by virtue of an act the people made, that erected a government amongst

amongst themselves, for Rhode-Island, Providence, and Warwick, in 1657, before they had any legal government or charter from any legal authority whatsoever, unless a company of people joining together may make a legal authority, and compel others that live near them to submit unto them, and without their bounds amongst the Indians, where Mr. Richard Smith dwelt, who always derided their power; yet notwithstanding this act, confirming major Atherton's and associates' purchases, when they had a charter from king Charles the Second, the General Assembly of the said colony have now lately violated, and dispossessed the proprietors of their rights and properties, without any process of law or judgment of their peers; wherein Walter Clark, therein mentioned, being then speaker of the Lower House, and now deputy-governor, and the children and kindred of many persons of that assembly in 1672, being now in authority, have voted the true proprietors' act of their possessions, and are by name Samuel Cranston, Esq. the present governor, son to John Cranston, then deputy-governor, and nephew to Walter Clarke; Randall Houlden, now an assistant, and son of captain Randall Houlden, then deputy, and also nephew to Walter Clake; and many other persons now in office are of kindred to sundry persons in the former assembly in 1672.

I that subscribe this having been a liver and inhabitant in Rhode-Island upwards of fifty-eight years, and speak my own knowledge of the most part of all these things written in these stitched papers, and much more, too large to be here written; and have borne office in this place amongst them, and might have done more if I would, and not only amongst them, in their charter government, but in other governments and authorities set over them. I am one of the most ancient inhabitants of this colony, scarce half a dozen older than myself that lived here before me; and I am bold to say, that no person now living knows more, if so much, of the transactions and affairs of this place and the several governments, especially since my first arrival into this place, it being settled about fourteen years before my coming; for I always kept a particular account of all material passages that occurred, more perhaps than any person of my standing in this colony did. To the truth I subscribe my name, the 26th of October, 1709, being within ten days of entering into the 77th year of my age.

FRANCIS BRINLEY.

DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF NEWTON, IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX. BY THE REV. JONATHAN HOMER.

THE town of Newtown, or Newton, (as it is written indifferently in the ancient records, the later constantly omitting the *w*) has Roxbury, Brookline, and Cambridge on the east, Watertown and Waltham on the north, Weston and West-Needham on the west, and East-Needham and Dedham on the south. It lies about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the distance of the boundary-line adjoining Cambridge by the West-Boston bridge, to $11\frac{1}{4}$ miles, terminating at the lower falls, in a westerly direction from Boston. From Watertown line, near Gen. Hull's, to Dedham line, are 6 miles, 36 rods, along the county-road. From the county-bridge at the lower falls, adjoining the west part of Needham, to Cambridge line, by the road, are 4 miles, 3 quarters, 51 rods. The whole township, including ponds, the principal of which, adjoining the Baptist meeting-house, contains 33 acres, 2 quarters, 24 rods, has been accurately estimated at twelve thousand nine hundred and forty acres. Charles-River furnishing several excellent mill-spots, by numerous bendings, encircles a considerable part of the town, measuring by its course about sixteen miles, including all its curves.

The exact period of the commencement of the settlement is unknown. As it was considered, originally, a part of Cambridge, one of our most ancient towns, and was styled Cambridge Village, or New-Cambridge, till the period of its incorporation, December 8, A. D. 1691, this district probably began to be cultivated soon after the settlement of the elder part of the town.

Its soil is various. It contains a handsome proportion of rich productive land, with considerable wood for fuel. Its agriculture and its buildings have been considerably improved, of late years. Its cider has long maintained a good reputation at the market. Increasing attention is paid to the improvement of the fruit by inoculation and grafting. Its situation is generally elevated; and it contains but little low and sunken land. Gentlemen of observation, who have travelled considerably in various parts

of the United States, have agreed to acknowledge, that the town possesses an uncommon proportion of choice and beautiful scites for country seats. From the early settlement of the place it has been remarkably distinguished for the salubrity of its air, and the health and longevity of its inhabitants. The Rev. Mr. Cotton, who deceased about forty years since, and who had the experience of more than forty years, used frequently to mention, with gratitude and admiration, that he knew of no town so healthful, and so rarely visited with prevailing and fatal diseases. From accurate bills of mortality for about fifty years past, it appears, that a *seventieth* part of the inhabitants dies annually. In the East Congregational Society, consisting of about 700 souls, 154 have died from January 1, 1782, to January 1, 1799, averaging *nine* a year. Of this number 49 (considerably upwards of a fourth part) arrived to their 70th year and beyond, and 63 (more than a third part) arrived to their 60th, and beyond. The sorrows of early widowhood are seldom known here. Of married men beneath 40, only one died within the bounds of the East Precinct, including the families of the Baptist Society living within the same bounds, during more than sixteen years.

The inhabitants are generally industrious and intelligent husbandmen. But there are some manufactures in those parts of the town which adjoin Charles-River. At the lower falls, there is one snuff-mill with four mortars, one fulling-mill, and two paper-mills. At the upper falls, where there is a romantic fall of 20 feet, perpendicular, and a descent of 35 feet in half a mile, there are three snuff-mills, containing twenty mortars, the property of General Eliot. There is also a paper-mill adjoining Watertown. A very capacious brick building has lately been erected by General Hull, for the brewing of ale and strong beer, and is occupied by an eminent English brewer. It is one of the most favourable situations within the state for a brewery, as it is supplied with the purest water, proceeding through tubes from a living spring of superior quality; and, from its situation upon Charles-River, it furnishes an easy and cheap conveyance of its manufacture to the capital.

Numerous emigrations have been made from Newton
into

into the newly settled parts of the country. The number of the inhabitants, at the time of the last census, being 1360, did, therefore, but little exceed that of A. D. 1763. During ten years, terminating January, 1792, emigrated from the East Congregational Society, consisting of about 100 families, 143 souls, including 82 adults, generally young married persons. The ingenious Mr. Derham, computes the births in England in general as 1 to 1 1-12 of the deaths. In Newton, notwithstanding the removal of many young newly married persons, the births appear to be as 2 to 1 deaths. During the above period, in the same society, there were 97 deaths, (17 of which were in the two neighbouring houses of Mr. John Jackson and Edward Durant) and 195 births. The marriages for the same term were 103 in the whole town. The sum total of the marriages for a century of years, from the incorporation of the town, is 747. This is very far beyond the proportion mentioned by the same ingenious writer for England, which he computes to be 1 to 4. 63 births. There has been only one instance of any inhabitant arriving to 100 years, though several have been seen 90 and upwards. A. D. 1752, there died at the south-east part of the town, a Mrs. Davis, then in the 116th year. She died at the same age with Clodia, the wife of Ophilius, whom Pliny the naturalist mentions as the eldest female who had died in ancient Rome. In 1792, 59 of the inhabitants, a *twenty-third* part, had seen their seventieth year, and beyond.

As all the church-records perished in the conflagration, of the Rev. Mr. Meriam's dwelling-house, A. D. 1770, I have endeavoured, during the sixteen years of my pastoral office, to recover the wrecks of the history, civil and religious of Newton. I have endeavoured to collect and arrange such antiquities of the place, as might gratify an innocent curiosity, or subserve the improvement of our morals and religion. The most important article of the history of the place immediately follows.

Of NONANTUM, the first civilized and christian settlement of Indians within the English colonies of North-America, and of the first fruits of the AMERICAN GENTILES.

When, some years since, I read the subsequent article in

the xxxixth volume of that great and admired work, the MODERN UNIVERSAL HISTORY, I little suspected my vicinity to the country of which it speaks. "The Rev. John Eliot" (educated at Cambridge in England, and pastor of the church at Roxbury) "was the first of the English missionaries, who ventured into the countries of the savages to preach the gospel. In October, 1646, he set out on his mission, but sent fore-runners to apprise the Indians of his intention. Upon this he was met, upon the borders of the country he intended to convert, by five or six of the savages, headed by a grave Indian, one Waban, who welcomed him into a large wigwam, where he began to preach, and instruct his new disciples." From Dr. Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, Dr. Neal's *History of New-England*, Governor Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, and some other authorities, cited at the close, I am enabled to recite the following particulars.

Mr. Eliot, having previously learnt the language by hiring the aid of one of them who could speak English, went, October 28, 1646, with three others, (among whom was, probably, his constant, pious, and persevering companion, Mr. DANIEL GOOKIN, afterwards major-general of the colony) to the Indians of the neighbouring parts, to whom he had sent previous notice of his intention to address them on the subject of Christianity, Waban, a wise and grave man, of the same age with the missionary, forty-two, a person of influence, met him at a small distance from their settlement, and welcomed him to a large wigwam on the hill Nonantum.* A considerable number of his coun-

* In order to impress the mind of the reader with a greater confidence in the present high grounds of Nonantum, lying at the north-east extremity of Newton, as the scene of the first successful attempt to christianize and civilize the natives, I subjoin the words of Mr. Gookin, who was soon appointed the civil superintendant of all the Indians, and who frequently accompanied Mr. Eliot in his journeys. "In the year of the Lord 1646," (says he, in a M. S. history lately published by the respectable and assiduous Historical Society of Massachusetts) "Mr. Eliot attained such a measure of learning the Indian language, that he adventured to make beginning to preach the glad tidings of salvation unto their competent understanding. The first place he began to preach at was Nonantum, near Watertown, upon the south side of Charles-River, about four or five miles from his own house; where lived, at that time, Waban, one of their principal men, and some Indians with him."

trymen assembled here from the neighbourhood, to hear the new doctrine.

After a short prayer in English, Mr. Eliot delivered a sermon (the first probably ever preached in this part of the old town) from Ezek. chap. xxxvii. ver. 9, 10, "Then said he unto me, Prophecy unto the *wind*, (to which the Indian term *Waban* is said to answer) prophecy, son of man, and say to the wind, (*say to Waban*) Thus saith the LORD GOD, Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live. So I prophesied, as he commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet an exceeding great army," This sermon employed an hour. The preacher began with the principles of natural religion acknowledged by themselves, and then proceeded to the leading doctrines and precepts of Christianity. He repeated and explained the ten commandments. He informed them of the dreadful curse attending the violation of the divine law. He then spoke to them of the person of JESUS CHRIST, of the place of his present residence and exaltation, and of his coming to judge the world in flaming fire. He taught them the blessed state of all those who know, and savingly believe in CHRIST. He related the creation and fall of man; and spoke of the infinite greatness of God, of the joys of heaven, and the punishment of hell; finally persuading them to repentance, and a good life. Having closed his sermon, he was desirous of knowing whether he had conveyed his sentiments intelligibly, in a language so new to himself. He therefore inquired, whether they comprehended his meaning; to which their unanimous reply was "We understood all." Mr. Eliot and his friends then devoted about three hours to familiar and friendly conference with them, to hear and answer questions which naturally were suggested by the discourse. This first visit was received with cordial and general satisfaction. Many of his audience listened to the pathetic parts of the discourse with tears. Waban, particularly, received those happy impressions, which abode by him through life, and qualified him zealously and successfully to aid the generous design of converting his countrymen.

A still larger number attended the next visit of the apostolic

apostolic Eliot to Nonantum, Nov. 11. He began first with the children, whom he taught these three questions, and their answers. Q. 1. Who made you and all the world? A. GOD. Q. 2. Whom do you expect to save you from sin and hell? A. JESUS CHRIST. Q. 3. How many commandments hath God given you to keep? A. Ten. He then preached about an hour to the whole company, concerning the nature of God, and the necessity of faith in JESUS CHRIST for procuring his favour; He informed them what JESUS CHRIST had done and suffered for the salvation of sinners, and the dreadful judgments attendant upon the rejection of Him and his salvation. The whole company appeared very serious. Liberty being given to ask questions for further information, an aged man stood up, and with tears inquired, Whether it was not too late for such an old man as he, who was near death, to repent and seek after God? Another asked, How the English came to differ so much from the Indians in their knowledge of God and JESUS CHRIST, since they had all at first but one father. Another inquired, How it came to pass that sea-water was salt, and river-water fresh. Another, That if the water was higher than the earth (as he supposed) how it comes to pass, that it does not overflow all the earth. Mr. Eliot and his friends spent several hours in answering these and some other questions. The Indians told them, upon their quitting them to return home in the evening, that "they did much thank God for their coming; and for what they had heard, they were wonderful things."

At the third meeting of Nov. 26, some of the Indians absented themselves through fear of their Powaws or Priests, who had threatened them with their secret power of inflicting the penalty of death upon those who should attend. One of these Powaws was, however, immediately and solemnly addressed by the intrepid missionary, who silenced and convinced him.

Two or three days after this meeting, at which the audience appeared very serious, Wampas, a sage Indian, with two of his companions, came to the English, and desired to be admitted into some of their families. He brought his son and two or three other Indian children with him, begging

begging that they might be educated in the christian faith. His request was granted.

At the next meeting, all who were present offered their children to be catechised and instructed by the English, who, upon this motion, resolved to set up a school among them. To accomplish this, it was necessary to reduce them from their savage life, and to bring them into a state of civil society. This was conformable to a frequent observation of Mr. Eliot, which claims our attention in our efforts to convert the aborigines upon the borders of the United States, viz. "*that the Indians must be civilized, as well as, if not in order to their being, christianized.*"

Accordingly the General Court gave the Indians of the neighbouring parts a tract of high land, called Nonantum. Agreeably to the advice of Mr. Eliot, who furnished them, by the public aid, with shovels, spades, mattocks, and iron crows, and stimulated the most industrious with money; they soon built a sufficient number of wigwams, not with mats as usual, but with the bark of trees, and divided into several distinct apartments. The houses of the meanest were found to be equal to those of the sachems or chiefs in other places. They surrounded the town with ditches, (some traces of which are still discoverable at the southern extremity), and with a stone-wall. Some of the stones composing this encircling wall were removed within the memory of Mr. Abraham Hyde, who Died A. D. 1794, Æt. 78, and who informed me, that he aided in removing them in very early life. At that time some fruit trees were still standing towards the foot of Nonantum, on the south side, which were reported to have been planted there by the Indians in some remote period of their residence on that spot.

The Indians, thus settled, were instructed in husbandry, and were excited to a prudent as well as industrious management of their affairs. Some of them were taught such trades as were most necessary for them, so that they completely built a house for public worship, 50 feet in length and 25 feet in breadth, which, as an eye-witness, the Rev. Mr. Wilson observes, "appeared like the workmanship of an English housewright."

The Rev. Messrs. Wilson of Boston, Allen of Dedham, Shepard

Shepard of Cambridge, and President Dunstar of Harvard College, went over to Nonantum, 3d of March, 1647, in company with several English, among whom probably was the great Apostle of the American Gentiles, Mr. Eliot. A sermon was delivered. Among the questions proposed at this time, one woman inquired, "Whether she prayed, when she only joined with her husband in his prayer to God ALMIGHTY;" and another inquired, by the interpreter, "Whether her husband's prayer signified any thing, if he continued to be angry with her, and to beat her." Rational and christian answers were given to their questions. At this, and some other meetings, the English gave away clothes to the Indian men, women, and children; so that on a lecture-day the greatest part of them appeared handsomely dressed, after the English manner.

A particular account of these early and successful efforts to convert the heathens, was transmitted to England, and published there. One of the publications is styled, "Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New-England," and was printed in London. 1647. Another, written by the pious Mr. Shepard of Cambridge, is styled "The clear Sun-shine of the Gospel upon the Indians," and was published in London, 1648. I have sought, hitherto, in vain, for these publications, to which later writers owe their principal information on this interesting subject, though I have been favoured with the aid of the Historical Society of Massachusetts in my search.

The women of Nonantum soon learnt to spin, and to collect articles for sale at the market through the year. In the winter, the Indians sold brooms, staves, baskets, made from the neighbouring woods and swamps, and turkies raised by themselves; in the spring, cranberries, strawberries, and fish from Charles-River; in the summer, whortleberries, grapes, and fish. Several of them worked with the English in the vicinity, in hay time and harvest; but they were neither so industrious nor capable of hard labour, as those who have been inured to it from early life.

The success and settlement of Nonantum encouraged further attempts of Mr. Eliot to extend the knowledge of the Gospel to the aboriginals of other places. He accordingly, visited and preached to the Indians at Watertown,
Dorchester

Dorchester-Mills, Concord, and as far as Pantucket-Falls on Merrimac-River. He also extended his truly apostolical efforts to the natives of the colony of New-Plymouth, though their chief sachem and his son discountenanced his attempts. These exertions laid a happy foundation for the christianizing and civilizing of five thousand out of twenty thousand Indians, belonging to the twenty different tribes then in New-England.

The report of the happy attempts begun, and carried on, in this place, and hence extending widely among the poor pagans of the American wilderness, occasioned the Parliament of Great-Britain, then under the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, to pass an act, 27th of July, 1649, for the advancement of this good work. "Whereas," says the preamble of the act, "the Commons of England, assembled in parliament, have received certain intelligence from divers godly ministers and others in New-England, that divers of the heathen natives, through the pious care of some godly English, who preach the gospel to them in their own Indian language, not only of barbarous have become civil, but many of them forsake their accustomed charms and sorceries, and other satanical delusions, do now call upon the name of the LORD, and give great testimony of the power of God, drawing them from death and darkness to the life and light of the glorious gospel of JESUS CHRIST; which appeareth by their lamenting, with tears, their mispent lives, *teaching their children what they are instructed themselves, being careful to place them in godly families*, and English schools, betaking themselves to one wife, putting away the rest, and *by their constant prayers to Almighty God, morning and evening, in their families*, prayers expressed, in all appearance, with much devotion and zeal of heart:—All which considered, we cannot but, in behalf of the nation we represent, rejoice and give glory to God for the beginning of so glorious a propagation of the Gospel among those poor heathen, which cannot be prosecuted with that expedition as is desired, unless fit instruments be encouraged and maintained to pursue it, schools and clothing be provided, and many other necessities," &c.

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The act then proceeds to establish a corporation of sixteen, including a president or governour, (which office, some years after this date, was filled for a considerable period by that great and devout philosopher, the Hon. *Robert Boyle*, who gave £.300 to the object,) whose duty was to superintend the business of devoting the monies which should be given for christianizing, instructing, clothing, and civilizing the Indians. A general collection was ordered to be made for these purposes through all the churches of England and Wales. The ministers were required to read this act in the churches, and to exhort the people to a cheerful contribution to so pious a work. Circular letters were published, at the same time, by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, recommending the same object. A fund, which, in CHARLES II's time, produced six hundred pounds sterling per annum, was thus provided, the benefit of which has extended till the period of our independence and separation from the mother country. Gov. Hutchinson, who had the best means of information, observes, "Perhaps no fund of this nature has ever been more faithfully applied to the purposes for which it was raised."

The first civil laws which were ever established in this country, for the regulation of the aborigines, were made for the settlement of Nonantum. Their laws, which are still preserved in ancient and modern publications, were designed for the promotion of cleanliness, decency, chastity, and industry, and the discouragement of the opposite qualities and vices. A court of judicature, over which an English magistrate (the Hon. Mr. Gookin being the first) presided, was appointed. The sachems had liberty, by summons or attachment, to bring any of their people to the said court, and to keep a monthly court for smaller causes among themselves. The sachems appointed officers to serve warrants, and to execute the orders and judgments of either of these courts. The fines imposed upon transgressors were to be devoted to building houses for the education of their children in learning, or to other uses for the public benefit. It was recommended by the government, both to Mr. Eliot and to the magistrates, that "they should endeavour to make the natives understand the

the most useful laws of the English, and the principles of reason, justice, and equity on which they are founded."

The high grounds of the north-east part of Cambridge Village (now Newton) appear to have been occupied by the Nonantum Indians (who, according to Mr. Gookin, were a subdivision of the once numerous and powerful tribe of Massachusetts) until A. D. 1651, when, by the increase of converts, the place was found too strait for them. A fertile and beautiful tract, of about 3000 acres, at Natick, 10 miles south-west of their first settlement, was provided for their accommodation. Here was founded a more regular and well built town, with three principal streets, and suitable public buildings. At this place an Indian church continued, and flourished under a succession of indefatigable and pious teachers, natives and English, who officiated to them: until within a few years past, by repeated wasting sickness and other causes, well elucidated in the highly judicious communications lately made to the Historical Society by their last pastor, still living, the Rev. Mr. Badger, and published in their collections, they have become gradually and almost totally extinct.

The virtuous Waban accompanied his brethren to Natick, and was chosen a ruler of fifty in their civil administration. He died there, aged 70, A. D. 1674, testifying; with his dying breath, his obligations to that grace, which had brought himself, and his fellow-countrymen, from the darkness of paganism to the marvellous light of the Gospel. The name is still honourably remembered at Natick, where some of his posterity were known not many years since. The name and civil office of *Esquire Waban*, one of his descendants, is particularly mentioned. An instructive and serious exhortation from Matt. ix. 12, 13. delivered by Waban the first, to an Indian assembly convened on a day of fasting and prayer, 15th Nov. 1658, upon occasion of excessive rains, connected with a very general and alarming sickness, is summarily contained in the 1st vol. of Neal's History of New-England, p. 240 and 241.

Mr. Eliot gives this testimony of WABAN, that "he had approved himself to be a good christian in church order, and in civil order, a zealous, faithful, and steadfast ruler to his death," At his death he expressed an animating joy in the

the hope, of heaven, where he should unite with the souls departed believers. He charged his children and friends not to mourn at his departure, and urged them all to confess, to repent of, their sins, and believe in **JESUS CHRIST**, in whom he trusted for the resurrection of his body. His last words, immediately before he expired, were, "I give my soul to thee, O my Redeemer, **JESUS CHRIST**. Pardons all my sins, and deliver me from hell. Help me against death, and then I am willing to die; and when I die, O help me, and receive me."

PIAMBOH, of this place, is said to have been the second man next Waban, who received the Gospel. He brought many Indians with him to the second meeting at Waban's house on Nonantum. He was both a civil and religious officer. He survived to a considerable age. On his death bed, he recommended to his brethren to hear their newly ordained minister (Daniel, an Indian preacher) every sabbath-day, and to "make strong their praying to God." He declared, that "he was contented, and even rejoiced under his sickness and sorrows, and that he trusted in the promise of **GOD** to believers, that they should be saved."

OLD JACOB, who was among the earliest converts, cherished a singular memory, which he devoted to religious improvement. He died at 90 years of age, recommending union to his brethren at large; and the most sacred and inviolable regard to the laws of equity, to the civil officers in particular. He declared himself satisfied with life, and departed in peace.

However the number of praying Indians has been exceedingly reduced at this day, in which all the Indians, both clear and mixed, in all New-England, do not probably exceed one thousand; yet in 1687 (41 years after the hopeful beginning at Nonantum) Dr. Increase Mather gives the following statement to Professor Leusden of Holland. "There are six regular churches of baptized Indians in New-England, and eighteen assemblies of catechumens,* (or candidates for baptism) professing the name of **CHRIST**. Of the Indians, there are 24 preachers of the word. There are also four English ministers, who preach the Gospel in the Indian tongue."

Having

* The Nonantum Indians were catechumens, only, till after their removal to Natick they formed into a church state.

Having thus far traced the history of Nonantum, and of various characters and events connected with this history, it seems proper to remark, that the life and useful activity of the principal and apostolic missionary, Mr. Eliot, were prolonged to a late period. He translated, into the Nonantum or Massachusetts language, the whole Bible, for the edification of his converts. This was printed at Cambridge. I have searched in vain this and other books in the Indian tongue for the terms *Nonantum*, *Nonandem*, *Noonatomen*, and *Noonunetum*, (as they are differently written by successive writers) and can find no trace of the name given to their first settlement, said by Mr. Neal to signify "rejoicing," and by the tradition of this place, "a place of worship." Mr. Eliot also translated several other books of piety into the same language, commonly called the Natick tongue. We may judge of his activity and self-denial in carrying on the missionary work, traveling and preaching through the wide dispersions of the several tribes, by an extract of a letter to his friend, the Hon. Mr. Winslow: "I have not been dry, night nor day, from the third day of the week till the sixth; but so travel, and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and put them on again, and so continue. But God steps in and helps. I have considered the word of God in 2 Tim. ii. 3. "Endure hardness as a good soldier of JESUS CHRIST." He united much firmness to great tenderness and assiduity for the civil and religious improvement of the Indians, who generally displayed the warmest attachment to him. The sachems, who feared the diminution of their arbitrary, oppressive power, by the prevalence of the just and mild principles of the Gospel, are said often to have insulted and opposed him. His usual reply to them was, "I am employed in the work of the great God, and, therefore, fear not you, nor all the sachems of the country. I am resolved, therefore, to go on with my work, and I challenge you to touch me at your peril."

A little before the death of this eminent christian and minister, who deceased A. D. 1690, Æt. 86, he said to a friend, making inquiries of his state of health, "Alas! I have lost every thing. My understanding leaves me. My memory, my utterance, fails me. But, I thank God,

“ God, my charity hold out still. I find that grows rather
“ than fails.”

History of CAMBRIDGE-VILLAGE and NEWTON.

Proceed we now to the history of the English church and settlement of Cambridge Village and Newton. On July 20, 1664, a regular church of Christ was first gathered among the English settlers of Nonantum or Cambridge Village, as this place was then indiscriminately called. The elders and messengers of the churches of Dorchester and Roxbury, including Rev. Richard Mather and Rev. John Eliot, were present. The ministers and messengers of Cambridge and Watertown probably attended, although their earliest records, which are lost by some unknown occasion, (as those of this church were by fire, A. D. 1770) cannot be found, to certify our obvious conjecture. Rev. John Eliot, jun. A. M. son of the apostolic Eliot, was then ordained pastor of this church, which was gathered on the same day. At the same time, and agreeably to the custom of that early period, Thomas Wiswall, lately a member of the Dorchester Church, (and who is styled *Rev. Thomas Wiswall* in the Cambridge Town-Records) was ordained ruling elder, or assistant to the pastor, in inspecting and disciplining the flock. A very tender friendship prevailed between Mr. Eliot, jun. and Rev. Mr. Mitchell, of the first church in Cambridge, with whom he frequently exchanged pulpits. He received the first rudiments of a classical education at the Latin school then established in Cambridge. A. D. 1656, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts at Harvard-College, where he continued in the pursuit of his studies till he became Master of Arts in 1659. He began to preach about the 22d year of his age, 1658. He is said to have been a person excellently endowed, and accomplished with gifts of nature, learning, and grace. He is represented as of comely proportion, ruddy complexion, and cheerful countenance. Quick apprehension, solid judgment, and excellent prudence are said to form prominent features in his character. He was a good classical scholar, and possessed considerable scientific knowledge for one of his age and period. His abilities and acceptance in the ministry are
said

said to be pre-eminent. His piety, faith, love, humility, and zeal, shone conspicuous. Under the direction of his father, he attained considerable proficiency in the Indian language, and was an assistant to him in the missionary employment, until his settlement at Cambridge-Village. Even after his ordination here, he imitated the manner of his father, devoting himself to the instruction of the Indians, as well as of his own flock. Accordingly he steadily preached once in a fortnight to them at Pequimmit (Stoughton) and sometimes at Natick. He won the affections of the Indians, who exceedingly lamented his death. A tender and inviolable affection subsisted between him and his English charge. He was born Aug. 31, 1636, and died Oct. 11, 1668, in the 33d year of his age, surviving his respected and beloved friend Mitchell only three months. Apprehending those calamities which burst upon his country a few years after his death, he addressed some of his friends from his death-bed in these words: "My dear friends, there is a dark day coming upon New-England. In so dark a day, how will you provide for your own security? My counsel to you is, secure an interest in the LORD JESUS CHRIST, and that will carry you safely to the world's end."

His family removed, after his death, to Connecticut; and from him, in the direct line of the elder son of each successive generation, proceeded the Rev. Richard Roswell Eliot, the present minister of Watertown.

By the church records of Roxbury it appears, that the Rev. NEHEMIAH HOBART, A. M. was ordained his successor, Dec. 23, 1674. The receipts of monies received by Mr. Hobart, for his services as a preacher, and contained in the civil records of the village, revert to the year 1672, from which time he appears constantly to have supplied the pulpit. His relation to the college, as a fellow and tutor, probably occasioned the delay of his ordination. The forty years of his pastoral office, mentioned in his epitaph, must, therefore, include the two years' services which preceded this period. He was one of several brethren who received their academical education at Cambridge, and devoted themselves to the ministry. His father was the pious Mr. Peter Hobart, the first minister of Hingham, who

who strongly recommended studying in a standing posture to clergymen, as a preservative against that excruciating malady, the stone; and who, in his last sickness, of which he died four years after the settlement of this son, took great delight in singing Psalms, observing, that "it was the work of heaven, which he was willing to anticipate." In Mr. Hobart, the Repairer of Breaches gave this bereaved flock a rich blessing. In him shone the scholar, the gentleman, and the christian.

Under the different forms of government proposed by the warm friends of the college, when threatened with the loss of their charter, Mr. Hobart's name is ever found in the different lists of candidates for superintending the government of that academic body. He was, accordingly, among the governours of Harvard-College till his death.* This excellent pastor was free from superstition and bigotry, yet seriously and faithfully engaged in the discharge of ministerial duties. An unshaken harmony subsisted between him and his people through life. An aged father, Mr. John Hall, who deceased A. D. 1787, in the 94th year of his age, and who was about 18 years of age at his death, has repeatedly mentioned to me his serious and winning manner of address, which caused his congregation to hang upon his lips. His character may, perhaps, best be collected from the inscription on his tomb-stone, written in pure, elegant Latin, which time had long crusted over, and nearly effaced, but which, with the aid of my young friend, William Jenks, A. B. I have been able to trace. The original epitaph, with an English translation, will close our account of the amiable HOBART.

"Hoc tumultu depositæ sunt reliquæ reverendi et perdocti D. D. NEHEMIÆ HOBART, Collegii Harvardini socii lectissimi, ecclesiæ Neotoniensis per annos quadraginta pastoris fidelissimi et vigilantissimi, singulari gravitate, humilitate

* Although this village lost its original relation to Cambridge by the act of incorporation, yet it has been inquired, whether the congregational ministers, who have succeeded Mr. Hobart, are, or are not, included within the description of the charter, which provides, that the ministers of the six neighbouring towns belong to the board of overseers. Or, in other words, why should the daughter of Cambridge, to whom was transferred, by the act of incorporation, the most ancient name of the mother, NEWTOWN, be treated as a stranger? Is she, or is she not, *at least*, as much one of the neighbouring towns of Cambridge, as Dorchester?

humilitate æque ac pietate et doctrina—a doctis et pijs eximia veneratione et amore recolendi. Natus erat Nov. 21, 1648. Denatus Aug. 25, 1712, anno ætatis 64.”

Translated.

“In this tomb are deposited the remains of the reverend and very learned teacher of divinity, Nehemiah Hobart, an estimable fellow of Harvard College, a highly faithful and watchful pastor of the church of Newtown for forty years. His singular gravity, humility, piety, and learning, rendered him the object of deep veneration and ardent esteem to men of science and religion. He was born Nov. 21, 1648, and died Aug. 25, 1712, in the 64th year of his age.”

Soon after the settlement of Mr. Hobart, began the terrible war with Philip, king of the Wampanoags, a nation bordering on the colony of Plymouth, the seat of whose chief was at Mount-Hope, (now Bristol). Mr. Eliot had, in vain, attempted the conversion of him and his tribe, he declaring to the missionary, when endeavouring to persuade him to receive Christianity, that “he cared no more for the Gospel than for the button of his coat.”

The successful attempt begun in this place, and so widely extended, had a happy tendency to prolong the tranquillity of the country in its period of infancy and weakness. The conversion and civilization of a fourth part of all the aboriginals of New-England, (of which 3000 were within the bounds of the Massachusetts colony) occasioned an affectionate attachment of the praying Indians to the English, to whom they ever remained faithful. From the danger to which Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies were exposed by the war which began 29 years after the settlement of Nonantum, there is reason to believe, that had all the Indians, within their boundaries, continued uncivilized and unchristianized, and united against the English with the spirit which afterwards animated Philip and the warriors of his period and party, they would probably have compelled our fathers utterly to have relinquished the country.

Among others, the divine providence raised up, and qualified for distinguished usefulness in the Philippic war,

that renowned partizan commander of horse, THOMAS PRENTICE, of this place. On June 26, 1675, (two days after a day of public prayer to God for the success of the expedition) Capt. Prentice, with a troop of horse* under his command, attended by Capt. Henschman, with the soldiers raised for the occasion in the capital, marched from Boston, proceeding towards Mount-Hope, the lofty residence of king Philip. On 28th June, twelve of the horse, being in advance, fell into an ambuscade, when William Hammond of this place was mortally wounded. Being joined by the troops from Plymouth, they marched into the country of the Wampanoags, scouring the woods, with considerable loss to the enemy, whose petty monarch fled at their approach. Upon this, they marched into the country of the Narragansetts, the sachems of which powerful tribe renewed and confirmed a treaty of peace and alliance with the English. On this or some other occasion, during this war, Capt. Prentice is said to have crossed a river alone, ordering his troop, who stood drawn up at the passage, with their pistols cocked, to fire and advance in case of an attack upon his person; and to have performed the singular exploit of seizing and securing, with his own hand, a suspected sachem, surrounded by his warriors, on the opposite bank of the river.

On July 18, the little army marched 18 miles from Taunton to a large swamp, where Philip had collected his forces. Here they defeated him, and took one hundred prisoners. Had the troops immediately followed up their victory, the Wampanoag king acknowledged, that himself and his forces must have been in the complete power of the English. But night approaching, and the troops fearing lest they should fire upon each other through mistake, in the darkness of a thick swamp, the action ceased, and Philip and his men in general escaped upon rafts across an adjoining river, before the next morning dawned. But it

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* A troop, at this time, consisted of 60 horse beside officers, all well mounted and completely armed with back, breast, head-piece, buff coat, sword, carbine and pistols. Each of the twelve troops then in the colony was distinguished by their coats. The pay of a captain of horse was £. 6, of a foot captain £. 4, of a private soldier one shilling a day. In time of peace, the officers had an allowance for their expenses on days of muster. Hutch. C. M. p. 485.

is foreign to the design of the present communications to lay before our readers the particulars of that dreadful war, in which several of the first towns in the country; Medfield, within 12 miles of us, Brookfield, Deerfield, Lancaster, Groton, and several others, were laid in ashes, and many lives were lost. Suffice it to say, that Capt. Prentice was active and eminently serviceable in every period of the war; that his name was a terror to the hostile tribes of Indians, by his suddenly collecting and marching his cavalry at the shortest notice, fighting on horseback or on foot, as the nature of the ground or the situation of the enemy required; that advancing at a moment's warning, with twenty of his troop from the neighbourhood of his dwelling, and followed by the others as rapidly as they could receive notice at their homes, and march, he is said to have been the principal instrument, by his presence and exertions, of checking the sudden irruption and alarming progress of Philip's troops at Sudbury, about April 18, 1676, after they had burnt a part of the town, in defending which, the gallant Capt. Wadsworth (father of President Wadsworth) and Capt. Brocklebank, with so many of their soldiers, had perished. After the important check at Sudbury, where the enemy's spirits had been remarkably elevated by the preceding success, it is observed, that they became dispirited, and lost ground in all their following attempts, till the death of Philip, killed in a swamp by the hand of a friendly Indian, the 12th of the following August, gave the finishing stroke to the war.

The gallant Prentice, who, at the age of 54, began his military career, survived until July 7th, 1709, when he died, *Æt.* 89, by a similar casualty with his brave companion in arms, Col. Church, in consequence of a fall from his horse, upon his return from public worship, Lord's-day, May 7th. He was buried with the respect due to so good a man, as well as brave defender of his country, by the troop under arms. On the footstone of his grave are inscribed the following lines, which the teeth of time have almost effaced.

"He that's here interr'd needs no versifying,
A virtuous life will keep the name from dying;
He'll live, though poets cease their scribbling rhyme,
When that this stone shall moulder'd be by time."*

* His grand-daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Hammond, who died the present year, April 12,

It may be proper here to mention a remark from Mr. Neal, which serves to shew the binding and friendly influence of the Gospel, that "the Indian converts discovered the most unshaken fidelity during this whole war; and that neither the persuasions, the promises, nor the threatenings of their hostile countrymen, could ever draw any of them from their allegiance to the English."

Soon after the removal of the tyrannical governor Andros from the chair, "May 20, 1689, the inhabitants of New-Cambridge met, and by a vote declared as follows :

"That it is our desire,

"I. That the Hon. governor and deputy-governor, and assistants chosen and sworn in the year 1686, and the deputies then chosen by the freemen for that year, do now resume the government of this colony according to charter privileges.

"II. That there may be an enlargement of freemen, that is to say, that those persons, who are of honest conversation, and a competent estate, may have their votes in all civil elections.

"III. That the court, having thus reassumed the government, then endeavour to confirm our charter privileges.

"IV. That the court, thus settled, do not admit of any change or alteration of government among us, until it be first signified to the several towns for their approbation."

"On the same day also the inhabitants made choice of ensign John Ward, as our representative or deputy in the present sessions."*

It is proper here to record the name of the intrepid Capt. Noah Wiswall of this place, who, with his lieutenant Flagg and sergéant Walker, was slain Lord's-day, July 6, 1690, in a long and obstinate engagement between a party of Americans, and a body of French and Indians, at Wheeler's Pond (now Lee) in New-Hampshire.

A. D. 1696, a new meeting-house was built on the spot occupied

was acknowledged to be one of the most virtuous, amiable, and sensible women who have ever adorned Newton.

* The town book contains a receipt from the selectmen of Cambridge, dated the same year, for a certain sum paid by this district in produce at the following specified prices :
"Indian corn three shillings a bushel, rye four shillings do. oats two shillings do.

occupied by the first, which had been repaired and enlarged A. D. 1681. Adjoining to this, deacon John Jackson had given one acre of land for a burying ground, which was afterwards enlarged by an addition of one acre, the gift of Abraham Jackson. Deacon E. Jackson, the father-in-law of Rev. Mr. Hobart, also gave thirty-three acres of wood-land to the use of the ministry in Cambridge-Village, forever. In this year, 1696, the town, which had been incorporated, Dec. 8, (new style, Dec. 19,) 1691, and to which the General Court gave the name of **NEW-TOWN**, agreed to build a school-house, (since multiplied to six) and chose a committee to treat with and persuade John Staples (afterwards a worthy deacon of the church) to keep the school. To him they gave, agreeably to their day of small things, one shilling and six pence per day.

July 21, 1706, John Myrick, Nathaniel Healy, and Ebenezer Seger, of this town, were killed by the Indians at Groton.

May 18, 1707, was the last ordination of deacons among us, when Thomas Oliver (counsellor of the province) and Ephraim Jackson were publicly inducted into office.

Nov. 26 1711, John Gibson of Newton was killed by the Indians at Casco-bay fort.

Nov. 3, 1714, the church and religious society of this place enjoyed the happy re-settlement of the Gospel-ministry among them by the ordination of the Rev. John Cotton, A. M. descendant of the celebrated Cotton, one of the first ministers of Boston. So high was the respect cherished for the virtues and accomplishments of this youth of twenty, that the town, in general, went in procession, met, and gave him a joyful welcome upon his entrance into it as a candidate, the preceding July 14. His labours through life were faithful, fervent, acceptable, and considerably successful. The two most promising periods of his ministry appear to have been about A. D. 1729, and A. D. 1740, at each of which periods the young people, in considerable numbers, formed societies for religious improvement, and made a public profession of Christianity. In 1729, he published four serious and useful sermons, addressed to youth, from Zech. ii. 4. He published some other discourses, which manifested the fervour of his mind
in

in the cause of the Gospel. He died of a fever, after a short illness, in which he gave his dying councils to his parishioners present, and expressed his animating hopes, May 17, 1757. On his tomb-stone the following classical Latin epitaph is inscribed.

“ Hic depositum mori quod potuit reverendi veréque venerandi JOHANNIS COTTONI, ecclesiæ Newtoniensis fidelissimi, prudentissimi, doctissimique nuper pastoris, concionandi tam precandi facultate celeberrimi, pietate spectatissimi, moribus sanctissimis undequaque et suavissime ab omnibus bene meriti, deploratique auditoribus præcipue, quibus vel mortuus concionari non desinit. Fama longe lateque vocalius et diutius marmore duratissimo, nomen perdulse proclamabit. Morbo non senectâ fractus, e vita decessit. Maii 17, A. D. 1757, ætatis suæ 64. officii ministralis 43.

Translated.

Here lies the mortal part of the Rev. and truly venerable JOHN COTTON, lately the very faithful, prudent, and skilful pastor of the church of Newton. He was eminent for the faculty of praying and preaching, was respected for his piety, and held in high and universal esteem for his pure and attractive virtues. His loss is especially deplored by his flock, to whom even dead he ceases not to preach. Fame shall spread his endearing name more loudly, extensively, and permanently than the most durable marble. Broken by disease, not by the infirmities of age, he departed this life May 17, A. D. 1757, in the 64th year of his age, and the 43d of his ministry.

A. D. 1718. The present meeting-house of the first Precinct was built.

Rev. JONAS MERIAM, A. M. succeeded Mr. Cotton, March 22, 1758. He was reputed a scholar of considerable talents. He had a happy skill in composition. His natural temper was mild and amiable. He was charitable to the distressed; and studied peace through life. The burning of his valuable mansion, A. D. 1770, gave his people an opportunity, which they cheerfully and generally embraced, of affording a liberal aid in building for him the house now in the possession of his successor. He died of a consumption, which he bore with much patience, August

13, 1780, in the 22d year of his ministry, *Æt.* 50. His remains were conveyed to a tomb belonging to the family of Mrs. Meriam in Boston.

June 6, 1780, a Baptist church was gathered in Newton, from this and adjoining towns, of which the Rev. Caleb Blood (since removed to Shaftesbury, Vermont) was pastor seven years. He was succeeded by the Rev. Joseph Grafton, their present pastor, June, 1788. Notwithstanding the diversity of denominations, there subsists a pleasing and growing harmony between the members of the different religious societies of the place.

Mrs. Davis, who died A. D. 1752, at the south part of the town, used to cultivate her ground with her own hand till extreme old age. She used the hoe and the scythe with considerable agility. She was visited by Judge Dudley, of Roxbury, about two years before her death, when a likeness of her was drawn by a portrait painter who accompanied him. She sustained a good character. It is remarkable of this extraordinary woman, who retained her faculties, bodily and mental, to a very considerable degree, to within about two years of her death, that she was upheld by the singular Providence of God through half the reign of Charles 1st, through the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, the reigns of Charles 2d, James 2d, William and Mary, Queen Anne, George the 1st, and died in the old age of George 2d.

The year 1775 appears, from the records to which I have had access, to have been the year of the greatest mortality in this town: 42, among whom were more than 20 adults, died, chiefly of the dysentery, which prevailed in this and the two following years, beside some occasional temporary residents. I have been informed that 49 died A. D. 1749, when the putrid sore-throat prevailed. But the bills of mortality, which have been kept with great exactness in the family of Mr. William Hyde, deceased, from the beginning of this century, mention only 29, including 8 children, and 8 young persons from 25 to 17. I have found great correctness in the bills of his son, the late Mr. Noah Hyde, sen. who studiously followed his father and other ancestors in registering every death which has occurred in the whole town. The town records and private bills

bills of mortality, annually noting the names and families of the deceased, adults and children, from the incorporation of the town, A. D. 1691 to A. D. 1791, contain 1374 deaths. But, a few of the first years appear incomplete. It is probable that the number of the inhabitants at the commencement of the century did not exceed half the number in A. D. 1763; since which time our constant emigrations have made it stationary. In all periods I find the proportion of aged, many of them upwards of 80, to be very considerable. With these observations it may be proper to add a bill of mortality for the east Congregational society of Newton for 17 years past, from Jan. 1, 1782, to Dec. 31, 1798.

24	under	2 years.	
6	between	2 and 5	
12	—	5 and 10	
4	—	10 and 20	
16	—	20 and 30	chiefly females.
9	—	30 and 40	
10	—	40 and 50	
10	—	50 and 60	
14	—	60 and 70	
27	—	70 and 80	
16	—	80 and 90	
6	—	90 and 100	

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Hence it appears, that the proportion of deaths, *including all ages*, is equal to the calculation made upon the children and youths in the Royal Mathematical school in Christ Church Hospital, England, where the average number of scholars, from 8 to 17 years of age, for 11 years, is computed, in the Encyclopedia Britannica, at 831. Of this number, during the said 11 years, a *seventieth* part, the proportion of all Newton for a much longer period, annually dies.

Mr. Cotton, in a sermon preached at Newton, May 8, 1741, to the young people, upon the death of John Park, aged 18, observes, "God has been remarkably kind and good to you in sparing your lives. It has been a *rare thing* to follow a *young man* to the grave among us."

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In inserting the above bill of mortality, I have designedly violated strict chronological arrangement, as it is so immediately connected with the observations immediately preceding.

October, 1781. A new congregational church was formed in the west part of the town. Twenty-one members were dismissed from the old church for the purpose. Nov. 1781, Rev. William Greenough, A. M. their present pastor, was ordained.

Feb. 13, 1782. Jonathan Homer, A. M. was ordained pastor of the first church of Christ in Newton. During his pastoral office, seventy-six members, including eight dismissed and recommended from sister churches, have been admitted into the church. Of this number, eight have died. The members of this church in 1792 were 130. During the same period, one hundred and fifty-one children and three adults have been baptized.

A happy harmony, between the ministers and their respective congregations, and in the different religious societies among themselves and towards each other, prevails through the town. Law litigations, as well as frequenting of taverns for drinking or gaming, are exceedingly rare. The friendly aspect of the place seems happily to accord with the following plain couplet, contained in Burnap's map of 1714.

A whole New-Town here see at once you may ;
Let peace and love be found there every day.

It is here proper to notice the name of Mr. John Rogers, for his singular skill, displayed in various useful mechanical inventions and improvements. The old meeting-house contains an excellent church clock, made and given by him. It may be proper to add here, an article commemorative of the munificence of the pious deacon John Staples, who gave a valuable wood lot of about 18 acres, in the west part of the town, to the church, for the benefit of the ministry.

April 20, 1794, died the Hon. Abraham Fuller, highly esteemed for his eminent patriotism and integrity, who honourably sustained the offices of Representative, Senator, Counsellor, and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.—To him, as principal of a committee of the Provincial Con-

gress at Concord, were committed the papers containing the exact returns of the military stores in Massachusetts at the beginning of 1775. Upon the recess of the Congress, he first lodged these papers in a cabinet of the room which the committee occupied. But thinking afterwards, that the British troops might attempt to seize Concord in the absence of the Congress, and that these papers, discovering the public deficiency in every article of military apparatus, might fall into their hands, he withdrew them, and brought them to his house at Newton. That foresight and judgment, for which he was ever distinguished, and which he displayed in the present instance, was extremely fortunate for the country. The cabinet was broken open by a British officer on the day of the entrance of the troops into Concord, April 19, 1775, and great disappointment expressed at missing its expected contents. Had they fallen into their hands, it was his opinion, that the knowledge of the public deficiency might have encouraged the enemy, at this early period, to have made such a use of their military force, as could not have been resisted by the small stock of powder and other articles of war which the province then contained. He considered the impulse upon his mind to secure these papers, as one among many providential interpositions for the support of the American cause. By Judge Fuller, as their delegate, the town accepted the Federal Constitution, February 6, 1788; for which they have invariably discovered a very unanimous and cordial attachment. At his death, he left one thousand dollars towards founding an academy in Newton, the time and place of which were submitted to the judgment of his executor and son-in-law, William Hulk, Esq.

A. D. 1797. Two well assorted public libraries were founded in the east and west parts of the town, which have already added considerable information to the minds of the people.

At a general meeting of the citizens of Newton, May 14, 1798, after the peaceful envoys of the United States had been denied a hearing by the government of France, which continued its wanton depredations upon our commerce, and made demands which struck at the vitals of our independence; it was "RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY,

1. That

1. That the wisdom and justice of our national government, in their past efforts to preserve the neutrality and independence of the United States of America, meet our warmest approbation. 2. That whereas the citizens of this town did, at the ever-memorable era, when the great question of INDEPENDENCE was decided by the American people, unanimously pledge their lives and fortunes to support the absolute sovereignty thereof, they now repeat the solemn pledge, and will exert every power they possess, to support the CONSTITUTION and GOVERNMENT, against the claims and aggressions of any foreign power, and all open or secret enemies to the government and people of these United States."

The vote referred to, in the preceding resolution, stands thus: "Monday, June 17, 1776. In a legal town-meeting, the inhabitants of Newton UNANIMOUSLY and solemnly engaged, with their lives and fortunes, to support the measure of Independence, if Congress should, for the safety of the American colonies, declare it."

From the particulars which I have been able to collect, relative to the moral and religious history of the past generations, I am ready to conclude, that NEWTON has produced a very considerable proportion of characters, among whom I would specially rank the elders and deacons of the church, who have adorned a christian profession by exemplary piety, justice, and beneficence. It is the ardent wish and prayer of the writer of this account, that a double portion of their spirit may rest upon their children to the remotest generation, and upon those who, removed from other towns, now occupy the places which they once possessed.

Authorities from which the articles, (except two or three from well-authenticated tradition) contained in the History, are selected.

Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New-England. London, 1647; and, the clear Sunshine of the Gospel upon the Indians. London, 1648; quoted by Mr. Neal. Morton's New-England's Memorial. Mather's Magnalia. Neal's History of New-

New-England. Eliot's Life. Speeches of Indians, gathered by major Gookin, and Daniel the Indian teacher, and published by Mr. Eliot. Winslow's Account of Indians, quoted by Dr. Gillies, in his Historical Collections. Gookin's Historical Collections. Hubbard's History of Indian Wars. Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, and Collection. Modern Universal History. Life of Boyle.

Roxbury Church Records. Dorchester Church Records. Manuscripts of the Hyde family in Newton.

NATURAL HISTORY OF THE SLUG-WORM. BY WILLIAM DANDRIDGE PECK, MEMBER OF THE AGRICULTURAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, AND A. A. S.

(Published by the Agricultural Society in the Massachusetts Mercury.)

Natura nusquam magis quam in minimis tota est.

Plin. lib. xi. cap. 2.

JONATHAN MASON, Esq. Corresponding Secretary to the Massachusetts Agricultural Society.

SIR,

IN every branch of agriculture, and particularly that which comprises gardening, we cannot but take notice of insects, which inhabit the plants we raise. The variety of trees which you cultivate, must have presented to your observation many insects, that the diligence of your gardener is scarce able to repel.

Most insects, from the time of their being excluded from the egg, till they cease from feeding, wear a different form from that which they put on in their perfect state. The name of Larva has been given to the form under which they first appear, and in which they are most injurious to trees and plants. At the termination of this first period, they become contracted, some before, and others after, they have formed around them a covering with materials furnished by themselves. In this second period, they have received the name of Pupa and Chrysalis. In this state the insect remains, till every part of its new form has

has acquired its full growth ; and at the end of this period it leaves its narrow prison, and may be figuratively said to have arrived at the age of puberty.

Caterpillars are exceedingly numerous, and generally known ; there are, however, other larvæ, which bear a considerable resemblance to them ; but are transformed to insects widely different : naturalists have called them false caterpillars.

The largest of these, that I have seen, were upon the white birch and the willow. Those which inhabit the willow are common enough : they are smooth and black, with a series of yellow spots on each side, along the whole length of the body. They feed in ranks, arranged along the edges of the leaves, and throw themselves into very odd attitudes. Examined with a magnifier, they are found to have the six first feet armed with a single claw, like the caterpillar ; but the other feet are more numerous ; and instead of being furnished with a number of little hooks, as in the caterpillar, are only retractile prominences, terminated by a soft, smooth, and rounded surface.

I give you this description, Sir, and refer you, for the observation of the several particulars of it, to the black larva which infests the willow, as it is large enough to be easily examined, because the Slug, which seems at present to threaten the destruction of some of our best fruit trees, is of the same family.

It is said to be about eight or ten years since the Slug was first observed in gardens, in the county of Essex, from whence it is supposed to have spread. Having been in the habit of frequently visiting my trees, in order to destroy the canker and web-worms, or other insects which infested them, I think I should have seen the Slug if it had been in my garden ; but it was not till the 8th of July, 1796, that I saw any on my trees. I will not, however, assert, that it did not inhabit them before, in such small numbers as to elude observation.

On the 12th of July, I plucked some leaves on which the Slugs were feeding ; and having filled a glass vessel with light earth, laid the leaves upon it : by the 19th these had all ceased to feed ; and having thrown off the slimy skin, appeared in a yellow one, and descended into the

the earth. A few, which had entered the earth at the side of the vessel, afforded me an opportunity to observe, that when they had attained a certain depth, they, by moving their body, pressed the earth equally on all sides; and thus smoothed the cavity, which they then lined with an adhesive substance, resembling lac in colour, and of the nature of silk, though not fibrous. To this substance the earth closely adheres. The cell is rather of an oval form, externally of a rude appearance, internally smooth, and in some degree glossy.

As soon as the cell was completed, they remained contracted for some time, till the yellow skin was thrown off and the pupa state succeeded. In sixteen days after their descent, one end of the cell was broken off transversely; and through the opening thus made, the perfect insect arose.

It was a small black fly, a little more than a quarter of an inch in length, with four transparent wings. It is to be noted, that this was the first hatch of the year 1796, which had now passed through all its stages.

On the 7th of August, the eggs placed in the leaves by the flies of this first hatch, began to be seen; and on the 16th, I first saw the larvæ of the second race. A number of the smallest of these were collected, and I found that they began to cease from feeding on the 11th of September; a term of 26 days from their being hatched; and by the 19th of the same month, there were none any where to be seen.

These are the principal observations I was able to make that year. Having acquired a certain knowledge of the fly and the eggs, I determined, in the spring of 1797, to watch their progress very carefully. Some young cherry-trees, five or six feet high, afforded me good subjects for this purpose. From the first unfolding of their leaves, I examined them every day. It was the second of June before I saw a fly; but eggs had been deposited the day before.

On the 6th, as I was standing by a small tree, a fly came and rested on a leaf before me; and while I was looking at it, she raised her head a little, bending down the hinder part of her body, reclined a little on one side, and throwing out a small sting, pierced the leaf obliquely, and by degrees

degrees separated the upper membrane from the fleshy part of the leaf; making a circular incision of about half a line in diameter: then withdrawing the sting a little, forced an egg into the aperture. I marked this leaf, by putting a thread loosely round it, in order to determine the precise time which would elapse before the egg was hatched. Examining it from time to time with a magnifier, I found it increased in bulk; and from a long oval, approached a spherical form.

On the tenth day I could perceive, through the membranes of the leaf and egg, the eyes of the Larva; and on the 20th of the month it appeared on the leaf, and began to feed. This was the fourteenth day from the deposit of the egg; and the result accorded with the appearance of the other Slugs that first shewed themselves on the 15th of the month from eggs deposited on the 1st.

From the 11th to the 19th, the flies appeared in the greatest number, so that I caught fifty or sixty in a short time, while standing by the trees. They have not the timidity of other insects, and may be taken with very little trouble. When the fly is about to place an egg in a leaf, after she has begun to make the incision, the leaf may even be cut off; and with a magnifier of about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch focus, this very amusing operation, which is performed in less than a minute, may be distinctly observed through the transparent skin of the leaf. The incision is generally made on the under side of the leaf, without wounding the skin of the upper side; the egg being forced in, raises the upper skin, and the spot appears like a small blister; the health of the leaf, and the circulation of its sap, appear to be in no wise injured; the egg is kept moist, and defended from the action of the air and rain; but has all the benefit of light and heat.

The skin of the egg is soft, and susceptible of distention; and in order to preserve these qualities, it seems necessary, that it should be placed in contact with the sap-vessels of the leaf, which may, perhaps, in some sort, contribute to the nourishment of the embryo larva. If the cuticle of the leaf is carefully raised, the young larva may be seen rolled in a spiral form, and white.

Soon after emerging from the blister, a viscid exudation takes

takes place, which covers the whole upper surface of the larva with a slimy coat of an olive colour. In this, as well as in its tardy motion, it resembles the slug or snail, whose name has been applied to it. This coat retains its humidity, although exposed to the fiercest heat of the sun : it is probably a defence against its enemies, and answers the further purpose of support when removed from its natural position. The olive colour, in some, is very deep ; in others, more dilute, and inclining to a dirty yellow.

On first quitting the egg, the larva is nearly white, the head brown, and apparently large in proportion to its body. In the course of twenty days, it throws off four skins at nearly equal periods ; it remains in the fifth or last viscous skin six days, and acquires its full growth ; it then quits this fifth skin, which is left adhering to the leaf, and appears in a clean yellow one, entirely free from visciditv, and has so different an aspect, that it would not be supposed to be the same larva.

After resting some hours, it proceeds slowly towards the earth, creeping down the leaf-stalk and along the body of the branch. I did not watch its tedious progress to the trunk ; but believe, when they arrive at the rough bark, they lose their foot-hold and fall ; as I have never seen any on the trunk, which must be covered with them at the season of their descent, if they were able to move on rough surfaces.

They do not all proceed thus regularly ; for I have observed, that if the leaf, on which they rest, receive the least shock, they roll themselves up and fall off. They enter the earth to the depth of from one to four inches, and the process of transformation goes on as related above.

Frequently, as soon as the skin is shed, they are seen feeding upon it ; this appears to be an instinctive act, and perhaps contributes to furnish a more copious supply of the viscous exudation ; but the last mucous skin which is thrown off, remains extended on the leaf, and such skins have been mistaken for dead slugs.

On the 12th of July, perceiving many in the yellow skin, I directed cloths to be spread on the ground, and the trees to be shaken : About 170 were collected, which I threw into a vessel filled with light earth. On the 30th,
or

or in eighteen days after their descent into the earth, they began to rise in the form of flies.

I was then unexpectedly called from home, and was absent through the months of August and September. At my return, in October, the slugs of the second hatch were in plenty on the trees, and some of them remained till the 21st, a month later than in the preceding year; when almost all the leaves had fallen, and after having survived several frosts.

They had been far more numerous in the first hatch, than they were in 1796; but according to the best information I could collect, their numbers in the second greatly exceeded the first: the small trees were covered with them; and a breeze of air passing through the trees, became charged with a very disagreeable and almost sickening odour. In order to determine, with some degree of precision, the time when the fly first rises in the spring, I filled a box with earth taken from the foot of a cherry tree, from one to four inches deep, in the month of February of the present year. It contained about two cubic feet. This earth I caused to be sifted, and by this means 190 cells were collected, which were put with some of the sifted earth in a garden pot. At the same time I examined the earth in which the larvæ of the first hatch of the last year had passed their transformation; and finding many cells whole, supposed the larvæ within them had perished; but on opening some of them, I found they were alive, and in the same state as on their first entrance. I examined both parcels of earth again on the 6th of May: the larvæ had then just entered the pupa state in both. It appears hence, that if all the slugs of the last hatch of 1797 had been destroyed on the trees, there would have remained in the earth a sufficient number to have continued the species.

On the 21st of May they began to rise and deposite their eggs. About the 5th of June the young slugs began to shew themselves, and continued to do so in great numbers till towards the end of the month; and it appeared, that the flies not only rose earlier, but that they continued to rise and deposite their eggs longer this year than in the two former years.

In the beginning of July, the larvæ began to descend ; about the 23d, the flies from these began to rise, and by the 7th of August the slugs of the second hatch began to appear on those trees which had any green leaves remaining, in such abundance, that by the 15th, there were from twenty to thirty on a single leaf. In the mean time, the trees which had been stripped, had thrown out new leaves, at the ends of those branches that had not perished, from buds, which should not have unfolded, according to the usual course of vegetation, till the next spring ; thus anticipating the growth of one year, and cutting off the prospect of fruit.

As the flies continue to deposite their eggs about three weeks, and the period of hatching is as long, the slugs are consequently of different sizes : the larger disappear, leaving the smallest on the leaves. Hence some persons have supposed there were three or four hatches in a year ; but there are certainly only two.

Heavy showers are said to destroy them, and it is possible that a few may be washed off ; rain appears to be disagreeable to them, and in showers I have observed that they make a safe retreat to the under side of the leaves.

They seem to prefer different trees in different places. In my neighbourhood the common red cherry was more attacked than the plumb or pear : in a garden about a mile distant, they seemed more pleased with the quince, than with the pear, cherry, or plumb : in another place the button pear was preferred to any other. I have also found them on the wild black cherry and wild pear.

The largest slugs that I have seen were about $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of an inch in length. The head, of a dark chesnut-colour, is bent under and entirely concealed. This conformation is necessary, as the direction of its bite is in the plane of the leaf ; but when it has assumed the yellow coat, its head is more prominent and discernible. The six first feet are terminated with a little hook ; besides these, there is a limb on each side, between the first pair of feet and the head, which is unarmed, and always laid over the side of the face just below the eyes. I have not observed any thing analogous to these in any other larva ; their use may perhaps be to regulate the depth of its bite, and to
wipe

wipe off any extraneous particles that may adhere to the jaws or antennæ. The other fourteen feet are entirely unarmed. It is mechanically supported by the former; but its support, by means of the latter, appears to depend on the pressure of the atmosphere.

The body is largest towards the head, and diminishes gradually toward the tail. They have the faculty of swelling out the anterior part of the body, and most frequently appear in this manner, with the tail a little turned up.

The fly is of a *full glossy black, except the legs, which are of a brownish ash-colour*: the antennæ black, with nine articulations. The wings are transparent, with a sooty tinge, reflecting the prismatic colours when held in certain directions to the light. They are a little tumid or convex on the upper side, which is one characteristic of this genus; but a more certain one is the sting, or instrument with which the female makes the incision for the reception of her eggs. This resembles a saw, and from this circumstance they are called, by English writers, Saw-flies. The male resembles the female in colour; but is considerably less, and has no sting.

In the thirteenth edition of the Linnean system, by Professor Gmelin, there are 142 species of this genus, of which the *Tenthredo Cerasi*, or Saw-fly of the cherry-tree, has the greatest affinity to the Slug-fly, and is described as being "*black, with the legs and triangular part on the back between the insertion of the wings, yellow. The larva slimy and black inhabits the leaves of the cherry-tree, which it rolls up.*"* The slug-fly has no yellow about it, neither does the larva roll up the leaves: it may, notwithstanding, be a variety of the *tenthredo cerasi*, as it agrees in size and in the slimy covering.

An eminent French author, on the subject of insects, has a figure of a fly and of the larva; but describes only the latter, which he calls the False-Caterpillar of the pear-tree. In this description he says, "Another kind of false-caterpillar, which differs very much from the common kind in form, and which it is difficult to characterize, is found on various fruit trees, as the plumb, the cherry, but especially on the pear-tree. Fruit-trees, however, are

“ are not the only ones on which they are found ; for I have
 “ also seen them upon oaks. In both they live on the upper
 “ surface of the leaves, and there consume the parenchyma ;
 “ their skin is always mucous, which would make them to
 “ be taken for snails, if one did not perceive their feet.
 “ Their colour is a brown green: They are rarely stretch-
 “ ed out like the caterpillar, and can at pleasure swell a cer-
 “ tain part of their body: they frequently swell the fore part
 “ for a third of its length, or more, and narrow the rest.
 “ They have but twenty feet, and none in the last segment.
 “ These insects sometimes multiply exceedingly on the pear-
 “ tree, so that four or five are found on the same leaf. I
 “ have seen of these trees in the month of July without a
 “ green leaf.”*

This description according so exactly with the slug, and the author's mentioning it as a singular species, incline me to believe it is the only species of this genus which has a mucous coat, and that our slug-fly is a variety of the *tenthredo cerasi*. The form of the saw in the European species will determine this point.

This instrument is a very curious object, and in order to describe it, it will be proper to compare it with the tenon-saw used by cabinet-makers ; which, being made of a very thin plate of steel, is fitted with a back to prevent its bending. The back is a piece of iron, in which a narrow and deep groove is cut, to receive the plate, and is fixed ; the saw of the *tenthredo* is also furnished with a back ; but the groove is in the plate, and receives a prominent ridge of the back, which is not fixed, but permits the saw to slide forward and backward as it is thrown out or retracted. The saw of artificers is single ; but that of the *tenthredo* is double, and consists of two distinct saws with their backs: the insect, in using them, first throws out one, and while it is returning, pushes forward the other, and this alternate motion is continued till the incision is effected, when the two saws, receding from each other, conduct the egg between them to its place. In the artificial saw, the teeth are alternately bent toward the sides, or out of the right line, in order that the fissure or kerf may

* Reaumur in *Mém. des Insectes*. Tom 5. *Mém. des Mouches a soie*.

may be made sufficiently wide for the blade to remove easily; to answer this purpose, in some measure, in that of the *tenthredo*, the teeth are a little twisted, so as to stand obliquely with respect to the right line, and their points of course project a little beyond the plane of the blade without being laterally bent; and all the teeth in each blade thus project a little outward; but the kerf is more effectually made, and a free range procured for the saws, by small teeth placed on the outer side of each; so that while their vertical effect is that of a saw, their lateral effect is that of a rasp. In the artificial saw, the teeth all point outward, and are simple; but in the saw of the *tenthredo*, they point inward, or towards the handle, and their outer edge is beset with smaller teeth, which point outward.

I know not how long the flies continue to live after their first appearance; though plenty about the trees, in the time of depositing their eggs, they become afterwards very scarce. I am equally uncertain as to the number of eggs from a single fly. If all in the ovaria come to perfection, a single fly may deposite between two and three hundred; but probably not more than half these are excluded by the fly. The ovaria are composed of several tubes, about six on each side, which occupy a great part of the abdomen, flowing from a common point, enlarging in their course, and uniting again on each side, in a canal leading to the oviduct. The eggs in these tubes are of all intermediate magnitudes, from a scarce visible speck to those ready to be excluded, of which last, I have frequently counted fifty, though the season of depositing was advanced.

The flies do not feed, like most insects of this class, on the honey of flowers; but upon the moisture which they lick up from the leaves, moist with dew or showers.

The viscous coat of the slugs seems to be their sufficient defence in the larva state; they are not, however, without enemies, and such as I hope will be a considerable check upon the increase of this very disagreeable and destructive insect.

In prosecuting my inquiries the last year, I observed some eggs in the leaves of the cherry-tree, which were
not

not semi-transparent, but opaque and black ; concluding they were abortive, and desirous to know the cause, I examined them, and found each egg occupied by two or three white specks : these were so many insects in the pupa state, and I afterwards found the perfect insect. This is an extremely small fly of the genus *Ichneumon*, which deposits its eggs in those of the *tenthredo* and other insects. *It is of a pale rust-colour ; the eyes and three spots (stigmata) on the top of the head, of a bright red ; the wings transparent, studded and fringed with fine bristles, the posterior wings very narrow ; the antennæ consisting of five articulations.* I observed this year that great numbers of the eggs of the slug-fly, especially of the second hatch, were rendered abortive by this atom of existence.

I cannot but remark here, how just was the observation of a naturalist who lived in the first century, and how amply it is confirmed by the microscopes of the moderns, "that the Author of Nature is no where more perfect than in the minutest of his works !"

To make this account as perfect as I was able, I have noted every particular which has come to my knowledge ; this has rendered it prolix : but I hope the satisfaction you may receive, will, in some measure, compensate for the fatigue of going through it.

I beg you to believe me to be, with much respect,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

RURICOLA.

Massachusetts, August, 1798.

N. B. The above Essay obtained the Agricultural Society's premium of fifty dollars, and the gold medal.

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COLLECTIONS
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FOR THE YEAR 1799.

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IT is a duty which the Historical Society owe to their institution, to their own feelings, and to their country, to preserve, in their publications, some memorial of their associates, as they descend to the grave ; especially of those, who have been distinguished in the literary world. With tender recollections of two valuable members, whose death will long be deplored, they have appropriated a part of their *Collections* to a sketch of their lives and characters, persuaded that nothing, which tends to honour and perpetuate the memories of a CLARKE and a BELKNAP, can be uninteresting to any of the readers of these papers.

SKETCH of the LIFE and CHARACTER of the late Rev.
Dr. CLARKE.*

“JOHN CLARKE, D. D. Pastor of the first church in Boston, was born at Portsmouth, in New-Hampshire, April 13, 1755 ; graduated at Harvard College in 1774 ; and ordained July 8, 1778, as colleague with the late Dr. Chauncy, with whom he lived in the most intimate and respectful friendship about nine years ; and afterwards continued, assiduously and faithfully labouring in the service of the church, until the Lord's-day, April 1, 1798 ; when, in the midst of his afternoon sermon, he was suddenly seized with an apoplexy, fell down in the pulpit, and expired in less than twelve hours ; having almost completed the 43d year of his age, and the 20th year of his ministry.

* Supposed to have been written by the Rev. Dr. BELKNAP, and published in the *Columbian Centinel*, April 7, 1798.

Descended from respectable parents, who live to lament an only son, he discovered in early life the signs of genius and industry. At the University, he was distinguished by a close attention to classic and philosophic studies, by a strict obedience to the laws, and by irreproachable morals. In the office of Preceptor, he was gentle and persuasive, beloved by his pupils, and esteemed by their friends. As a public preacher, his compositions bore the marks of penetration, judgment, perspicuity and elegance. Faithful to the interest of religion, he deeply examined its foundation and evidence ; and persuaded of the truth and importance of the christian system, he recommended, by his public discourses and private conversation, its sublime doctrines, its wise institutions, and its salutary precepts.

Though fond of polite literature and philosophic researches, yet he considered theology as the proper science of a Gospel Minister. To this object he principally devoted his time and studies, and was earnestly desirous of investigating every branch of it, not merely to gratify his own sacred curiosity, but that he might impart to his hearers the whole counsel of God. He was habitually a close student ; and it is not improbable, that the intenseness of his mental application proved too severe for the delicate fabric of his nerves.

His devotional addresses were copious and fervent ; and his intercessions strong and affectionate ; discovering at once the ardor of his piety, and the warmth of his benevolence. In the private offices of pastoral friendship, he was truly exemplary and engaging. His temper was mild and cheerful, his manners easy and polite ; and the social virtues of an honest heart gave a glow to his language, and enlivened every circle in which he was conversant.

In the relations of a son, a brother, a husband, a father, a guardian, a correspondent, a master, a friend, and a member of several literary and charitable societies,* his deport-

* Dr. CLARKE was a Counsellor of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Corresponding Secretary of the Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and one of the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

ment was marked with affection, fidelity and carefulness. He was concerned for the interest, reputation, and happiness of all his connexions ; and zealously devoted to the cause of science and humanity.

Being successor to *ten* eminent luminaries of the church of God, he was studious to emulate them in piety, learning and usefulness. Like three of them, he was suddenly called off from his ministerial labours, and having happily escaped the painful agonies of a lingering death, is gone to receive the reward of a faithful servant, and enter into the joy of his Lord.

The names of his predecessors, the order of their succession, and their ages (as far as they are known) are as follow :

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| A. D. 1632 | <i>John Wilson</i> , 1667, <i>Æt.</i> 79. |
| 1633 | <i>John Cotton</i> , 1656, <i>Æt.</i> 68. |
| 1656 | <i>John Norton</i> , 1663, <i>Æt.</i> 57. |
| 1668 | { <i>John Davenport</i> , 1670, <i>Æt.</i> 72. |
| | { <i>James Allen</i> , 1710, <i>Æt.</i> 78. |
| 1670 | <i>John Oxenbridge</i> , 1674, <i>Æt.</i> 66. |
| 1696 | <i>Benjamin Wadsworth</i> , removed to the Presidency of Harvard College, 1725, and died 1737, <i>Æt.</i> 68. |
| 1705 | <i>Thomas Bridge</i> , 1715, <i>Æt.</i> 58. |
| 1717 | <i>Thomas Foxcroft</i> , 1769, <i>Æt.</i> 73. |
| 1727 | <i>Charles Chauncy</i> , D. D. 1787, <i>Æt.</i> 83. |

Besides two assistant ministers, viz.

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1684 | <i>Joshua Moody</i> , returned to Portsmouth, 1692. |
| 1693 | <i>John Bailey</i> , 1697, <i>Æt.</i> 54. |

Mr. Norton died very suddenly on the Lord's-day, as he was preparing for the afternoon exercise. *Mr. Oxenbridge* fell down in the pulpit, with an apoplexy, and died in four days. *Mr. Foxcroft* was seized with the same disorder on a Saturday, and died the next day.

Dr. CLARKE's printed works are, four Sermons—one on the death of *Dr. Cooper*, one on the death of *Dr. Chauncy*,

one on the death of *Dr. N. W. Appleton*, and one before the Humane Society : An Answer to the question, Why are you a Christian ? (which has had three editions in Boston, and three in England) ; and Letters to a Student at the University of Cambridge."

A volume of *Dr. Clarke's Sermons* has been published since his decease. It is a selection that does honour to his memory ; and will be cherished by the christian and the scholar, as exhibiting, in elegant and very impressive language, the pure and pious sentiments of one of the best of men.

His remains were entombed, on the Friday after his decease, with every mark of esteem and affection. A sermon was preached at his interment by the Reverend *PETER THACHER, D. D.*

On the Lord's-day after the decease of *Dr. CLARKE*, a Discourse was delivered to his bereaved Flock, by the Rev. *Dr. WILLARD*, President of the University in Cambridge, from which the following character of the deceased is selected.

"BEING a Tutor at the University when he became a member, and the class to which he belonged being committed to my particular care, I had an early opportunity of knowing his character, and I was soon led to distinguish in him that genius and application to study, together with that amiable disposition and excellent spirit, which have ever since conspicuously shone in him. For two years and a quarter I continued with the class, and during that time his improvements in literature and science were very observable ; and his conduct was so uniformly good, in every respect, that he never merited or received a censure, or a frown from any one, who had the care and instruction of the youth ; and I found by information, after my leaving the class and the University, that he maintained the same character, through the whole of his Collegiate course. And, perhaps, there never was a student, who passed through the University and went into the world with a fairer reputation, and few with more solid and useful acquirements.

For some time after Mr. CLARKE left the University, he was engaged in the instruction of youth, in which employment he was highly esteemed and beloved. But whatever his pursuits were, he did not suffer his mind to be diverted from the great object he had in view, which was to fit for the sacred desk. While he was faithful in performing the business he undertook, he devoted his leisure hours to accomplish himself for that profession, which lay nearest his heart; and he pursued his theological studies with great assiduity, so that when he *first entered* the desk it was not with a superficial knowledge. His natural abilities and literary acquirements were such as enabled him to search the Sacred Oracles with accuracy, especially the Original of the New Testament, and to attend to every subject in Divinity with judgment. And such was the candor and fairness of his mind, that few men, perhaps, have been more free from prejudices in their researches: He therefore became a Scribe well instructed in the Gospel System.

His discourses early discovered an elegant taste in composition, a correctness, propriety and pertinence in thought, and that strain of seriousness and piety, which could not but be attractive. You, my Brethren, soon heard of his worth; and when you employed him as a Candidate for the Ministry among you, your expectations from him were not disappointed; nay, it will not be beyond the truth to say, that they were more than answered. After preaching with you a competent time, he was ordained over you as a Colleague Pastor with the venerable, learned and valuable Doctor CHAUNCEY, with whom he served as a Son with a Father; and between them there ever existed the most happy harmony, till the day of the Doctor's death.

Having obtained a settlement, he did not grow remiss about future improvements, but continued the same assiduity, which had been a distinguished trait in his character. To the liberal Arts and Sciences, for which he had a true relish, and in which he was no *common* proficient, he, at times, paid attention. But these he considered as nothing more than handmaids to divinity, and of but secondary consideration. Divinity was his profession, and to this he directly applied a principal part of his time. He had devoted himself to the cause of God and the Redeemer, and he would

not suffer other pursuits, however pleasing to his ingenious mind, to steal him away from his proper functions, and rob him of that time, which he considered himself bound in duty to employ for the instruction and edification of his flock, either in preparation for his public labours among them, or in private interviews with the various members.—I have dwelt the more largely on this part of his character, because a scholar of Doctor CLARKE's acquirements, and taste for literature and science, is under a strong temptation to spend more time in such pursuits than is consistent with properly discharging the duties of his sacred profession.

Your Pastor employed himself much in the study of the Holy Scriptures. To these heavenly Oracles he repaired, as the sources of divine knowledge, and endeavoured to gain right apprehensions of the truths contained in them, both for his own sake and the sake of his hearers, whom he instructed in these, according to his best understanding, after making use of the most approved helps he could procure, and which he was constantly laying himself out to obtain.

His pulpit-performances were always acceptable. With those compositions of his, which I have either heard or read, I have ever been pleased and edified. His Treatise in defence of Christianity, entitled, "Why are you a Christian?" is, perhaps, as valuable a piece as has been written within the same compass. By its conciseness it is well adapted to being dispersed; and by its perspicuity and pertinence happily calculated to convince and confirm. It is highly esteemed, not only on this, but on the other side of the Atlantic. I have received, but a little while since, a letter from a respectable Divine in Great Britain.* In this letter he says, "We have here been greatly pleased, instructed and impressed by a little piece written by one of your Ministers, Mr. CLARKE, entitled,—'Why are you a Christian?'" And after mentioning that three editions of it had been printed in England, two of which he himself had carried through the press, he adds,—"The circulation of it cannot fail to give pleasure to the pious and worthy Author, and to insure its views of usefulness."

His pleasing private intercourse with you, and also with the children of the Society, whom he delighted to instruct,

* The Rev. Joshua Toulmin, D. D. of Taunton.

you need not be reminded of. The impressions made by these endearments will not be soon, if ever, effaced. Indeed, so sweet was his disposition, and so engaging his manners ; so pleasing was he in his conversation, and so amiable in all his interviews with those he met, that a general esteem of and affection for him was almost unavoidably excited ; and he was beloved by all but the determined foes of virtue and goodness.

I pass over his domestic virtues, in which he was eminent, and which all, who knew him, witnessed.

What an unspeakable loss have you sustained in the death of such a Minister and friend ! But let the bereaved Relatives—let the Members of this religious Society, consider the consolations which offer themselves in the midst of their grief. You have all abundant reason to conclude that he was a man of habitual piety, and that he lived mindful of his exit ; so that although he was suddenly summoned out of time into eternity, he was prepared for the change, and that “ his loins were girded about, and his light burning.” He may be said to have been watching when his Master knocked. He was even then particularly employed in his service, engaged in the very act of religious teaching, and endeavouring to prepare men for a better world.

Such grounds of comfort have we when we reflect upon the character of our dear departed friend. We consider him as one who had been sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise ; * and that having been thus sealed, he is now ascended to that “ Holy One who inhabiteth the praises of Israel.” †

* A part of the text treated upon by the deceased on the forenoon of the day of his decease, previous to the Communion. Eph. i. 13.

† The subject upon which he was treating in the afternoon, when he was seized with the fatal malady. Psalm xxii. 3.

*SKETCH of the LIFE and CHARACTER of the late
Reverend Doctor BELKNAP.**

JEREMY BELKNAP, D. D. Pastor of the Church in Federal-street, was born in this town, June 4, 1744; had the rudiments of his education at the grammar school, under the care of the celebrated Mr. Lovel; and entered Harvard College in 1758.

He discovered, at this early period, such marks of genius and taste, such talents for composition, such a flow of sentiment in conversation, as to engage the esteem of the students, and arrest the attention of his instructors. His friends anticipated a life that would be distinguished, and soon beheld, with satisfaction, that it would be eminently useful.

Having received the honours of the University, in 1762, he applied his mind to the various branches of science; but feeling very serious impressions of divine truth, he turned his thoughts to theology; and the more he studied, the more he was captivated with the beauties of religion. The whole bent of his soul was to the work of the ministry; and to this he, in the most solemn manner, devoted himself. In 1763, he published a pathetic elegy, upon the death of his minister, the Rev. Alexander Cuming, which discovered how much he was influenced by devotional sentiments.

When he became a preacher of the gospel, he was invited to take the charge of the church at Dover, in N. Hampshire. There he passed several years of his valuable life with the esteem and affection of his flock, in habits of intimacy with ministers, and other gentlemen of the neighbouring places, all of whom regretted his departure. He received marks of attention and respect from the first characters of the state, who persuaded and encouraged him to compile a history, which does much honour to our country, and has given the author a name and distinction among the first literary characters of the age.

Soon after Dr. Belknap had left the church in Dover, the

* First published in the *Columbian Centinel*, June 25, 1798.

Presbyterian Church in this town became vacant. Having agreed to form their Church upon Congregational principles, and invited him to be their Pastor, he accepted the call, and was installed April 4th, 1787. Nothing could have been more agreeable to the ministers and people of the other churches, and to all who regarded the interests of the University of Cambridge, with which he became officially connected; being fully confident that he would be a great instrument in promoting the cause of religion and learning. As an overseer of the College, he was attentive to the concerns of the Institution; always taking a lively interest in every thing that respected its welfare.

He was an evangelical preacher; but his sermons were filled with a rich variety of observations on human life and manners. He never aimed at a splendid diction, but a vein of piety ran through his discourses, and his style was uncommonly elegant and perspicuous; his arrangements clear and luminous; and his language adapted to the subject. He was sure to gratify equally the taste of the best judges of composition, and the humble inquirers after truth. He had a great readiness in quoting and applying texts of scripture, and had read much of casuistic, systematic, and polemical divinity: but he chose to give every sentiment a practical turn, and to diffuse that wisdom, which is profitable to direct.

During the eleven years of his ministry in this place, the Society, with which he was connected, grew and flourished. The attachment was strong and mutual. While they admired his diligence and fidelity, he received from them every testimony of respect, which marks the character of a kind and obliging people.

His attentions to his flock were founded upon a regard to them, and the interests of religion. He was their sincere and affectionate friend, and he experienced peculiar pleasure in giving religious instruction to young children.* He was very active in encouraging those publications, which are designed for their use and benefit.

As a husband, parent, brother, or friend, he was tender, affable, kind, and obliging. He gave advice with cheer-

* In this pleasing office he was engaged in the afternoon of the day previous to his decease, at a public catechising of the children of his society.

fulness, and with an attention to the concerns of his friends, which invited their confidence.

The friends of Dr. Belknap were numerous. His acquaintance was much increased by his becoming a member of so many literary and benevolent societies ; and he was active in promoting the good of every association, to which he belonged : wherever he could be of any service, he freely devoted his time and talents.

The Historical Society have lost their most laborious and diligent member, and the founder of their institution. No man had ever collected a greater number of facts, circumstances, and anecdotes, or a more valuable compilation of manuscripts, which might give information and entertainment to all those, who wish to know the history of their own country. In his pursuits of this kind, he frequently met with disappointment from the loss of valuable papers ; and he often mentioned to his friends in New-Hampshire and Boston, that it was necessary to preserve them by multiplying copies, and making it the principal duty and interest of an association to collect them, and to study their value. The proposals of Dr. Belknap met with the approbation and encouragement of several gentlemen in this town and its environs, and the Society was incorporated in 1794.

As an author, Dr. Belknap appears with great reputation, whether we consider his fugitive performances, which often appeared without a name, or his larger works, which have been celebrated in America and Europe. He wrote much in the cause of freedom and his country before our revolution ; and his patriotic ardour was as strong and sincere of late, as in former years. He was attached to the Federal Constitution of these States, which he thought to be the bulwark of Freedom and good Government ; he was fully persuaded that it had been wisely and purely administered ; and in his conversation, as well as in several of his public performances, manifested a conviction, that a firm and uniform support of it was essentially necessary to the Liberty and Prosperity of our country.

The first volume of the American Biography excited a strong desire in the minds of the readers to have the work continued. A second volume is now in the press ; and the tears of genius are shed, that a work of so much entertain-

ment and information could not be finished by the same hand. His mind was richly furnished with this kind of knowledge, and he wrote for the public benefit. The love of fame was only a secondary consideration; his mind seemed to glow with a desire of being useful.

The frequent returns of ill health, to which this worthy man was subject, gave an anxiety to his friends, and led *him* to think that his days could not be long upon the earth. This stimulated his exertions, that he might do the more service while the day lasted.

But he was seized suddenly with a paralytic disorder at 4 o'clock, and died before 11, on Wednesday morning.*

His remains were entombed on Friday last, with every testimony of respect from the inhabitants of the town. The Rev. Mr. Kirkland preached an affectionate discourse from John ix. 4. The whole assembly expressed their sorrow for the loss of one so near and dear to them, as a brother and friend; so amiable in the more tender relations of domestic

* Dr. Belknap's anticipations and humble indications of his choice, relative to the manner of his death, may be perceived in the following lines, which were found among his papers, after his decease, and which were composed by him, probably at the time noted at the bottom, upon the sudden death of one of his acquaintance.

When faith and patience, hope and love,
Have made us meet for heav'n above;
How blest the privilege to rise,
Snatch'd in a moment to the skies!
Unconscious to resign our breath,
Nor taste the bitterness of death.
Such be my lot, Lord, if thou please,
To die in silence and at ease;
When thou dost know that I'm prepared,
O seize me quick to my reward.
But if thy wisdom sees it best,
To turn thine ear from this request;
If sickness be the appointed way,
To waste this frame of human clay;
If, worn with grief and rack'd with pain,
This earth must turn to earth again;
Then, let thine angels round me stand;
Support me by thy powerful hand;
Let not my faith or patience move,
Nor aught abate my hope or love;
But brighter may my graces shine,
Till they're absorb'd in light divine.

February 9, 1791.

life, so exemplary as a christian, so useful as a minister, so respectable in all the public offices he sustained. Who does not readily acknowledge the worth and excellence of such a character ?

List of Dr. Belknap's Publications.

A Sermon upon Military Duty, preached at Dover, 1772.

A Serious Address to a Parishioner upon the Neglect of Public Worship.

A Sermon, on Jesus Christ the only Foundation, preached before an Association of Ministers in New-Hampshire.

Election Sermon, preached at Portsmouth, 1784.

A Sermon at the Ordination of the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, 1789.

A Discourse, delivered at the request of the Historical Society, October, 1792 ; being the completion of the 3d Century from Columbus's Discovery of America.

Dissertations upon the Character and Resurrection of Christ ; one vol. 12mo.

Collection of Psalms and Hymns ; one vol. 12mo.

Convention Sermon, 1796.

A Sermon on the Day of the National Fast, May 9th, 1798.

Dr. Belknap's Historical Works are,

History of New-Hampshire ; 3 vols. 8vo.

The Foresters ; an American Tale : being a Sequel to the History of John Bull, the Clothier ; one vol. 12mo.

American Biography ; 2 vols. 8vo.

He published also several Essays upon the African Trade ; upon Civil and Religious Liberty ; upon the state and settlement of this country, in periodical papers ; in the Columbian Magazine, printed in Philadelphia ; in the Boston Magazine, 1784 ; in the Historical Collections, and in Newspapers.

Extract from the Rev. Mr. KIRKLAND's Sermon, at the interment of the Rev. Dr. BELKNAP.

“ IN an eminent manner did the person we lament, appear to consider himself, with all his endowments and opportunities, as placed in the world by the Great Moral Governor, and bound by the strongest obligations and motives to be faithful, active, and persevering in the duties of his station. In few instances have time and talents been so diligently, conscientiously, and usefully employed. A genius active and original, a judgment distinguishing and correct, and a retentive memory, improved by a learned education, and habitual and close industry; and united to christian faith and temper, could not fail to make a character of eminent usefulness and honour. We have reason to bless the great Head of the Church that he devoted himself to the christian ministry, and entered into the spirit of his office. With what diligence and zeal he strove to acquire and communicate christian knowledge, none present can be ignorant. Seizing the early hours of the day, superior to the enticements of indolence, abhorring idleness, finishing whatever study or inquiry he had begun, and using recreations and visits, as preparations for serious pursuits, his mind became enriched with a large store of theological and evangelical learning. But his ardent curiosity did not confine itself to the mere studies of his profession. Not by slighting any of the public or private duties of his office, but by superior economy of time and industry, he redeemed leisure to carry his researches into other fields of literature, suited to gratify his taste, and increase his usefulness. How well he joined to theology and general literature, the knowledge of human nature and the characters of men, was evinced by his discourses, adapted to real life, and unfolding the secret springs of action; and by his conversation and behaviour, suited to persons, times and places.

Such intellectual and moral attainments could not but render him an important character to the world, to his country, and to the religious, literary and domestic societies, with which he was connected. The world has reaped the fruits of his labours and researches, not only in his profes-

sional studies, but in other departments of literature ; in writings which will maintain their reputation, so long as readers of piety and taste, and lovers of historical truth remain. It is a painful circumstance attending his death, that it stops the progress of a useful and interesting work, for which the public voice pronounced him peculiarly qualified, and which the world of letters hoped he might extend through the successive periods of his country's history.*

How he magnified the office of the christian ministry, you and others, who enjoyed his ministrations, who joined in his prayers, who sat under his preaching, and saw him in the private duties of his station, can better conceive than I describe. If a judicious and seasonable choice of subjects, pertinency in thoughts, clearness in method, and warmth in application ; if language plain and perspicuous, polished and nervous ; if striking illustrations ; if evangelical doctrines and motives ; if a seriousness and fervour, evincing that the preacher's own mind was affected ; if a pronunciation free and natural, distinct and emphatical, are excellencies in public teaching, you, my brethren of this Society, have possessed them in your deceased Pastor. Your attention was never drawn from the great practical views of the gospel by the needless introduction of controversial subjects ; nor your minds perplexed, nor your devotional feelings damped by the cold subtleties of metaphysicks. His preaching was designed to make you good and happy, and not to gain your applause. Whilst the manner, as well as matter, was suited to affect the heart, no attempt was made to overbear your imaginations and excite your passions by clamorous and affected tones.

You are witnesses what is lost, no less in private conduct and example, than in public ministrations ; how well his life became his doctrine ; how the divine, moral, and social virtues appeared in him, in the various scenes of life, in the hours of adversity, and in his intercourse with his people. You are witnesses, how kind and inoffensive, yet plain and sincere, was his demeanour towards you ; how tender and sympathetic were his feelings ; for he could say, " Who is weak, and I am not weak ? Who is offended, and I hurt not ? Have I not wept with him that was in trouble ? "

* The American Biography.

You are witnesses, how useful was his conversation, how simple and unaffected were his manners. The sick are witnesses of his attention, his fidelity, and tenderness, in comforting the believing, in warning the sinner, and confirming the doubtful. The unreasonable and censorious are witnesses of his patience and indulgence; the unbelieving, of his desire to convince them; the afflicted and despondent, of the sweetness of his consolations, and his gentle encouragement; the poor, of his ready advice and assistance; the rich, of his christian independence, united with a becoming complaisance; and the profligate, of his grief for their depravity, of his utter disapprobation of their characters.

To other Churches and to his Brethren in the Ministry, he omitted no opportunities of being useful. The cause of religion in general, and in this part of our land in particular, derived eminent support and honour from his learned, able, and faithful preaching, and his exemplary life. At a time, when an "evil heart of unbelief," or a thoughtless indifference is so prevalent, the loss of such an influence in favour of truth and virtue is a general calamity.

Whilst the Church is deprived of a distinguished Minister, the republic of letters of an accomplished Scholar and Writer, the country mourns a Patriot. Ever a strenuous assertor of the rights of the Colonies in speech and writing, and a warm friend of the revolution, which accomplished the independence of the United States; he was also a decided advocate and supporter of the governments of our own choice, which succeeded, and of the Constitution for the States in Union, which he considered the bulwark of our national security and welfare. His love of true liberty was equal to his hatred of licentiousness; his zeal for the rights of man to his zeal for the defeat of faction and anarchy. Actuated by public spirit, and, viewing it the duty of every citizen to throw his whole weight into the scale on the side of law and order, he was earnest in his wishes and prayers for the government of the country, and in critical periods, took an open and unequivocal, and as far as professional private duties allowed, an active part.

The Academies and Societies, instituted for arts and sciences, for promoting historical knowledge and humanity, as well as the University, are deprived of all that assistance

and support, which, as far as health permitted, they derived from one, whose predominant desire was to do good, whose solid mind was superior to the vanity of applause, and valued every thing in proportion to its utility.

As a son, a husband, a father, a brother, a friend, and neighbour, what he was, their bleeding hearts can tell, who were connected with him in these interesting relations ; who knew his kind and cheerful temper, his sincere and guileless disposition, his disinterested benevolence, and his activity in every good work."

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COLLECTIONS, &c.

REMARKS MADE DURING A RESIDENCE AT STABROEK
RIO DEMERARY (LAT. 6. 10. N.) IN THE LATTER
PART OF THE YEAR 1798. BY THOMAS PIERRONET.

A TRAVELLER finds himself in an awkward situation, when journeying in this country, to find that, in every house, it is expected that he should furnish his own hammock for the night. This principle is so extensive, that no one expects to provide spare beds, or even hammocks, any farther than are absolutely necessary for the use of his own family; and every inhabitant, whose business may call him out, always carries one in his pegal.

Ants. The ants are here exceedingly troublesome; they are very small, and do not sting, but are the most rapacious vermin in the colony. They are remarkably fond of sugar, which can hardly be placed out of their reach. The only method, yet discovered, of evading their visits, is by suspending it to a cord, round which a tuft of cotton being tied, presents them an obstacle their dexterity cannot surmount.

These insects infest every part of the house alike, the ground and attic stories being equally the objects of research; and no method has as yet been discovered to extirpate them.

Other vermin, which are domesticated, are, the *Spider*, of a very large size, measuring nearly three inches from claw to claw, but quite harmless.

The *Merribunter*, or *wild bee*, which is continually em-

ployed in constructing its nests, which are suspended by a kind of stem, and affixed to every part of the house. The sting of this animal is very painful. An immediate application of any oleaginous substance has been found the most efficacious remedy. This animal is of a dark brown colour, and is from 1 inch to 1½ inches in length. They may be drawn from their nests by placing the hand under the arm-pits, until it has imbibed the effluvia of that part of the body, and then placing it near a nest: the animals will fly out, and rest upon it, without doing the least detriment.

The common *Scorpion*, of a small size.

The *Centipede*, very rare.

The common *Fly*, which abounds in some houses, and scarcely ever visits others.

The green *Fly*, which deposits its eggs in the crevices of the posts of the house.

The *Lizard*, of a colour approaching to black, almost equal in size to a *Guana*, armed with sharp claws, which it uses defensively with great effect.

The *Bat*, rather larger than the common one of the United States, which infests old houses in flocks, and which, by their screaming and croaking, are very troublesome and disagreeable during the night.

The *Musquito*, the most venomous insect in Guyana to strangers, who suffer very severely by their stings; many have suffered amputation, and even the loss of life, by means of large ulcers, which have been caused originally by their bite. But persons used to the colony are scarcely ever bitten by them; and when they are, they feel no inconvenience from their attack.

The *Freemason*, a species of *Merribunter*, is an insect which builds its nest of clay against the ceilings and roofs of houses, and deposits one egg in each of them; it then closes it up, leaving only an orifice in the side. It then goes in quest of small spiders; and having caught three, it forces them into the nest, where it closes them up as quick as possible. It is supposed, that, when the caterpillar comes to life, it devours the spiders, as they have been sought for as soon as the young one had acquired strength to burst its prison, and not a vestige of them found.

The *Cockroach*, very numerous.

Reptiles, found in the town, are,

The *Frog*, whose croaking is remarkably loud and hoarse, abounding in the trenches and dykes.

The *Land-Crab*, which, by continually perforating the dams, causes vast trouble to the planters, &c. by letting the water flow into the plantations through a thousand almost invisible sluices.

The *Firefly*, of the beetle kind, which emits a very brilliant light in the evening, and abounds in the environs of Stabroek.

The *Bug*, also of the beetle species, which frequently extinguishes candles by flying against the wick.

Among the *Quadrupeds*, are,

A small species of the *Elephant*, of a light dun colour, from three to four feet in height, which is good eating. It is called by the natives, *Macpori*, and sometimes, by the English, *Wild-Cow*.

Wild Hogs, of three species, one whereof is the *Peccares*. These animals roam about in astonishing droves, of several thousands in number. They progress forward in a straight line, and no mountains or rivers are capable of stopping them. They are very furious when attacked, but if the hunter ascend a tree, he may expend his ammunition on the herd, as they never proceed whilst the firing continues; but being worked up to a great degree of rage, tear the ground and surrounding bushes, in a most furious manner, until the firing ceases; when they resume their journey.

Great numbers of black cattle, which run wild.

The *Zebra*, about the size of a large calf.

The *Tiger-Cat*, *Leopard*, and two or three other varieties of the same kind.

The *Stoth*, a species of beaver.

The *Ant-Bear*, with three varieties of the bear kind.

The *Baboon*, of the size of a middling dog. *Monkeys* in abundance.

Birds. A small species of *Peacock*, about the size of a partridge, called the *Sun Bird*.

The *Que ce qu'il dit*, whose cry exactly resembles the articulation of those words.

Wild Turkeys.

Beautiful *Parroquets*, green, red and yellow.

Various kinds of *Parrots*.

The *Blue Bird*, of the size of a robin.

The *Flamingo*, which appears very beautiful when flying in the sun, and is of a deep flame colour.

Termites. Immediately after the clearing up of a heavy rain, which had lasted during the greater part of the preceding night, the air was found replete with *termites*, or wood ants, whose wings were shed on the least touch. It is supposable that these animals had just attained their winged state, as they had no means of eluding pursuit. They totally vanished in an hour.

Snakes. These reptiles are some of them of an enormous size; they have been met with from twenty-five to thirty feet in length; they have been known to attack and kill an ox, and are not penetrable by a ball, except in the head, their scales completely defending their bodies. There is a species of this animal which has a horn near its navel, which it forces into the ground, and then raises itself to the height of fifteen or twenty feet. They are always avoided by the natives.

The *Libari*, or *Sullen Snake*, is about one foot in length; so called from its never removing itself out of the way of any one, being exceedingly sluggish. Its bite is mortal.

Fish. Among these are the *Jacob Evertz*, *Cacouma*, *Flounder*, *Blinker*, *Herring*, *Earou*, *Laramon*, *Four-eyes*, *Sibailee*, *Gilbacker*, *Koratz*, *Boucouri*, *Carstoback*, *Sun-fish*, *Lokidi*, *Courasse*, *Assa*, and *Shrimp*.

Quaramon, a large species of mullet, which leaps out of the water with great force.

The soil agrees with the greater part of the vegetable tribe; it assimilates particularly with the spice trees.

Cayenne has lately exported a considerable quantity of cloves, nutmegs, and cinnamon.

The Otaheite Cloth Tree grows before the governor's house, and the Bread Fruit Tree flourishes in different parts of the colony.

Cinnamon, of a superior quality, has been produced in the garden of Mr. Grenet, and nutmegs from that of Mr.

St. Ursel; but the Dutch government has always prohibited their increase, other than as an object of curiosity.

The Almond is a native; and Pine-Apples are so plenty, that, in riding over the sandy beaches and tracts, you may gather a thousand.

Grapes are here in a high state of perfection.

Plantains thrive very much; also the Banana and Cocoa Nut trees.

The Ochre is a green, tasteless fruit, which makes an excellent soup, and resembles a capsicum.

Of peppers they have three species, the Common, Bird and Negro Peppers.

The Acouyero Nut has a remarkable hard stone; its fruit resembles cheese in taste.

They have a fruit called the Launa, of the pear kind, whose juice is of a black, glutinous substance, and, when applied to the skin, cannot be got off under nine days. Strangers, who have freckles and sunburns, are frequently deceived by the inhabitants; they prescribing the launa juice as a certain remedy. This, when used, has given them a horrid appearance. I have been informed, by a person who underwent the experiment, that it resisted the application of aqua fortis, and even oil of vitriol.

Some of the other fruits are, the Sapadilla, Sugar-Apple, Water-Melon, Musk-Melon, Cashew, Palm-Cabbage, Cherry, Jamaica Plumb, Hog Plumb, Lemon, Lime, Mango, Locust, Mistic, Conch, Pomegranate, Custard-Apple, Savaree-Nut, Tamarind, Mammee, Granadillo, Guava, Alligator-Pear, Orange, Shaddock, Seville-Orange, Paupau, Calabash, Forbidden-Fruit.

Town. A stranger from the Northward sees, with surprise, a town without chimneys, unless it be one here and there erected in a Dutch kitchen. The common way of cooking is to make a fire on the ground, in an out-house, and let the smoke shift for itself.

It has been observed by the Barbadian emigrants, that the Dutch colonists have built their privies as near the house, and the kitchen as far distant, as possible. Their opponents retort, that the places alluded to, are infinitely cleaner and less offensive than a Barbadoes kitchen. They have truth, at least, on their side.

Scarcely a single glass window is in the town. Their place is supplied by shutters, and, among those of higher rank, by blinds. Nevertheless, the houses are infinitely superior, in point of appearance, to those of Barbadoes. A scantiness of furniture is very visible in the large rooms. Magnificence, and even elegance, are very little known in Demerary.

August 10. A small lot of land, laying between the upper canal and the river, containing $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre, which was overgrown with mangroves, and under water every tide, was this day sold for £.400 sterling.

The burying ground of Stabroek, and of the adjoining dependencies of the new town, La Bourgade, and Bridgetown, contains 16 acres, in the centre of which, a church is to be built, at some future period.

The town of Stabroek consists of about 250 houses, the rents of which are from 3000 to 1200 guilders. It consists of a main street, and two others, parallel to the dams, which all meet the river at right angles. The two dams are called North and South, in respect to their situation to the town, and bound two canals, or trenches, that are of great use in boating heavy articles before every house. They have likewise a trench, over which is thrown a wooden bridge, besides a number of smaller ones, cut in various directions. The sickly season commences when these ditches stagnate in the dry season, they being out of the reach of common tides, and continues during the months of July, August, September, October, and sometimes part of November, when the rains setting in, again diminish the mortality; but of late years the seasons have been very precarious, the rain falling by intervals the whole of the time.

The journal, at the end of this book, may be taken as a specimen. The rain here, in common with other tropical countries, generally descends in torrents, and diminishes gradually to the end of the storm.

Wells and pumps are not used. The muddiness of the soil and brackishness of the water preclude the use of them, although you meet with water, generally, at two feet beneath the surface.

The roads, which are of stiff clay, have been formed by

the soil thrown out of the dams, and in dry weather are very good; but on the least shower, they become, from their slipperiness and adhesive quality, almost impassable. They are obliged to batten their wooden bridges on this account, which otherwise would prove excessively dangerous. They have, however, this good quality, that an hour's sun will dry them, even after the most violent storm.

The only paving to be met with, is a brick path, that runs the length of the town, from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, which was laid by Mrs. Espinasse, a former governor's wife. It contains several hundred thousand bricks. No one can roll a barrel or ride a horse over it, without incurring a penalty, it being the only walkable path in wet weather. Since the British have held the place, it has been suffered to run to ruin in many places.

The value of the houses, &c. are in no proportion to their rents. The very best may be obtained at ten years' purchase, while others will not bring in above one third of that value. The supposed cause of this depreciation is the great repairs, which are here always necessary, arising from a principle of decay inherent to the climate, and to the great value of money in a country where speculation knows no bounds.

The troops now in Stabroek may be estimated as follows:

The remains of the 39th regiment, ...	200
The black corps, formed by an assessment of every 50th slave on all plantations possessing more than that number, ...	700
The militia, composed of all the king's natural born subjects, ...	200
The Dutch troops, ...	150

1250

The duty of a burgher is simply the defence of the town, in case of a negro insurrection. They are obliged to furnish themselves with a musket, bayonet, sabre, and forty rounds of ammunition. They are composed of those Hollanders, who refuse joining the militia, Germans, French, Swiss, &c. and a few Americans. This corps are

not obliged to take arms on any occasion, except the fore-mentioned one, even were a French fleet to ascend the river.

No other water is made use of but rain water, preserved in casks, and sometimes, although rarely, in cisterns. A continual supply of rain is, therefore necessary for the inhabitants, who suffer extremely during the dry season, when they are obliged to obtain their water many miles up the river, at an excessive price.

The insects are very destructive of lumber, which is the reason that a lumber-yard has not yet been established in the colony. It is impossible to guard against their ravages while the boards lay on the ground.

Rio Demerary, from being a small stream, has increased to a mile in breadth, one half of which, however, is shoal. In consequence of this encroachment, several estates have been entirely washed away, the vestiges of whose works may yet be seen at low water, and others are daily decaying. It is with the greatest difficulty they preserve the foundations of the fort. This river is navigable far above the Loo plantation, which lays 100 miles up; and it has been said, that at the height of 500 miles, it takes its source from a lake.

Others assert, that the whole province of Guyana is formed by the junction of the Amazon with the Oronoko; but with what truth, I cannot determine.

The depth of the water, from the fort to the sand hills, is from 5 to 7 fathoms, muddy bottom. At the sand hills, and a little below, 9 fathoms sand. One tide above the sand hills, you meet with 20 fathoms rocks; those who proceed thus far, ~~near~~ to the trees. The Western sand hills come perpendicular to the river; the Eastern ones are a little removed from it.

The fish above the sand hills, where the water is fresh and pellucid, are infinitely superior to those nearer the mouth of the river, where the water is salt and muddy.

Rio Essequibo is 60 miles wide at the mouth, and contains nearly 300 islands. Its banks are rocky; it abounds in subjects of natural history; its fruit is superior to that of Demerary, and its sugar plantations of a far better quality.

The quantity of mud is astonishing, as well as the extent of it. On the coast, you strike soundings on mud banks in 5 fathoms, out of sight of the land. It continues increasing until it forms vast shoals, which are intersected by the mouths of the rivers. Of these, Poumaron, Essequibo, Demerary, Berbice, Quarantin, Surinam, and Cayenne, are the most considerable; the lesser ones are called creeks, and are frequently of an extreme depth, and narrow. Many of these are pellucid, whereas the others are replete with muddy particles.

In consequence of the capture of a Portuguese vessel, which was carried into Demerary, some Portuguese set out from the Brazils, accompanied by some Indian guides; they arrived at the head of the river, and came in a canoe to Stabroek after a journey of 30 days.

The number of plantations are,

East Coast.

From the fort in Demerary to Mahaica Creek,	30
From ————— to Mahaiconia, ...	30
From Mahaiconia to Abary Creek, ...	12
From Abary to Rio Berbice, ...	90
	212

West Coast.

From the west point of Rio Demerary to Bona	
Sierra in Rio Essequibo, ...	45
From Tupenam Creek, Rio Essequibo, to Rio	
Poumaron, ...	120
	165

Islands in Essequibo.

Leguana, ...	45
Wakenam, ...	40
Tiger Island, ...	5
In the other islands, ...	20
	110

In all, 487 plantations, which, at 3 whites, the average number on each, are equal to 1461 white inhabitants, exclusive of those on the river plantations, and those con-

tained in the towns. The number of coloured people are upwards of 250,000.

The low land is subject to frequent changes. It has been clearly formed by the river, as, on digging 10 miles inland, strata of shells have been discovered, and even the remains of vessels have been met with 600 or 700 rods from the shore.

The land is chiefly bounded by thickets of mangroves, which form an impenetrable barrier to the waves. A northerly gale often brings down a quantity of sand, which, being thrown ashore, destroys this plant; and the sea frequently makes great ravages on its former scite. However, it sometimes so happens, that a bank of mud is thrown up by the ocean, which, covering the sand, the mangrove once more resumes its original station.

Great quantities of different ores are discovered among the rocks and mountains. A shaft was sunk at Piera, belonging to Mr. Haslin, from which some ore was extracted, which was pronounced to be gold; but, for some reasons of the government, it was discontinued. Minerals are very abundant, particularly the red and yellow ochres. Farther back are large hills, which, from the description of their brilliancy, must be composed of talc, or perhaps spar, intermixed with quartz.

No European flowers will flourish in the rank soil of Demerary, not even a colliflower. The soil is so rank, that they exhaust themselves before the time of blossom.

There are scarcely any flowering plants peculiar to the country; but of shrubs the greatest variety, and of the most elegant kinds, which are planted in what they call their gardens, although horticulture be here in its most uncouth form.

The interior will probably never be brought to a state of cultivation, owing to the want of drainage; or at least the tract sixty miles from the sea, which is a vast drowned swamp. All the improvements have been hitherto made on the sea-coast, and on the banks of the rivers, and very rarely has a plantation been carried farther back. The labour in forming a new plantation is immense, and can only be estimated by those who have been spectators thereof.

The produce of these settlements are coffee, cotton, and sugar. Of these, cotton is supposed to be the most precarious crop. Too much rain rots it, and a succession of dry weather causes it to blast. Coffee, on the contrary, has nothing to fear, except from too much wet. Several estates make a good revenue from their plantain walks; a bunch of which, previous to the importation of 60,000 slaves by the English into the colony, was sold for $2\frac{1}{2}$ stivers, but now fetches $12\frac{1}{2}$.

Many persons make a great deal of money by procuring timber for the colony; but the labour used to obtain it must be immense, when it is considered that a square foot of some kinds weighs frequently an hundred pounds.— They take a gang of negroes, from twelve to twenty, and sometimes more, and go up a river until they meet with the species they are in quest of. They then land; the head of the gang strikes into the woods, and marks the trees, as nearly in a line as possible, until he has provided a sufficient number to make his raft. In the mean while the slaves are busy in constructing huts, and making their little arrangements by the time the master returns, which sometimes happens after he has penetrated from two to three miles into the forest. They then immediately begin falling the trees, which are often of a great thickness; this thickness is reduced by squaring it, until it be reduced to a size proportioned to the strength of the crew who are to remove the log.

When they have squared the whole, they then begin opening a road; for this purpose, they cut down all the growth between the farthest stick and the stream, to the breadth of three or four yards, taking care to throw the trunks across the road, that they may answer the purpose of rollers. They then affix a rope to the several pieces of timber, and, by main strength, haul it to the river's side. During this time, a boat is perpetually employed in fetching plantains, &c. for their subsistence, and is generally five days on its voyage.

After the raft is prepared, it is flung over the sides of a large punt, and towed down the stream, when a part is sawed up into boards, which are sold from five to six stivers per superficial foot, and the blocks in proportion.

The most valuable woods are the Determa, Wallaba, Crabwood, Greenheart, Sifferee, Sirrabaillee, Callibaillee, &c.

Animal labour is totally excluded, unless it be that of the horse, when used for the saddle or chair. This is not so much to be wondered at, when it is considered, that the low country does not produce even a pebble. A team of oxen or horses, with a heavy draught, would destroy the best road in Demerary in the rainy season. As for the interior, the soil is so swampy, that an animal of burthen would sink to its belly at every step. However, the colonists contrive to intersect the country with such a multitude of canals, that the heaviest articles are delivered them at a very cheap rate.

The cutting of grass is very laborious and tiresome; and as it is the only herbaceous food of the horses, it is necessary to procure great quantities of it. The only way used here, to obtain it, is by sending out the negroes with a knife, who, by this tedious operation, each one at length collects a bundle, which may weigh eighty pounds, which he binds like a wheat sheaf, and carries off. It is remarkable, that the scythe, sickle, flail, plough, waggon, or even hand-barrow, are absolutely unknown in the colony.

The grants of plantations allow them to run 750 rods back; if a planter would push farther, he was obliged to make an application to the grand council in Holland, who rarely refuse his request.

Negroes. The negroes are subsisted at a very easy rate; a bunch of plantains, which will last them a week, and a little salt-fish, form their delicacies. As for their clothing, the far greater part of them have only a narrow strip of bunting to bind round their middle, while many of the younger classes have not even this ornament. However, in some families they are comfortably clothed, and fed with scraps which have reached the second day. Their lodgings are, however, on the bare floor, where they generally lay promiscuously.

They are punished very severely; although it depends very much on the disposition of their owners, whether they go through a constant whipping, or whether they experience a milder fate. Theft and desertion are gene-

rally left to the fiscal, whose agents apply from two to five hundred lashes (according to their sentence) with a long whip, which lacerates them horribly. These lashes are always applied on the bare breech, and the culprit prevented from sitting thereon for three months.

Crimes of greater magnitude are extenuated by the rack, and subsequent decapitation.

The negroes are allowed the privilege of the Sunday, when they come into the town, either to work in cleaning out the trenches, &c. or, with a load of fruit or vegetables, which they dispose of for their own emolument. After they have received the amount of their perquisite, they either lay out the money in procuring some little necessaries, or otherwise in drinking, gambling and dancing; and the day is generally concluded by one or more battles.

A negro funeral is conducted with a mock solemnity, which is truly farcical. "*Wat de debil, gemmen, how you walk! wat buckra tink!*" was an exclamation I once heard uttered by the mulatto, who officiated as minister, on seeing a great propensity to be uproarious manifested by the procession.

Whilst the funeral service is performing, a number of them form a dance, in which they are joined, after the interment, by those who assisted thereat. Their dances and music have a great affinity with those described in the Sandwich Islands.

Bucks. The Bucks, or native Indians, are wandering tribes: they seldom stay very long in a settlement; or, at most, until the death of one of their tribe, when they immediately decamp. Their huts are open at the sides, and covered at the top with trulee leaves; they light a fire in the area in the evening, previous to their sleeping in their hammocks, the smoke of which greatly conduces to keep off the insects.

They are exceedingly phlegmatic, and cannot be easily provoked, unless by taking liberties with their women.

They are generally short and thick, but by no means muscular, and destitute of the energy and vivacity of the North-American tribes.

These people are under the protection of the Dutch

government, who find them the only barrier against the desertion of their negroes, who are frequently apprehended by the Bucks.

Their ingenuity is tolerably displayed in the manufacture of lines, twine, and hammocks, of the bark of a tree; besides very fine cotton hammocks, extremely well spun and wove, which they sometimes sell as high as eighty dollars; pegals, which are double baskets, of a square form, and impenetrable to the rain, being made of cane, and stuffed with plantain leaves; cassavi sieves, baskets, buck pots, &c.

Several of them are domiciliated with the whites, and make good servants. They likewise will often work in clearing plantations for a trifling recompense.

They have a favourite practice of painting themselves red with the juice of a plant called *rocou*. They go entirely naked, having only a small strip of cloth round their middle. The women wear a small apron curiously wrought with beads. Some of these tribes are named as follow: The Waraous, Capissahns, Cabissees, Pariahnes, Quapissans, Tigres, Arawcas, or Arouacs.

It appears that the Bucks, who were the principal means of suppressing two insurrections, were defrauded of the reward promised them for bringing in the right hands of the bush or maroon negroes, for which they were to receive 300 florins each. Whereas on bringing in one hundred of these hands, they were presented with a few dollars only. The consequence has been that they have declared themselves neutrals on every future occasion of that kind, which may be productive of fatal consequences to the colony on some future day.

The Bucks and Buckines frequently hold an intercourse with the negroes; the children produced thereby are called Caribogres, and are generally an active and intelligent race.

The increase of rice here is astonishing; 5000 pounds per acre have been gathered from some of the uncultivated islands in Essequibo, which are covered at every spring tide; yet notwithstanding this fertility, its culture is very little attended to, although it sometimes fetches five stivers per pound.

There are four law courts held, viz.

The Roll Court, for determining small actions, sits twice a month.

The Commissaries' Court, for settling larger sums, once a month.

The Court of Justice, for criminal cases, is held every two months.

The Court of Police, which transacts the business generally determined by an American town-meeting, such as regulating the taxes, repairing the highways, &c. sits once in three months.

The coins most current, are,

	Guilders.	Stivers.	Pennings.
Doubloons, valued at	44	0	0
Johannes, . . .	22	0	0
Dollar, 11 Bits, or . . .	2	15	0
½ do.	0	12	8
¼ of a cut do.	0	10	0
Guilder piece, ...	1	2	8
Clipt do.	1	0	0
6 Stiver piece, ...	0	6	0
½ Guilder, or 2 Bits, . . .	0	10	0
¼ do. or 1 Bit, ...	0	5	0
¼ Bit, ...	0	2	8
Dutch Ducat, or rix dollar,	3	0	0
Crown, ...	3	0	0
Moidore, ...	16	10	0
Guilder, is	36 cents, 3 mills.		
Bit, ...	10 cents.		
16 Pennings, ...	1 Stiver.		
20 Stivers, ...	1 Guilder.		
1 Stiver, ...	2 Coppers.		

Colony Prices.

	guild.	stiv.		guild.	stiv.
A coat, ...	88	0	Madeira per bottle, . . .	5	10
Piece in a shoe, ...	1	10	Milk well watered per qt.	1	0
Porter per bottle, ...	1	10	Three cherries, ...	0	5
Cider, do.	2	0	An apple, ...	0	5
Doctor's visit, ...	11	0	Beef per lb.	1	10
Champaign per bottle, . . .	11	0	Bull's head, ...	35	0
Ferry across the river, . . .	1	0	Jacob Evertz fish per lb.	2	15

SPECIMEN OF THE MOUNTAINEER, OR SHESHATAPOOSH-SHOISH, SKOFFIE, AND MICMAC LANGUAGES.*

THE ensuing vocabulary I transcribed *viva voce* from Gabriel, a young Mountaineer Indian (servant to Louis, a Micmac, in the Bay of St. George, Newfoundland) whom I met with in the Bay of Islands. He was remarkably desirous of information of every kind; and his questions, on different subjects, shewed a disposition for improvement, seldom met with in men of his class. He spoke both French and English tolerably, and was well acquainted with the Skoffie, Mimac, and Mountaineer dialects.

His father was a Skoffie by birth; which nation resides far to the westward of Labrador. He described the country as laying near a big "lake," very barren; but that beaver were there "as thick as sand." It joins with the territory of the Sketapushoish, or mountaineers, with whom they are frequently at war. In an incursion of the latter tribe, the old man was taken prisoner, and adopted by them. He married and resided many years with them; but happening to lose his wife, and two of his children, by the small pox, he resolved, with the remainder of his family, the son before alluded to, then about fourteen, and a daughter of eight years old, (who was drowned last winter), to take a passage for Newfoundland. On his arrival, he preferred a state of servitude to his former independence. He has lived here six years, and appears perfectly contented with his lot. Gabriel wishes to travel into the United States; but not being able to obtain his father's consent, it is probable he will remain with him till his decease.

* When a letter, in the middle of a word, is printed in *italic*, it is meant to make a strong aspiration, not amounting to a distinct articulation. If this accent (') be printed over a letter in the middle of a word, it shows where the emphasis dwells on a particular syllable, which is pronounced very forcibly. When this accent (˘) is placed over a letter, it is meant that it shall have a very broad pronunciation.

From the irregularity of these languages, it appears almost impossible to reduce them to the rules of grammar. I do not recollect a single instance, wherein the formation of the plural agrees in any two words. The same words, in different situations, often become totally different ; and the declination of the verbs is yet more exceptionable. The attainment of these dialects, should it be ever attempted, must, therefore, be attended with immense difficulty.

There is evidently a great resemblance between the Skoffie and Mountaineer. The Micmac resembles them, but rarely. Two words, I find derived from the French, *boojootay* from *bon jour à toi*, and *monchapouy* from *mon chapeau*. *Blaakeet* and *jaakeet* clearly proceed from *blanket* and *jacket* : they are, however, the only ones I could discover, that bore much similitude to the European languages.

Many inaccuracies have, no doubt, crept into the subsequent pages ; but more especially among the verbs. I have endeavoured to express, as nearly as possible, the many aspirations which I met with ; but some of them are so peculiar, that it is difficult to combine letters adequate to their real pronunciation.

The orthography might be much simplified ; but being willing to come as near the sound of the words as possible, I have used more letters than perhaps were really needful. On looking over these sheets, I find, in many places, the same articulations differently expressed : these, however, are sufficiently obvious to make a correction unnecessary.

	Mimac.
God	Keyshourk
Christ	Koshnokotoashet
Crucifix	weeleecoulouchoui
Priest	pahtleeāsh
Devil	maneetou
Indian	Illenoh
American	Mastonkowachee
Frenchman	Wanouch
Englishman	Angalsheeu
Man	jaaenan
Woman	aapect
Child	mejewaouches
My father	nouch
Mother	keets or koueets
Son	koush
Daughter	toush
Husband	taypeetāh
Wife	taypeetum
Grandfather	neekskamich
Grandmother	nokomich
Uncle	elamouerish
Aunt	lishk
Girl	aypeetāysh
A fine Girl	kalousheet
Brother	wichekeeteak
Gabriel	Gabalēele
Joseph	Jhoojhep
Martha	Nasholh
Hand	peton
Head	monouché
Arm	etthon
Leg	kageecun
Foot	kaut
Finger	clooegan
Thumb	teechen
Tongue	willenóuh
Teeth	mebeetél
Nail	keechee
Hair	mushabone
Hat	ablacalwaashek
Shoe	whanjououksnan

Mountaineer.

Shayshoursh
Tishtashnahaganou
chebahahtouk
patleeásh
machemántouee
Illenou
Lobostonowach
Mistekoushou
Agaléshou
napew
sehquow
awash
notówee
nahkhowee
nouseenechen
natanish
naapen
tishquah
neemoushong
noohkom
nokomosh
toushesh
squashish
minishquawwoushou
meecange
Khapaleet
Shooshep
Padeshoush
teekechee
stoukouan
sheptton
neescaatch
neeshetch
daisheesh
nemeteeshchen
tellenee
mepéethex
naskachee
peeshquahan
monchapouy
moushtawhasten

Skoffe.

Shayshoursh
Tahtaahchenou
chebeeatooken
shashajeéketoush
macheemantou
Nashkapou
Mastonow
Mistekoushou
Naggaleshou
naabouh
schow
awahakskish
noutowwee
neekowouwee
moosneechen
meentanish
naahpen
teshquouet
oumoushouh
noopkom
nokomash
toushesh
shquash
nashishou squash
mechkapmash
Khabeleet
Shoshep
Palleshoush
mestichee
oustookoohan
neshpeetoo
niskaatch
meshetch
nemelegacheech
montahagan
eelayleenee
weeepich
oshkachee
teepishquouhn
monchapouy
moostookooshoomahashten

	Micmac.
Stocking	whanjououkskrahan
Trowsers	peetahkowen
Jacket	jaakeet
Cap	aahgoshin
Blanket	blaakeet
Mokassin	pashun
Handkerchief	moushwatawee
Buttons	beswáshateé
Mittens	fitchchahan
Knife	wakou
Book	weegategan
Gun	maashkowie
Powder	pshow
Ball	peleoweee
Shot	sholosh
Flint	malsh
House	wanjeecoukang
Hatchet	tomehegan
Saw	timboutouhagun
Tinder	poutatahagang
Tinder-Box	outahtayhaygenee
Steel	pokotowee
Chest	ashahegan
Bason	napatagan
Money	shoodeeaouee
Dollar	numpatakee
A copper	shomallukee
Bed	pookhan
Bow	ahpee
Arrow	majokaleahn
Tomahawk	tummeengeencheech
Looking-Glass	benoojahah mateeescootoon
Fiddle	abbayahjeesk
Ship	abbekouahn
Boat	shalpore
Oar	wanjoutahaan
Anchor	oulouboujhan
Rope	ahbabee
Canoe	quetan
Paddle	taagan
Bread	karkanouee
Rum	boukataweech

Mountaineer.

shewaitchbenewoutash
 kouboukashkawweeshen
 shampashawen
 aganaskow
 wahbouang
 mashtashun
 weeshqualenu
 lebeetowee
 ashtish
 moncoumang
 mashaehegan
 pasheea
 pirkhou
 monshashnee
 sholosh
 matresh
 mishtookashuweechoua
 makatashke
 simboutagan
 poutatabagan
 kooloowhagan
 ahpeet
 mahwatash
 lasheet
 shodeeou
 nokatemogon
 shomalzou
 neepouhn
 achaappee
 nakashke
 abbatawashkoosh
 cheebenaten
 shookahbellehehgan
 nabbequouihan
 sallepoush
 mistookoochooupouee
 ounoushounashoun
 apesh
 oush
 apoui,
 kalaouknou
 schoutooubowee

Skoffie.

jeebayshmouhoolooweetash
 gooougoomastawaishan
 chamasheoouan
 wanasquowoun
 mogowan
 masteshun
 weeshqualeenu
 lebetowee
 ashtish
 monkooman
 mishuahagan
 paashsekan
 peeourkho
 monjajenee
 maskeneer
 mahtesh
 tooksheeeechwa
 mogotashke
 chimboutahgan
 kotoowahgan
 meestooshookotoowahgan
 meestookshooahpeet
 mahwahtash
 attooshpoon
 shooleeou
 nowatehemogan
 toomalchou
 neepouhn
 mishtasappee
 attoursh
 tukkatawsk

 meeshtoogooshoomoo
 nabbequahan
 chaltouje
 nokoutoochouoowee
 ounashanashoon
 ahpish
 oush
 apouy
 kalakonow
 schotouogou

Micmac.

Tobacco	tomahouee
Pipe	tomakan
Pork	porkoushee
Potatoo	{ tabatate, <i>sing.</i>
	{ labatata, <i>plur.</i>
River	sehoon
Sea	oualookshee
Mountain	cumatun
Sky	mooshkoon
(Large) Pond	koushben
Sun	nakoushet
Moon	topanakoushet
Stars	malakokoouich
Earth	keeshwajowouyaw
Air	kummelameet
Fire	pookootow
Water	shamouahn
Thunder	kakatookoo
Lightning	moshokohashook
Rain	ikfashak
Hail	coomee
Snow	wastouh
Sunshine	ayeaa hlousk
Cloudy weather	ahlookh
Fine weather	willeekishkook
A storm	metuahmakashhookahloh
A prayer	allajoutahmih
Heaven	waashou ~~kr~~
Hell	meegooahawkee
Beaver	coobeet
Otter	kooweeneek
Seal	washpou
Dog	alamonch
Pig	ourkwāysh
Sable	pataloutee
Fox	ohquish
Otter	yoowoonee
A feather	{ pehegouen, <i>sing.</i>
	{ pehegouenek, <i>plur.</i>
Goose	shenimp
Geese	shenimquak

Mountaineer.

shtaymou
ishboukan
kourkoush
{ anapatata
{ labatata
mooshkoon
padeshee
watchou
washeshquaw
(mishta) nepee
beshung
toposhabeshung
johokata
shakawshoo
shelhow
schootoo
nepee
lelay mishow
washeshquhan
soomooahan
shashaygan
khoon
oyeadalouh
wayeeahdalouh
meneejeeshekouh
majcesheesheekouh
tayeemayhan
jejoujoutaschee
mejementoashehee
ahmishke
nitchook
tateshee
attung
kookoosh
mentoooshooaken
majeshouh
nachouk
{ peweeah
{ mischanakawee
nishk
nishkatch

Skoffie.

stemou
wooshpook
kourkoush
napahitaht
shēēp
makahan
watchou
walk
shahahekhan
beeshoon
teepeeshowbeeshum
woochahaykahtak
mishoowemmah
nayhtlayhn
schkootow
nepee
lelaymaystooich
mestesqualloh
shooahsoomoon
nootoomooshawmee
koonah
kotowahyeahtahnow
nakowashkoupulloo
meeshtahmeleejeeshekouh
shookahmahjesheshekouh
tayeemahtouousha
shayshowshatoschee
mejementoashchee
ahmooshk
nechook
kashkon
attubh
kookoosh
wapeshtan
machayshoo
naychoukoo
pewoya
nishk
nishkatch.

	Micmac.
Duck	shejeep
Ducks	mouyoah
Fish	namaach
Cod	pachou
Salmon	lamou
Herring	alanche
Lobster	{ taakech, <i>sing.</i>
Whale	{ walumkech, <i>plur.</i>
Porpoise	octoop
Tree	alebouehk — water deer
Wood	{ neepeejeesh, <i>sing.</i>
Fuel	{ komoohjel, <i>plur.</i>
Segar	omonche
Leaf	oupokshook
Branch	tomahoueetoumahan
Root	apee
Spruce	weeleeapeeat
Fir	toopee
Pine	cowhat
Birch	stohon
Grass	kowwow
Muskitoes	mashkwee
Muskitoes	shkegoor
Sand	kalamouach
Stone	pegualkmouach
Stones	toopouquahn
Tin	koonedooh
Iron	koonotolh
Gold	paypekahchoueecheetowee
Silver	ashawoooh
Copper	majawajowjalooee
Black	joolleoowee
White	joomalkee
Blue	mushakahouah
Red	wahpace
Green	mahkataouah
Hour	mabhkouah
Day	wishaouak
	nowkawtawjeech
	naakok

Mountaineer.

masheshep
masheshepejetch
namaskish
wananoushow
etashomach
makalsh

ashacheeow

mishtamak
atehousehetch
mistookooah
shakahowah
mishtook
meentang
shaaanshtemow
apecah
mehloo
wattoopee
manháke
illenashit
lowwayasheek
washquowee
mashkooshooah
shachemouh
shachemouatch
laykow
ashenee
asheneeah
nashekoumahn
toobushk
mooshooshooneewee
shooleeow
shoowollow
meleepou
waahpou
shukawilleepow
mishquow
sheekatawilleepow
payootopaheegan
jeeshekow

Skooffe.

mishesheepash
misheshipash
nāmesh
wanouooshooe
outashomak
makālāsh

ashaahcheeow

ilnashtamouk
namalohawchāch

meshtooquah

mistook
meehtah
shpaanshtow
washtashtou
meeloomushtoh
menahquattoopee
cheshegawton
illenashouk
makejishk
washquaytook
mashkooshouaw
shahcheemouh
shacheemouatch
laykow ashnee
asheeneewasheenee
doonetowasheeneewasheenee
washpeekoomahu
nooskoonahbeshtetow
wooshouooshooshoobeow
whapeshooleeow
mooshkooshooleeow
willeepou
wahpou
shuhkaweeleepow
maykepow
weeshowow
payootopaheegan
jeeshekow

Micmac.

Month	{ keeshnaykaytayhowjeettay- paykonoushet
Year	keeshnaykaytayboonkok
Morning	maskitepo
Noon	mayhewlaāhguat
Evening	ashquahsheāht
Night	pishkeeaikh
Spring	neepah
Summer	auketancapee
Autumn	tauahwaah
Winter	kasheek
Monday	keeshgeelenteew
Friday	weeltahmoolteen
Saturday	illekooteena
Sunday	heegendeeaygeu
One	numpatahjit
Two	taboucheche
Three	naischechek
Four	naguechek
Five	naneje
Six	nachoukuong
Seven	alouaganik
Eight	ougomonkeehing
Nine	mashkounata
Ten	tatung
Eleven	chelnaakht
Twelve	cheltaapooh
Thirteen	chelsheesht
Fourteen	chelnaw
Fifteen	chelnahn
Sixteen	chelashouquohn
Seventeen	chellowougoonow
Eighteen	chelowkowmoulkeehin
Nineteen	chelnashkownatook
Twenty	topouinshkaw
Thirty	nejinshkaw
Forty	lawinshkaw
Fifty	nemishkaw
Sixty	ashemontayshenskaw

Mountaineer.	Skoffie.
payakoopeesshoo	payapookeeshum
peyooopoopoken	payapoopoopoon
eshkeetohoo	leetchepayou
apatashekow	ahpeetahtisheekow
metaaquashoo	chekatapachenou
tapishkow	tapishkakow
sheequan	sheeeequan
neepun	neepen
taughquahachen	taughquahaahchen
poopooheh	poopoon
shatahnaskow	shasheemahichkow
{ kahteeneemeeschaschow-	oushoahpoehekeetaymee
{ eehehmeennaheesheekow	
{ whahpahcheeneemahous-	kowheemeehawjeeskatén
{ kawtee	
haymeenaheeshkow	kahheemeehawjeeskatén
pahu	payook
nishoish	neeheesh
nest	mesht
naou	nowh
napataateh	pataytaeh
payoumachouang	paymahchwan
nishouasho	neeshouashoo
nestash	niestohashang
naousho	nawahashang
payougulong	payahouloonoo
ashoapayook	{ Same as the Mountaineer.
ashoneesh	
ashoneste	
ashonaou	
ashonapataysh	
ashoopayoumachouahn	
ashoonoonestashoo	
neestoooashoo	ashoneshooashou
neewaaawshoo	ashtooneshouashou
neeshooleenoo	{ Same as the Mountaineer.
neestooleenoo	
neeooloonoo	
nebatistatoolonoo	
payakamajooahnhatooloonoo	

Micmac.

Seventy	aleegonotayshenskaw
Eighty	oumoolsehinshenskaw
Ninety	peshwannayshenskaw
Hundred	oshkontelenah
Thousand	peedoontellenahn
Ten thousand	talungpeedoontellenahn
Twenty-five	{ tabooinshkayuboonhokchel-
	{ leenaan
Thirty-six	{ neshinskayoboonelellashoo-
	{ quong
One hundred and four	ashkatellenahnaakchellenow
A little	takalahāeh
Good	kedoulkh
Very good	lourkedoulkh
Good for nothing	{ alapahmokooahkelourke-
	{ doulkh
Bad	matouahkr
Very bad	lomalousahkr
A great many	meshtabeguelk
Any where	shetamih
Here	oulah
There	wallaheh, nohah
Yes	ah
No	mōng
I	locotaage
You	keel
He	nakum
We	neel
They	ohlah
My love	menouahkaloul
To row a boat	whenjohjeeheemah
I love	menouaaldoul
Thou lovest	cashaldoul
He loves	cashahlin
We love	cashalk
You love	cashaloulah
They love	cashalkeeke

Mountaineer.

Skoffie.

neestooashootootooloonoo
 neestooashootaahtooloonoo
 neewaahskootaahtooloonoo
 peyakooloonootatooloonoo
 { mashtapayakooloonoota-
 { tooloonoo
 peypayakootatooloonoo

} Same as the Mountaineer.

mishellanoushaabatesh

ashonobataysh

{ nestooloonohahbookhon-
 { ashoneeshk

nestohloonooashoopelohcho-
 ahn

{ payatooloonootakttooloo-
 { nooashooenow

the same.

aposheesh

tabesheesh

meloh

meloh

shookahmeloh

shookahmeloh

abounahsoumeloh

abounashemeloh

alemen

ahlemen

shookahmachaeeten

shookahhlemen

meseehin

shookahmeecheh

kashteno

kashnouenteh

oumaysh

oumoumeh

ouwaysh

ouwaysh

ehch

ehay

maap

maap

neele

neela

cheele

cheena

weele

weena

otahaouee

otahouweea

owayh

owayh

shookachachaheeten

chaahjeeeen

mushtoooshoomeeshkah

{ chahmooshtoooskoomees-
 { tahn

{ chacheeten

chaacheecheeten

{ shouahchacheeten

shougahcheecheeten

chacheetenocashno

chaahcheecheen

chacheen

chaahcheecheemow

chacheenow

chaahcheecheetenow

chacheetenow

makaneech

cashnowatacheek

Micmac.

I loved	neekaameawoughee
Thou lovedst	shetacashalounoh
He loved	cashaloulh
We loved	meenoualoulouh
You loved	mestakshaloulouh
They loved	shetaashalterashousk
I shall love	shetakohotaykashalounoh
Thou wilt love	makshalanouh
He will love	keelkashalouh
We will love	keelcashahaleeh
You will love	pashasheakahshalanouh
They will love	cashalkh
I love you	manewahke
You love me	manewakhaneen
I am	winhoquoulkh
Thou art	keelkahdantoon
He is	stangketouh
We are	meeshoupoonah
You are	naggelâh
They are	naggamouh
I was	mogotooêmouh
Thou wast	eelnaatâre
He was	
We were	tahmee
You were	tahmeenegoheetuksh
They were	nahgulah
Thou sleepest	keepah
I have	shouahtooshesh
Thou hast	temushquohtomua
He has	wantlematash
We have	welmushquote
You have	shquawtookshekeel
They have	weenmushquawhoojee
I eat	meejeeshee
Will you eat	mitishee
Will you drink	ishkashamoukōua
Drink	shamouáng
Sit down	paabshe
Come in	choucououyeh
Go out	goolhawaspeen
Will you smoke	kotoma

Mountaineer.

chaatech Chow
 chaacheetencheel
 chaachow
 chachaacheen
 chaachowich
 cashnownachaachow
 nemaapaachahacheeten
 nemaapahcheowchahacheeten

shookashchaacheeten
 chaahcheoueh
 cashchenomechaahcheow
 chacheeten
 chacheheen
 wintakounee
 snataahkōōh
 cheensnabatah
 aouhcheh
 chenoh
 willooch
 aboueētāt
 sktanat

nepah
 neeah
 cheeneestahkouleen
 takaaamoujeeh
 awentahkounamen
 stakounahnawatchee
 stakounameh
 mejeshou
 mejeesho
 mehne
 meneh
 hahpen
 oumah
 walleeweetawochum
 peeteh

Skoffie.

chaachaateeh
 chaacheeetee
 chaacheekoo
 chaachaateeh
 chaachaacheeh
 cashkowshaah
 mapashcheowchaachaeeten
 cheenahchahacheeheeten
 shookahchaacheeheeten
 chacheowach
 chaacheecheetow
 cashcheenochaachcheoueh
 chaahcheeheeten
 chacheheeten

To express this verb, they are obliged to use much circumlocution. It is doubtful to me whether it really exists in these dialects; and I am rather of opinion that the words used to satisfy my questions were rather approximations than a direct translation.

chanepahn
 aneeah
 chanahtakouneen
 takanamōūjebout
 tahkonom
 cheenachatakooneen
 skatakooneenow
 meejeeshou
 meenjeshou
 mehne
 meneh
 hahpeh
 houmah
 wallowee
 skoboeeeton

Micmac.

I will	kleeyah
I will not	mohk
How d'ye do	bohjourtay
Thank ye	kayāhn
They make them	weeneekesheetokshoulk
I know	neeoulh
I don't know	towouah
Come on board	tabaashee
I shot a deer	mashakkal kubbenow aleboua
He will shoot a deer	paysha kubbenow aleboua
I walk	peemeeyet
I am hungry	lawkawoujeen
You are hungry	keelkawoujeen
I am afraid	chebattumkleeān
Begin	tallouwhen
I have begun	kaddoutalloua ashoup
I will begin	talloua ashoup
Where do you live	tammenegay keetuksh
To bark	weeggeelat
How old are you	talleegesheetagouhen
How old am I	talleegesheetagooh
How old is he	talleegesheetagoohet
He is dead	napookaw
Where are you	tammanayheemen
Where is your father	tammaykooookschah
Do you hear	nashtouwee
I hear a noise	issheetowoutahnootoom
He hears a noise	noohtookoopkajoutohatahah
I am twenty years old	tabooinshka aboonbok
To laugh	washkawoowee
To cry	akketeedaynee
To sing	kadelahbeggayee
To play the fiddle	abbayahjeeshtayhaygan

Mountaineer.

tapoueh
 nabah
 choupoushououkashen
 nooshkoomeeten
 wantooteh
 chineesheetawoonaten
 awitteshintaman

 pooshe
 nisquomaho ottook
 nameshquaw ottook
 toomooteeow
 neemejeeshung
 tuamejeeshung
 nokosteanakaheetoocee
 tanshetai
 tanshelouee shawāshta
 tanshetasha
 tantechetaing
 nejooshoomoo
 talleeshalleenooeen
 talleetakoonaysheeu
 talleetopoopoonaysheen
 naypoo
 tattaytang
 tahanaywaychootooketoo
 cheeneeshtakootowenow
 cheeshkowwowahnepayeteen
 payaytow cheeshkowwaynoo
 mishellananouh abooken
 mooshenen
 nehmahn
 nekahmoo
 shookahjaoshesh

Skoffie.

tabanoushk
 oksh
 choopouchououkashen
 nashkoomeeten
 watooteh
 chestouounaten
 tashtoumah
 { poushepolashowneeh—come
 { on board the schooner.

 nebakashow ottook
 moohtooeeh
 neegamejeeshung
 noomejeeshung
 nokoshten
 tahneshaytayee

 tahnounhee
 taanasheepoooonasheeng
 meejeeshoomoo

 tangeesheenoueen
 kaneeepoua
 taantay
 tahantesheelookootow
 nashtooteenah
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 mishooleenoobooken
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 oochee

GENERAL JOHN WINSLOW'S LETTER TO THE EARL OF
HALIFAX, RELATIVE TO HIS CONDUCT, AND THAT OF
THE TROOPS UNDER HIS COMMAND, ON THE TICON-
DEROGO EXPEDITION IN 1756.

Boston, December 30, 1756.

MY LORD,

I DID myself the honour to write your Lordship from the camp, at Beausejour, on the 27th of June, 1755, of the state I was then in, and the forces from New-England with me, and continued in that service in the province of Nova-Scotia, till the month of March, when his Excellency General Shirley, then commander in chief of his Majesty's forces in North-America, ordered me from the command I then had to this place, where was communicated to me a plan for the removal of the French, from the encroachments they had made at Lake Champlain, the reduction of the forts at Ticonderogo and Crown-point, to his Majesty's obedience, &c. to be carried on by the governments of the Massachusetts-Bay, Connecticut, New-York, Rhode-Island, and New-Hampshire, by thirteen regiments and a train, to consist of eight thousand five hundred men, officers included, each government finding their own officers; and the men, to induce them to list, were promised, among other things, that they should serve entirely under such, while his Majesty's regular troops were employed another way. And of this force General Shirley gave me the command as general, and I was confirmed therein by the other governors concerned. And all this preparation was made, and the men in the field before his Majesty's gracious intentions, signified by his secretary of state, Mr. Fox, were known. And this enterprize I readily undertook, as proposed by the governments, and flattered myself that success would crown our endeavours for his Majesty's service. And having things in good forwardness, left this town on the tenth of May, first desiring the several governments to send forward their respective quota, to rendezvous at Albany; and passing through the colonies of Rhode-Island and Connecticut, the governors of which

I had some things, relative to the expedition, to settle with, and arrived at Albany the 23d, joined that part of the army that was arrived there. On the 25th, encamped on the north of the city. On the 27th removed our camp to a place called the Half-Moon, on Hudson's river, ten miles above Albany, where, hearing of General Abercrombie's arrival on the last of June, waited on him, Generals Shirley and Webb, &c. and having discoursed them on the method for our future proceedings, I took it to be then settled, that the provincials should go on as originally designed, and the regulars to possess the post we then occupied, and directed my affairs accordingly : but this, it seems, was not taken in that light by all the gentlemen present ; that it was a matter only proposed, and not agreed on. And at this camp at Half-Moon we remained till the 14th of July, with the main body, which, when joined, were seven thousand and six men, officers included. And from thence we garrisoned Fort William-Henry, Fort Edward, and the posts at Fort Miller, Saratago, and Still-Water, where our stores in their removes, which were partly by land and partly by water, were repositied. And our continuance so long at this place was occasioned by our want of a sufficient number of carriages to remove our provisions and stores to the lake ; for, had the whole gone forward, all the conveyance we had would have been insufficient to have fed us at that post (so great was the difficulty of transportation) and consequently would have defeated our intended expedition. And from our camp we furnished guards for all carriages, by land and water ; parties, great and small, to reconnoitre the country, and to come to the knowledge of its situation, (which I was surprised to find so little known,) as well as for keeping the enemy from distressing the inhabitants.

On the 15th we removed our heavy artillery, powder, ball, and ordnance stores of all kinds, with all the carriages that could possibly be procured by the commissioners from all the governments, consisting of about one hundred ox teams, two hundred and seventy waggons, and seventy pair of horses, and a number of boats, with the baggage of the people, guarded by our main body ; and being two

miles on my march, received a message from General Abercrombie to repair to Albany, on which I left the forces under the command of Major-General Lyman, with orders to continue his march to Fort Edward, and returned to Albany, where the general desired that I would inform him, what effect the junction of his Majesty's forces would have with the provincials, if ordered to join them on this intended expedition. To which I replied, I should be extremely well pleased if such a junction could be made, and that I was under the immediate command of the commander in chief; but apprehended, that if, by the junction, the provincial officers were to lose their command, as the men were raised immediately under them by the several governments, it would cause almost an universal discontent, if not desertion, &c. and desired leave to consult my principal officers on that head, which was done, and their report to General Abercrombie was to the same effect. As soon as this affair was over, returned to the camp, which I joined, at a place called Saratoga, on the nineteenth, and on the next day continued our march for Fort Edward, at which place the main body arrived in the evening, and there encamped, sending orders to Colonel Bagley, who commanded at Fort William-Henry, on the lake, to get ready all our sloops, lighters, boats, batteaux, &c. to go on to Ticonderogo, and employed all our teams in transporting across land to the lake (which is fourteen miles) our boats, batteaux, provisions and stores till the 28th, when we removed our train of artillery, powder, &c. and in the evening arrived at Fort William-Henry, and on the next day encamped. On the 3d of August received intelligence of the arrival of his excellency the Earl of Loudoun; wrote him a congratulatory letter, and gave him an account of our situation; and on the same evening had his Lordship's orders to repair, with some of my principal officers, to Albany; and on the next day set out, as directed, having with me our chief engineer, Colonel Gridley, and a field officer from each government concerned; and after discoursing his Lordship, and other officers of distinction, on the situation of affairs, and the difficulty we were under in regard to our men, his Lordship desired to be informed, in writ-

ing, "whether the troops now raised by the several provinces and colonies of New-England, and armed with his Majesty's arms, would, in obedience to his Majesty's command signifying to them, act in conjunction with his Majesty's troops, and under the command of his commander in chief, in whose hands he had put the execution of all these matters.

We unanimously replied in the words following, viz.—
"My Lord, we do cheerfully submit ourselves to you in all dutiful obedience, and are ready and willing to act in conjunction with his Majesty's troops, and put ourselves under your command, as his Majesty's commander in chief of all his forces in North-America; but as the troops, raised by the several provinces and colonies in New-England, have been raised this year on particular terms, and have proceeded to act thus far under that form, we humbly beg it as a favour of your lordship to let those troops act separate, as far as is consistent with his Majesty's service." Which answer, I apprehended, was agreeable to his Lordship and all concerned; and his Lordship approved of our scheme, and was so good as to tell us, he would afford us all necessary assistance in the execution of it; and after this, set out for our camp at Lake George, where we arrived on the 19th, and gave orders for hastening our batteaux and military stores across land, and found it feasible to carry our cannon, &c. by water to within five miles to the place we proposed to attack, and not practicable to carry them any other way; and employed all hands in getting every thing in readiness as fast as possible, which, when done, were to be joined by our parties from Fort Edward, and the Lower Post, and imagined ourselves to be within a little time of going forward, when I received his Lordship's letter of the 20th, giving me an account of the loss of Oswego, and justly setting forth the fatal consequences that would ensue to the country, if, in proceeding to attack Ticonderogo, we should meet with any misfortune, and that it would be out of his power to stop the enemy from over-running the country, and giving his directions, for the present, not to proceed; but that I, to the utmost of my power, should guard against the enemy's attacking me,

or getting into the country by the way of South-Bay or Wood-Creek ; on the reception of which, we immediately marked out a strong camp, having the fort in our rear, the lake on our right, and a morass on our left, which, by a dam I erected on a stream, I could at any time lay under water, and no ways to be attacked but in our front ; and in this camp we strongly entrenched ourselves, and armed our sloops, and put our boats in order, to prevent the enemy's making a descent that way ; and were, by these means, masters of the lake. And of all those methods which I took, in obedience to his Lordship's orders, I informed his Excellency, which he was so good as to approve of, and informed me, that the steps which I had taken, in putting forward the fortifications, and of forwarding and arming the vessels were extremely right. His Lordship also approved of the measures taken by Major-General Lyman, who commanded at Fort Edward. And in this situation we remained during the months of September and October, and were in expectation of a visit from Monsieur Montcalm, from whom we had daily intelligence that he was very strong at Ticonderogo, where he had a large encampment ; and our intelligence by our parties sent on discovery, as well as prisoners taken, made him from ten to fourteen thousand men ; but of that number I greatly doubt. We kept on with the works on the fort, and parties constantly out, both by land and water, for discovery, which sometimes came to skirmishes ; in one of which, we lost a captain, and forty-three men, killed or taken, that were set on by a vastly superior force, whom the prisoners we took, say they dearly bought. His Lordship visited us at our posts, and was pleased with our situation.

General Abercrombie arrived at Fort Edward, and detached Major Eyres, with four hundred men, to possess our garrison, who, on the eleventh of November, relieved me in that command ; and I having orders from General Abercrombie (under whose direction, after his Lordship's leaving Fort Edward, I acted) to decamp, on the eleventh we marched off with the first division for Albany, as did Major-General Lyman with the second on the seventeenth, leaving our sick in the hospitals, and our

heavy baggage in stores, (for want of carriages), and also a number of carpenters, masons, &c. for finishing the buildings at the fort, and the whole New-England troops disbanded, saving the artificers and sick; the regiment of New-York still kept up.

Thus, my Lord, as no other person but me has been in the whole of these matters, I have been particular in the transactions of the last season, that your Lordship may be informed of the share the American troops under my command (by the indulgence of his Majesty's commander in chief) have had in these matters; and although we did not attempt Crown-Point, which was the thing principally aimed at by our constituents, yet we are the means of stopping the current of the French forces after their success in carrying Oswego, and thereby the saving of Albany, and a great part of the government of New-York, as well as the Western parts of New-England, which, by their joining their forces at Carleton, was doubtless their intent. These are affairs, the charge of which, together with defending their own lines, are insupportable to these governments; powder and ball, ordnance, and stores of all kinds, being at the cost of the governments; but these are matters properly belonging to them to represent, and I have only hinted at them, and cannot but hope that our proceedings have met with the approbation of Lord Loudoun, commander in chief of his Majesty's forces here, and others our superiors, and will meet with the like favourable acceptance of our Royal Master, when he comes to the knowledge of it, and all others, who wish well to the British interest, of which, to approve myself deserving, is my highest ambition. What satisfaction my constituents may make me, is a thing uncertain, and may remain so for some time.

The steps to be pursued for the future, are yet unsettled. Every thing in my power, for the good of the common cause, shall be prosecuted. Have acquainted the Right Honourable the Secretary of State of these things, and desire your Lordship's pardon for this trouble, and am, with the greatest regard, your Lordship's most dutiful,

most obedient, and most humble servant,

JOHN WINSLOW.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Halifax.

SECRETARY WILLARD'S LETTER TO MR. BOLLAN, AGENT
FOR THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, RELATIVE
TO THE FAILURE OF CROWN-POINT EXPEDITION, AND
REIMBURSEMENT FROM GREAT-BRITAIN.

Boston, March 10, 1756.

SIR,

I HAVE received your letters of the 7th and 14th of November last, which I have laid before the General Court, and they are now under the consideration of a committee of both houses to prepare an answer.

Since the advices you had before the writing of those letters, our affairs in relation to Crown-Point have made no further progress to our advantage, except the better strengthening the two forts built by General Johnson at the carrying place and Lake George. In December last, the whole army was disbanded, excepting seven hundred and fifty men, left to garrison the said forts. Upon his Excellency's return to his government, which was the 30th of January last, he laid before the General Court a plan of operations against the French at Crown-Point, &c.; but the two houses had little heart to proceed in it; not being able to fall into any measures for raising such sums of money, as would be necessary for defraying the charge of the prosecution of the designs projected; having raised four thousand men for the service against Crown-Point the last year, besides about one thousand pounds standing forces for the defence of the province; the greatest part thereby incurred still lying on the province.

But upon advices from home of the great probability of a reimbursement from Great-Britain; the assembly, upon dependence on such reimbursement, have voted to raise three thousand men, and five hundred more on condition of the other colonies doing their part; which will make up the whole number ten thousand men, for the expedition against Crown-Point.

Governor Shirley, with the regular forces under his command, together with some addition of irregulars from the more southern colonies, will carry on another branch of the operation for securing of the dominion of the Lake

Ontario and Lake Erie, and dislodging the French from the places there, invaded by them.

I thought it proper to give you this short account, it being uncertain whether the public letter will be got ready to go by this ship. I wish your health, and all other prosperity; and remain with great esteem, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

J. WILLARD.

LETTER FROM WILLIAM BOLLAN, AGENT FOR THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY OF THAT COLONY.

Leicester-Street, April 12, 1759.

SIR,

I HAVE, since my last, given all possible attention to the great question depending before the attorney and solicitor-general, whether the General Court has a power of passing laws of divorce, and whether the acts passed, and referred to them, are not of themselves null and void. Many laws, you are sensible, have been disapproved by his Majesty in council on reasons of policy; but the present question rests wholly upon the point of authority; and as the legislative authority granted by the charter is expressed in the most large and comprehensive terms, plainly comprising, in my opinion, matrimonial matters, as well as any others, which are made the subject of the legislative power of the province, the distinguishing where the charter has not distinguished, and declaring them not to be the proper objects of that legislature, and the acts passed thereupon void in themselves, as from the first moving of this question, appeared to me to be an affair of great importance, especially when considered in its natural operation, and all its consequences. For the investigation of all points relative to this great question, it was plainly necessary, on various accounts, to inquire thoroughly into the origin of the colonies, to examine the *Acta Regia* passed under the great seal of the kingdom for their establishment, to consider their nature as English colonies, and the rights belonging to them as members of the common-

wealth, and the authorities necessary for the enjoyment of those rights, together with the authorities expressly granted; and also to consider the nature of marriage, adultery, and divorce, according to all the laws and usages that can illustrate the matter, and shew them to be the proper objects of these authorities. In order to the best service of the province, as well as for obtaining some necessary relief for myself, I tried to get assistance from the canon as well as common lawyers, but could get nothing of any considerable value from either of them. The former, by their interest, and otherwise, are disinclined to the temporal courts taking cognizance of matrimonial causes; and I have found them all, either wholly strangers to the nature of the colonies (one of the chief of them having frankly told me he was shamefully ignorant of them) or under some prejudice concerning them, or some way or other unqualified for my purpose; wherefore, I resolved to go through the examination of the whole myself.

After searching in vain, at the most likely, public, and other libraries in this town, from Archbishop Tennison's to Sion College inclusive, for some books mentioned by Mr. Selden; they being part of his library now placed at Oxford, to examine them, and get proper extracts taken, I went thither, being well acquainted with the professor of civil law there; and having afterwards spent some time in the country, which the care of my health required, where I had the benefit of two good libraries, belonging to gentlemen of my particular acquaintance, I came to town, with an intent to devote myself wholly, or as far as possible, to this business; and having, after many different searches at the rolls found and inspected the records of all the grants and charters, with some other matters relating to the colonies, from their first establishment, and taken authentic copies of the chief part of them, and collected a great variety of authors proper for my purpose, in the beginning of October, I sat down to make a close and regular examination and proper disposal of the whole matter, with the necessary preparations upon it. I expected great labour and difficulty; but, upon trial, I found so many different points necessary to

be considered, with such a vast variety and multiplicity of matter relative to several of them, that the whole far exceeded my expectation ; and a thorough inquiry into the establishment and constitution of the colonies, and examination of the pontifical and legatine constitutions, and all the œcumenic, national, provincial, and diocesan councils relating to the points of marriage, adultery, and divorce, together with the civil as well as ecclesiastical jurisprudence of different ages and countries, touching those points, has proved a work of exceeding great labour, so that I continued, to the great prejudice of my health, above thirteen weeks, making an incessant application to it, working generally from morning till bed time, avocations absolutely necessary only excepted ; and I have since continued this application as closely as other affairs, and unavoidable intermissions, would permit. I thank God I have got through the examination of the greater part of the whole, and reduced all the matters, relative to some of the points, into pretty good order ; and having collected the chief materials, relating to the other points, I hope I shall be able, in due time, to bring them also into such a state as may suffice to answer the purpose. It would give me great satisfaction to complete and finish the whole, in the most accurate manner ; but this would necessarily be a work of much longer time than I can suppose will be allowed me. I have had the pleasure to find, from ancient records and authorities of various kinds, more plentiful matter, proper for the support of the public rights and authorities, than I at first expected. I think I shall be able to establish effectually the principal points, and am not without hopes of doing the province a piece of lasting service upon this occasion. The probable time, last mentioned to me, for the hearing, was soon after the ensuing Easter holidays ; but I am inclined to think the present state of public affairs will occasion its being somewhat farther postponed, which I shall not be sorry for, my attention to this great affair having for some time past been much broken, frequently diverted to other objects of the public service, and it is needless to say, that whenever it comes under consideration, it will be a work of time to go through the necessary points, and bring the matter to a conclusion.

The intended parliamentary grant to the colonies has been attended with delays and difficulties, and required many tedious attendances; all money matters, indeed, have laboured under difficulties of late; the last subscriptions to the government come in heavily; stocks are fallen 8 or 9 per cent. in less than so many months; and the kingdom is so far drained of money by the great expense of the war, especially by remittances for its support in Germany, which it is agreed will require the remittance of several millions in gold and silver this year, that Sir John Barnard has proposed the use of a base coin; and upon my complaining, not long since, to a gentleman well acquainted with the interior state of public affairs, of our want of money to prosecute the war, he answered, the government had no money. How far this may have affected the grant to the colonies, I cannot say. Having received intelligence, in various ways, that a grant to the colonies had been talked of before Christmas, immediately after I gave the necessary attendances upon it. On the 11th of January, at Newcastle House, such encouraging things were said to me, touching a speedy and proper grant, by Mr. West, secretary to the treasury, a proper person for this purpose, that I concluded we should have had a considerable grant made, some time past. I used my best endeavours to raise and keep up the quantum of it; and for that end, General Winslow having, from the journals of the House of Representatives, transmitted to him, and from his knowledge of all parts of the province expense, more especially what related to the military services, made an estimate of the whole expense of the province for the last year; after examining and considering it, I made use of that, preparing a brief note of the several parts of it, for the use of those who should not choose to consider the whole; and having the estimate at large ready, Mr. West agreed this would be better for the present purpose, and several were accordingly afterwards delivered, the first being delivered him on the 16th of January, which he, not long after, at the treasury, shewed me, lying in his file of papers to be carried to the House of Commons, one day when it was doubtful whether the grant would then come on there, at the same time saying,

the estimates from some of the agents were not then come in. For some time, this affair seemed to go on smoothly, and the prospect of obtaining a considerable grant, without delay or difficulty, appeared very fair; but afterwards, those persons, in whose power it was to give it motion, seemed to have cooled upon it, and an inclination to defer, rather than forward it, appeared to take place. The want of accounts from the colonies was mentioned. To avoid the force of this objection, I observed, that the late return of the troops from the campaign, and our General Assembly's being under a prorogation, made it impossible for them to send their accounts. I offered to support the estimate of the province expenses, but no objection was made to it, and urged every thing that I could for obtaining a proper grant; and to collect and express, in the most concise and serviceable manner, the reasons for it. I prepared a memorandum of those reasons in the best manner that I could, to be laid before the Lords of the Treasury, or the Cabinet Council (by whom it was one while said the matter would be considered) or elsewhere; and delivered several of them to Mr. West.— This memorandum was at several times considered by the Lords of the Treasury, and, pursuant to express orders, I attended them divers times thereupon, as well as many others without order; and inclosed, you have a copy of this memorandum, and of the brief note of the estimate. During the former part of this transaction, and when the matter appeared to be in a very fair way, I received a letter from his Excellency the Governor, inclosing a copy of one from him to Mr. Secretary Pitt, wherein his Excellency observed, that the provinces having, or not having in the treasury, the money granted on account of provisions supplied the troops in the year 1756, would *greatly* promote, or *greatly* obstruct the measures for raising troops this year. This part of his Excellency's letter gave me no small concern, as the *greatness* of this object did not coincide with the state that I, from first to last, made of the money matters of the province. This letter was sent by Mr. Pitt to the Treasury; but having made no enquiry about it, nor said any thing concerning it, farther than necessity required, being of opinion, it was most service-

able to the province to avoid, as much as might be, the mention of its interior contests and divisions, I know not when his Excellency's letter came to the Treasury, nor what influence it had there. At a time when money is extremely scarce, and the demands for it so numerous, and press so hard, those who have demands on the public, which are in any respects uncertain, cannot, I think, possibly provide too well for the support of them. I mention this with regard to the future ; so that whoever has the care of the province affairs, its interests may be promoted in the best manner. The want of materials and instructions from the General Court, from whom alone, you are sensible, I can receive the latter, has laid me under difficulties ; but I have done my utmost for the province service. It is impossible for me, at present, to give a more particular detail of what has passed relating to this subject ; and I shall only add, that on the 6th instant, Mr. West, at Newcastle House, told me, the grant was not absolutely settled ; and yesterday, Mr. West being ill and confined, Mr. Martyn, the other secretary, told me, the quantum of the grant was not perfectly settled ; that from the whole that had passed, he understood, that the sum to be granted to all the colonies would be about £200,000, and that the matter would certainly come on in parliament soon after the ensuing holidays. It having been objected by some, that I obtained for the province too great a portion of the sum granted in 1756, the measures now taken, I hope, will be of some service also, when the apportionment of the present grant comes to be made.

Having received orders by way of Lisbon, for remitting the provision money in gold, on the 28th ult. having prepared to make the proper remittance, I applied to the admiralty for orders to be given to the *Echo* frigate to bring it. Speaking first with the secretary, he supposed, that what I desired could not be granted. I then spoke to Admiral Boscawen, one of the Lords at the Board, and said every thing in my power to obtain the favour desired, but could not prevail. He said, the *Echo* was under special appointment for a particular service ; so that they could by no means order her to proceed to Boston.

I have not time to add; but to save the intended conveyance, must conclude directly. And am, with the greatest respect for the Honourable House of Representatives,

Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

W. BOLLAN.

The Honourable the Speaker.

A MEMORANDUM OF DIVERS PARTICULARS, SHOWING THE EXHAUSTED STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS PROVINCE, AND THE NECESSITY OF A CONSIDERABLE PARLIAMENTARY GRANT, TO RELIEVE ITS DISTRESS, AND ENABLE IT TO ANSWER THE DEMANDS FOR THE PUBLIC SERVICE IN THE NEXT CAMPAIGN, REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

1. **THIS** province has very extensive frontiers, and part of it lies near Quebec; yet notwithstanding its extent, and exposed situation, by due care, it prevented French encroachments, and all occasions of the war, and has since effectually defended the whole. The charge of this defence has always been, and still continues very great.

2. In the beginning of the year 1756, this province was so far impoverished by the charge of the Crown-point expedition, added to the expense of all the measures taken for its own defence, that General Shirley lent it £30,000 public money, without which, it was absolutely impossible for it to raise and send out the troops, necessary for that summer's campaign.

3. The grant made by parliament, February 2d, 1756, occasioned chiefly by the Crown-point expedition, in 1755, had respect to the charge of that expedition, and of the following campaign: but the charge of that expedition, only exceeding the Massachusetts proportion of the sum granted, the raising, pay, arms and clothing of a large number of troops for another expedition, in 1756, brought the province again into a state of great distress; and the grant made last year, being solely for payment of what the province advanced, by its credit in 1756, for provisions intended to have been supplied by the com-

tractors with the crown, gave no relief touching the other great expenses of those troops.

4. The impoverished state of the province, in the beginning of the year 1756, being notorious, upon considering that, and the burthens borne by it in the course of the war, together with the last year's expenses, which amount to £178,988 15 6½ sterling, according to the estimate delivered, it is presumed it will plainly appear, this province has strained itself to the utmost, and it is now in an exhausted state, with many pressing demands, of a large body of troops, that returned late from the last year's campaign, and others which it cannot answer.

All which is humbly submitted, &c.

W. BOLLAN.

A BRIEF STATE OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC, AS TO ITS CONSTITUTION, NUMBER OF INHABITANTS, LAWS, COMMERCE, POPULATION, CIRCULATING PROPERTY, TENURE OF REAL PROPERTY, SCIENCE, &c. WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1787.

Constitution.] THE constitution of the province is founded on the statute of the 14th of George the Third, called the Quebec Bill.

By that bill, the legislative power is vested in the Governor and Legislative Council. This council is composed of the Lieutenant-Governor, Chief Justice, and Secretary, for the time being, and twenty other members. They are appointed by the Crown, and receive each £100 a year as a salary. They consist of near one half French members. Their power extends to almost all the necessary purposes of government, except the levying of taxes, wherein the said statute inhibits, whereby Great-Britain pays the salaries to the counsellors, and all the expenses of the civil list of the province, which amounts to £25,000 per annum, exclusive of the Governor-General's salary.

This institution has been frequently complained of by the inhabitants, and several petitions have been presented to his Majesty and Parliament for a repeal of the Quebec Bill, and that they may have a liberal constitution granted, similar to the other colonies.

Number of Inhabitants.] The inhabitants were numbered, by order of General Haldimand, in 1783, when they amounted to about 113,000 English and French, exclusive of the loyalists, who have lately settled in the upper parts of the province, to the number of 10,000. These are daily increasing; and vast numbers of loyalists from the different American states, to the number of 15,000, have petitioned for lands, and liberty to remove into the province, to settle and become British subjects. If these are admitted, large numbers of other loyalists from the States will follow them; and it will be in the power of government to settle the greatest part of the vacant land, in the lower parts of the province, in a very short space of time.

Laws.]* The laws declared to be in force by the Quebec Bill, for the determination of civil rights, are those that were in force under the French government before the conquest. These laws have been found anticommercial, and incompetent to protect and govern the commercial rights; and under them, civil rights are unknown, and property is insecure. These laws have been administered by a Court of Common Pleas, composed of persons not bred to the profession of the law, whose judgments have introduced great discontent, confusion, and disorder in the province. They have been complained of, and many petitions against the laws, and the administration of them, have been presented.

Petitions have also been presented to the Legislative Council (who have the power of altering the laws) for redress; and many attempts have been made, by the English members in Council, to obtain an ordinance for the adopting of the English laws for the regulation of commerce, and the determination of all personal actions between British subjects; but they have not succeeded. The French members of the council have opposed the introduction of English laws, and were joined by two of

* At the time of passing the Quebec Bill, an instruction from his Majesty accompanied it to the Governor, advising to grant the laws of England to his natural-born subjects, as the rule for decision in all actions grounded upon debts, promises, contracts, and agreements, whether of a mercantile or other nature; and which instruction has been regularly continued ever since.

the first judges of the Court of Common Pleas, who are members of the Council, and have rejected the same by a majority of two voices.

In the course of the sessions of the Council, in the last winter, another attempt was made to introduce the English laws, agreeable to his Majesty's twelfth instruction to his Excellency the Governor. And a bill was brought in by the Chief Justice, Mr. Smith, for that purpose, and for the introducing the practice of the *courts of Westminster-Hall into the courts of Common Pleas in this province, in causes wherein British-born subjects were interested; but this bill was rejected, and not allowed to go to a committee. And another bill was brought in by a French member, which abridged the commerce, and the English subjects of rights they had enjoyed under a former ordinance. The commerce, finding that their property must still continue to be governed by laws to which they were strangers, and anticommercial, applied, by petition, to the Council for a copy of the bill, which was also refused. They, however, having obtained from one of the members a copy of the bill, then presented another petition to be heard by counsel against the passing of the bill, which was granted. And on the 14th of April, their counsel was heard, and the papers annexed, marked A, signed by a committee appointed by the commerce, containing the substance of the argument then delivered, to which paper† is referred for a state of the circulating property belonging to British merchants, which is at least nineteen-twentieths of all the circulating property in the province. For the population, and to those papers, and to papers C and D, is referred for an account of the commerce, twenty-nine thirtieths of which belongs to British subjects.

The furs form the greatest part of the exports from the province. Great part of these, and the most valuable, are

* Nineteen-twentieths in value of the property, that is subject to the decision of the courts of justice, belongs to British merchants.

† The charges contained in these papers, and in the petition presented to his Majesty in 1784 against the administration of justice, induced the Governor and Council to cause an investigation of them to be made, and the same was committed to the Chief Justice, which is now near closing.

brought from the interior country, twelve and fifteen hundred leagues westward from the city of Quebec.

Tenure of real property.] The real property in the province is held under the feudal tenure, which existed when the province was under the government of France. By these tenures, the inhabitants are held in a state of vassalage, which, as in all other countries, where lands are held under similar tenures, has impeded agriculture and improvements, and has had a tendency, added to the religion of the country, to keep them in a state of dependence and wretched ignorance.

Agriculture and soil.] The agriculture is the same that was at the time of the conquest. It is confined chiefly to the raising of wheat, which sells for little more than half a dollar the bushel. The quantity to be exported will increase rapidly, from the immense quantity that will be raised, by the loyalists, up the river St. Lawrence, and that which must come down the Lake Champlain. This branch of agriculture is so far useful to the nation, that it employs a number of shipping to transport it; but the lands in the province might be much more usefully employed in the culture of hemp; perhaps no country in the world is so well calculated for raising hemp. The lands are rich and fertile, and will need little or no manure for many years. The country abounds with marle, which is now used on some of the uplands with success; but the interval lands are abundantly rich without it. This province is, on every account, better calculated for the culture of hemp, than Russia; and there is no doubt but that Great-Britain might be fully supplied with that article from this province, and at a much lower rate than is now paid for it to Russia. But this can never be accomplished until persons acquainted with the culture of hemp are introduced into the province. The first step to effect this desirable purpose, will be granting the lands under the tenure of free and common soccage, which will encourage men, acquainted with all the branches of agriculture, to remove into the province.

Science.] Science in the province, among the Canadians, is at its lowest ebb. Excepting the clergy, and a few Canadian gentlemen, there are no persons who have

any pretensions to science. Out of the towns of Quebec and Montreal, there are not, upon an average, three men in a parish that can read and write. This extreme ignorance is to be attributed to many causes. It has always been the policy of the clergy to confine knowledge and information within the walls of the church; hence they preserve their dominion over the peasantry.

The only schools in the province are in the cities of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers, and in the hands of the church. Hereby the clergy have the power of dispensing knowledge to whom they please.

It might have been good policy, under the French government, to keep the inhabitants in this wretched state of ignorance; but it is a question, whether it is good policy under the present government.

The Canadians are to be considered as attached to their former government. Facts, during the late war, clearly support this assertion.

Nothing will have a greater tendency to anglify them, than illuminating their understandings, when they will discern the advantages resulting from the mildness of a British government. To effect this, public free schools ought to be established in different parts of the province, to teach the inhabitants the English language.

The laws of England ought to be introduced; and to make it the interest of the inhabitants to learn the English language, all the proceedings of the courts of law ought to be in English. And every measure should be taken to root out the predilection they still retain for their former king and government.

Great-Britain can have but two objects for retaining the province. The one is the commerce; and the other is founded in policy, from the situation of the province; whenever it is well settled by inhabitants firmly attached to his Majesty, Great-Britain may always hold a rod over the heads of the American states, and keep them in awe.

Commerce.] *The commerce of this province is of some importance. The fur trade of the interior country must be enjoyed without a rival. The easy mode of conveying the goods by water, for the supply of the Indians,

* For particulars, see papers C, D, E.

must enable the merchants of Canada to undersell the adventurers from the United States.

The fur trade of most importance is what is called the North-West country trade. The river which leads to the communication with that country, is called the Grand River, and empties into St. Lawrence near the island of Montreal. The navigation of this river must ever belong to the inhabitants of Canada, which will give them a monopoly of that trade.

The other branches of commerce will increase in proportion to admission of the British-born subjects into the province; and in a few years will give employ to three times the number of vessels that are now in the trade.

The province may not only be made the granary for the other British provinces and islands, and part of Europe, but will amply supply Great-Britain with hemp.

Governors of Canada under France.

CHARLES, Marquis of Beauharnois, commissioned by the King, on the 11th of January, 1725, governor and lieutenant-general of New-France, arrived at Quebec in the month of June of the same year. He continued in Canada until the year 1744. At this time, the marquis of Galessoniere arrived in the capacity of commandant-general; which office he continued to exercise until the year 1746. The marquis of Tonquiere succeeded him, having been commissioned by the King, on the 20th of March, 1746, governor and lieutenant-general of New-France. The marquis Tonquiere died at Quebec in the year 1751.—The baron of Longueuil, governor of Montreal, afterwards commandant-general, exercised his command until the arrival of the marquis Duquaine of Menuville, commissioned by the King on the 1st of March, 1752; and arrived in the month of August. The marquis of Duquaine was relieved, in the year 1756, by the marquis Vaudreuil of Caragnal, commissioned by the king on the 26th of April, 1756, governor and lieutenant-general of New-France.

Governors of Canada under Great-Britain.

ON the capture of Quebec in 1759, the taking of Montreal, and the final surrender of Canada to General Amherst in September, 1760, the province was under military government. General Amherst left it the same year, and

General James Murray, commander in chief, 1760, till the king's proclamation, October 7, 1763, for creating the four new governments of Quebec, East-Florida, West-Florida, and Grenada. His commission as civil governor bears date the 28th November, 1763; but as all communication with this province, by water, is cut off at that season of the year, he must have received his commission by the way of New-York, which, I think, could not have reached him before February or March, 1764, or it might have been sent to him by the spring ships. The first commission by him, for appointing justices of the peace, is 24th August, 1764. I have not been able to ascertain the exact date when civil government took place.

James Murray, first civil governor, 1764. He left the province the 30th June, 1766, and

Paul Emilius Irwing, president of the council, 1766, assumed the government till the arrival of

Sir Guy Carleton,* lieutenant-governor, September, 1766. His commission is registered in the office of the secretary of the province, the 24th September, 1766, which, I suppose, must have been soon after his arrival. It is dated the 7th April, 1766. Sir Guy went to England, upon a visit, the 9th August, 1770, and

Hector Theophilus Cramahé, president of the council, 1770, was at the head of the government till he was appointed lieutenant-governor.

H. T. Cramahé, lieutenant-governor, 1771. His proclamation, notifying his appointment, is dated the 26th September. His commission is dated 6th June, 1771.

Sir Guy Carleton returned in 1774. Some time after July, as I find in the secretary's office, an act passed in council by Cramahé in that month; the exact time I do not know.

General Frederick Haldimand arrived in August, 1778.

* Commission as Governor dated 12th April, 1768.

His commission is not registered in the secretary's office ; I am therefore ignorant of the date. Henry Hamilton, lieutenant-governor, commission 23d April, 1782. General Haldimand left the province the 15th of November, 1784, and

Henry Hamilton, lieutenant-governor, 1784. He was superseded by

Lieutenant-governor brigadier-general Henry Hope, who entered upon the government 2d November, 1785. His commission is dated 13th August, 1785.

Lord Dorchester, (formerly Sir Guy Carleton), with the title of " Captain-general and governor in chief of the colonies of Quebec, Nova-Scotia, and New-Brunswick, and their dependencies, vice-admiral of the same, general and commander in chief of all his majesty's forces in the said colonies, and the island of Newfoundland, &c. &c. &c. Arrived the 15th and sworn in the 16th October. Commission dated 21st June, 1786.

A

British Property in Canada.

THE circulating property depending on the merchants of Montreal, from estimates taken last January, in the upper country, or Indian trade, *above Cataraqui*, is £ 300,000 sterling, £ 333,333 6 8

The lower country property in the district of Montreal is taken at 218,000 0 0

District Montreal, £ 551,333 6 8

Goods and effects in possession of, and debts owing to the body of merchants, and the amount of British circulating property, depending on the said merchants in the district of Quebec, 436,000 0 0

The British property circulating in the fisheries on the Labrador coast, and the fisheries of Gaspee and Chaleur bay, is very great ; but much of it is never landed in this province. The amount taken, that is landed and governed by

(Carried over.)

the laws of Quebec, in debts and credits given, is estimated at	30,000 0 0
Circulating property, remaining in Canada, in commerce, and governed by the laws of Canada,	£ 1,017,333 6 8
The estimate of lands and houses in Montreal, owned by British subjects, and principally merchants, for carrying on their trade, is	90,000
Like estimate for Quebec,	138,690
	228,690 0 0
The estimate of Seigneurolial estates, owned and possessed by British subjects in Canada, will amount to upwards of	140,000 0 0
	£ 1,386,023 6 8
Amount of imports in 1786,	£ 325,116 0 0
Amount of exports in 1786,	343,262 19 6
	£ 668,378 19 6
There are about 15,000 British subjects in the province of Quebec.	
<i>Quebec, April 18, 1787.</i>	

C

Account of the value of Exports from the Province of Quebec, for the year 1786.

			£	s.	d.
Wheat,	103,824 bushels,	4s.	20,764	16	0
Flour,	10,476 barrels,	24s.	12,571	4	0
Biscuit,	9,317 quintals,	13s.	6,056	1	0
Flaxseed,	10,171 bushels,	4s.	2,034	4	0
Oats,	4,015 bushels,	1s.6d.	301	2	6
Peas,	314 bushels,	4s.	62	16	0
Timber,	706 pieces,	20s.	706	0	0
Masts,	43	£ 5	215	0	0
Staves,	} 108,647 puncheon, 30,000 pipe,	£ 5 pr. M.	1,143	5	0
		£ 20 do.			
Hoops,	44,800	60s. pr. M.	134	2	0

			£	s.	d.
Shingles,	112,396	12s.pr M.	66	9	0
Boards,	76,791	50s.p. 100,	1,919	14	0
Potash,	1,724 cwt.	20s.p. cwt.	1,724	0	0
Capillaire,	14,944 hhds.	3d.	186	16	0
Essence of Spruce,	141 boxes,	30s.	211	10	0
Ginseng,	24 hhds.	£50	1,200	0	0
Horses,	67	£10	670	0	0
Shook casks,	2,065	5s.	516	5	0
Cod fish,	1,984 quintals,	13s.	1,289	8	0
Salmon,	253 tierces,	60s.	759	0	0
Salmon smoked,	1,100	1s3d.	68	15	0
Potatoes,	885 bushels,	1s3d.	55	6	0
Onions,	400 barrels,	15s	300	0	0
Pork,	94 barrels,	80s	376	0	0
Beef,	70 barrels,	60s	210	0	0
Bran,	354 quintals,	2s6d.	44	5	0
Oil,	185 tons,	£20	3,700	0	0
Fish, furs, and peltries from the coast of Labrador, Chaleur-Bay, and Gaspée, according to the estimation of lieutenant-governor Cox,					
	-	-	60,000	0	0
Furs and peltries, as per particulars here- unto annexed, £203,378 7 0, sterl.					
			225,977	1	0
			£343,262 19 6		

The loyalists, king's troops, and the fisheries were supplied with flour independent of the above.

Valuation of Furs and Peltries, exported in 1786.

		£.	s.	d.
6,213 foxes,	9s.	2,845	17	0
116,623 beaver,	8s.	69,600	0	0
48,436 martins,	6s.	14,530	16	0
23,684 otters,	20s.	23,684	0	0
5,959 minks,	2s6d.	1,199	7	6
3,958 fishers,	5s.	898	10	0
17,713 bear,	30s.	26,569	10	0
		£139,328 0 6		

(Carried over.)

<i>Brought over.</i>			£139,328	0	6
1,659 cub-bear,	20s.	1,659	0	0	
126,794 deer in the hair,	4s.	25,358	16	0	
5,477 do. half-drest,	2s.p.lb.	547	14	0	
202,719 musquash,	6d.	5,067	19	6	
108,521 racoon	3s.	16,278	3	0	
2,977 open cat,	5s.	744	5	0	
			49,655 17 6		
3,702 cased do.	20s.	3,702	0	0	
7,555 elk,	10s.	3,777	10	0	
12,923 wolves,	10s.	6,461	10	0	
506 wolvering,	15s.	379	10	0	
64 tigers,	12s.	38	8	0	
157 seals,	3s.	23	11	0	
480 squirrels,	6d.	12	0	0	
			14,394 9 0		
			Sterling £.203,378 7 0		

D

Account of the Value of the Imports into the Province of Quebec, in the year 1786.

The following are taken from the custom-house books.

Rum,	3932 puncheons,			
	15 hhds.			
	—= 3939½ punch.	at £.16	£63,032	0 0
Brandy,	15 pipes	15	225	0 0
Molasses	2133 punch.			
	14 tierces			
	—= 2138 punch.	10	21,380	0 0
Coffee	243 casks	8 10	2,065	0 0
Sugar	{ 77 hhds.	25	5,269	0 0
	{ 608 barrels,	5 10		
Wines	393 pipes Maderia at £40 is	£15,720		
	120 do. Fayal & Ten.	15 1,800		
	2213 hhds. Spanish	6 13,278		
	140 quar. casks do	3 10 490		
			= 31,288 0 0	
			(Carried over.) £123,259 0 0	

		<i>Brought over.</i>	£123,259 0 0
Tobacco	47 casks	£28 0 0	1,316 0 0
Salt	38,835 bushels	1 6	2,912 0 0
Chocolate	43 boxes	3 0 0	129 0 0

Provisions for { Pork 6709 barrels }
the troops { butter 1564 firkins }

As a particular account of dry goods is not kept at the custom-house, the value of those importations to Quebec have been accurately ascertained by several merchants, who are well informed of the quality and quantity of such merchandize, and have made an average of them for four years, from 1783 to 1786, both inclusive, at the annual sum of £88,875 sterling,

98,750 0 0

The merchants of Montreal not having time sufficient to make a correct statement of the dry goods imported to that city, their value is ascertained by those of Quebec, which, for various reasons, they must exceed ; they are, however, estimated at the same,

98,750 0 0

£325,116 0 0

Comparative View of Imports to, and Exports from, Canada, in Four Years.

IMPORTS.

	Shipping.			Ram.		Brandy.		Molasses.		Coffee.		Sugar.		Wine.			Choc- olate.	Salt.	To- bacco.	Provisions.			
	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Punchons.	Hogsheds.	Pipes.	Hogsheds.	Punchons.	Therces.	Casks.	Bags.	Hogsheds.	Barrels.	Pipes.	Hogsheds.	Qt. Casks.	Boxes.	Bushels.	Casks.	Fork.	Beef.	Butter.	Flour.
In the year 1783	69	8792	794	3156	21	9009	98	1613	91	118	84	264	411	809	2771	678	11	35685	192	1965	990	987	400
" " 1784	32	5164	356	179	37	272	5	185		78	56	95	95	92	1885	6	62	15390	29	500		920	
" " 1785	58	8834	586	1430	28	1040	18	1932	86	89	106	54	189	389	1959	17	30	108909	30	3392	1990	736	9278
" " 1786	74	10006	547	2632	15	15		2133	14	242		77	608	513	9213	140	43	38835	140	6709	1990	1564	

EXPORTS.

	Wheat. Bushels.	Flour. Barrels.	Slaves.	Shingles.	Hoops.	Boards and Planks.	Capillaire.	Flax Feed. Bushels.	Oats. Bushels.	Peanut. Bushels.	Black. Cwt.	Timber. Pieces.	Staves.	Pot Ash. Cwt.	Essence Spruce. Boxes.	Cinnamon. Hhd.	Horses.	Antimony. Tercers.	Smoked Salmon.	Shook Casks.	Potatoes. Bushels.	Codfish. Cwt.	Onions. Bush.	Pork. Bbls.	Beef. Bbls.	Bran. Cwt.	Oil. Tons.	Cars.
In 1783		4086	68896		5000	78810	2978	90			1050	684	50	1888	30	63			304			941					505	2631
" 1784		7936	25960	3000	7500	41567	2062				533			533	95	7	34		931			2145					100	
" 1785	3092	2700	251739	009	91000	85792	800	5612	1943		1080	2202		1215	370	78	34		869	1223	5346	111	army stores.	7661			438	1700
" 1786	103294	10476	138647	112396	44800	76791	14944	10171	4015	314	9317	706	43	1794	141	94	67		923	9065	885	1984	410	94	70	334	185	

EXPORTS CONTINUED.

Furs and Peltries.

	Beaver.	Martin.	Otters.	Mink.	Fishers.	Foxes.	Bears.	Cub Bears.	Deers in Halr.	Deer dressed. pounds.	Musquash.	Racoon.	Open Cats.	Cased Cats.	Elks.	Wolves.	Beaver Skins.	Tiger.	Seals.	Squirrels.	Ermine.	Picqueux.	Kitt.
In 1783	105467	44119	19689	7221	3817	5446	11596		125123	30648	68409	93252	4197	5536	5626	5858	203	26	8	489	29		
" 1784	128820	45973	22435	9634	4608	7260	14903		227568	24232	85773	171066	6639	3927	11238	6227	306	54	201	1485			
" 1785	151949	34496	19835	9322	4445	6432	12539		174434	4944	141118	99159	6336	2731	11113	8222	182	172	1525	31			
" 1786	116623	48436	22684	9595	3858	6213	17713	1650	126794	5477	202719	106521	2977	3072	7555	12923	506	64	157	480		888	296

N. B. — The above accounts of Exports and Imports are taken from the custom-house books.

Number of Inhabitants, Houses, &c. in the Province of Quebec, taken in the Year 1784.

	Married Men.	Women.	Houses.	Young Men.		Young Wom.		Servants.	Slaves.	Indim.	Absentees.	Bushels of Grain sown in Spring, 1784.	Horses.	Oxen.	Cows.	Young Cattle.	Sheep.	Hogs.	Turcocks.
	Above 15 years old.	Under 15 years old.	Above 15 years old.	Under 15 years old.	Above 15 years old.	Under 15 years old.	Under 15 years old.												
City and Parish of Quebec,	1116	1385	954	669	1000	651	987	606	41	95	42	1843	363	108	710	119	955	394	491
District of Quebec,	6795	6025	6183	3443	9041	3555	7997	1189	47	126	51	19477½	8753	6948	15634	13227	40867	21878	3094
District of Montreal,	10140	9737	9794	4337	11637	3809	10803	4020	319	685	304	217682	17825	19036	92579	16620	33238	41806	5968
District of Three Rivers,	9080	9247	1973	919	2874	877	2736	676	4	118	104	33249	3155	1602	5368	3147	10806	6458	1391
	20131	19354	18904	9381	24552	8892	25513	6491	304	893	501	363349½	30086	32094	44921	32206	84686	70466	10634

501 Absentees.

893 Indim.

304 Slaves.

6491 Servants.

29513 Young Women, under 15 years old.

8892 Young Women, above 15 years old.

24552 Young Men, under 15 years old.

9381 Young Men, above 15 years old.

18904 Women.

112012 Souls in the Province of Quebec, according to the above account, which was taken, by order of Gen. Haldimand, in the course of the Summer, 1784.—
City and Parish of Quebec contains 6473 Inhabitants.

CONTINUATION OF THE NARRATIVE OF NEWSPAPERS
PUBLISHED IN NEW-ENGLAND, FROM THE YEAR 1704
TO THE REVOLUTION; IN A LETTER FROM ONE OF
THE MEMBERS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

SIR,

I SAID that five American newspapers were published in Boston before any other town encouraged one; I ought to confine my observation to New-England, for the *Weekly Mercury*, by Andrew Bradford, was published, in Philadelphia, about the year 1720. Some remarks were made upon our legislature in this paper, which might come from the pen of Dr. Franklin, though they were not allowed to issue from the Franklin press. As it is curious to learn the state of things and men's opinions, in this country, seventy years ago, especially concerning the freedom of printing, I shall transcribe the proceedings of our General Court, with the critical remarks of the Philadelphia printer.

*"In the Great and General Court of Massachusetts,
January 14, 1722.*

"The committee appointed to consider of the paper called the *New-England Courant*, published Monday 14, are humbly of opinion, that the tendency of the said paper is to mock religion, and bring it into contempt; that the holy scriptures are therein profanely abused; that the faithful ministers of the gospel are injuriously reflected upon; his majesty's government insulted; and the peace and good order of his majesty's subjects of this province disturbed, by the said Courant; and, for the prevention of the like offence in future, the said committee humbly propose, that James Franklin, the printer and publisher thereof, be strictly forbidden to print or publish the *New-England Courant*, or any pamphlet or paper of the like nature, except it be first supervised by the secretary of this province; and the justices of his majesty's sessions of the peace for the county of Suffolk, at their next

adjournment, are directed to take sufficient bonds of the said Franklin for his good behaviour for twelve months time.

" *Per order of the committee.* WILLIAM TAYLOR.

" *In council, January 15, 1722. Read and accepted.—*
Sent down for concurrence. J. WILLARD, *Secretary.*

" *January 16, 1722. Read and concurred.*
" JOHN CLARK, *Speaker.*

" *Consented to.* WILLIAM DUMMER.

" *A true copy. Examined by* J. WILLARD, *Secretary.*"

This was reprinted in the Philadelphia Mercury, with the following remarks.

" To punish first, and then inquire, as Lord Coke observes, the law abhors. But here Mr. Franklin has a severe sentence passed upon him, even to the taking away part of his livelihood, without being called upon to give an answer. An indifferent person would judge by this vote against *Couranto*, that the assembly of the province of Massachusetts-Bay are made up of oppressors and bigots, who make religion the only engine of destruction to the people: and the rather, because the first letter in the *Courant* of January 14, which the assembly censures, so naturally represents and exposes hypocritical pretenders to religion. Indeed the most famous politicians of that government (as the infamous governor Dudley, and his family) have ever been remarkable for hypocrisy; and it is the general opinion, that some of their rulers are raised up to be a scourge in the hands of the Almighty for the sins of the people.

" Thus much we could not forbear saying, out of compassion to the distressed people of the province, who must now resign all pretences to sense and reason, and submit to the tyranny of priestcraft and hypocrisy.

" P. S. By private letters from Boston, we are informed, that the bakers are under great apprehension of

being forbid baking any more bread, unless they will submit to the secretary, as supervisor-general and weigher of the dough, before it is baked into bread, and offered for sale."

Bradford's paper was sent to Boston, and circulated among those who took the side of Mr. Franklin against the court ; and the same writers, who had offended, continued the same strain of offence in the *Courant*, only the name of the printer was changed from *J.* to *B. Franklin*.

In this day of political altercation and religious indifference, we may read many pieces more severe against the clergy, and more pointed against the government. They amounted to little more than a complaint of governor Shute's going to England, when certain politicians, in and about Boston, thought he ought to have remained in the province. The governor was a very pious man, and most of the characters in office were professors of religion. It has been common for those who make no pretensions to seriousness, to call such men hypocrites ; and unhappily they find characters, *who sit with men of integrity*, to be deserving of the name ; for in every place, where gold and silver have a currency, there is much counterfeit coin.—The editors of the *Courant*, and their coadjutors, were free-thinkers. A club of them joined the *Franklins*, attacked the prejudices of the people, and found fault with the government. Particular persons were pointed out as authors of the offensive pieces, and in order to bring the public odium upon them ; some of whom gained a literary character from this circumstance, who never were capable of writing these letters or essays ; but were as ignorant of the authors, as those who blamed them.

The *old* paper, or *Boston News-Letter*, and the *Boston Gazette*, were vehicles of foreign and domestic intelligence, rather than of party zeal, and abuse of magistrates.

I have been able to obtain more accurate accounts of the date of these than I gave in my last letter.

No. 1 of the <i>News-Letter</i> was published	<i>April 24, 1704,</i>
of the <i>Gazette</i> ,	<i>December 18, 1720,</i>
of the <i>Courant</i> ,	<i>July 17, 1721,</i>
of the <i>Weekly News-Letter</i> ,	<i>January 5, 1727,</i>
of the <i>New-England Journal</i> ,	<i>March 27, 1727,</i>

Mr. Campbell, the post-master, was editor or publisher of the old paper eighteen years from its first emission. Mr. B. Green was the printer. Mr. Campbell left the post-office, yet continued the paper till the year 1722. Mr. Green then continued to print it; and he was succeeded by J. Draper, in whose family it continued till the American revolution.

The *Gazette* was first published by James Franklin, and was connected with the post-office. It took the device of a *ship*, and the *post-boy with his horn*, till another *post-master* was attached to another printer, which was the case when Mr. Husk came into office; then the paper, which took the name of *Post-Boy*, was first published with the same device.

The *Boston Gazette* was printed by Franklin, Kneeland, and B. Green, jun. for the several post-masters, P. Musgrave, Thomas Lewis, and H. Marshal.

The *Courant* was published by J. Franklin; afterwards by Benjamin, so much celebrated since for his scientifick researches

The *Weekly-News Letter* was published and printed by Mr. Green, who confined his *other paper*, the *News-Letter*, which had grown somewhat venerable for its age, to matters of intelligence, and was willing to oblige his customers, as he says, or to gain subscribers, by inserting such things as gave a reputation and circulation to the other newspapers then printed in the town, and which had grown into fashion. This was afterwards united with the *old paper*, and then it was called the *Boston Weekly News-Letter*. It was combined with the *Massachusetts Gazette* in the month of September, 1769, which then took the name of the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter*, published by R. Draper, with the arms of the province, he being one of the printers of the court.

I have not been able to learn when the *Boston Gazette* ceased. It was no longer the post paper when the *Post-Boy* took its device; but it was continued till the weekly number exceeded 1600, and printed by S. Kneeland and T. Green, and called the *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Journal*.

It preserved the device of the ship ; and instead of the *boy with the horn*, had a sketch of the town, the old state-house, &c. I rather suppose that this paper continued to the close of the year 1752, because Mr. T. Green went to Connecticut about this time ; and the year 1753 began with another paper, printed by S. Kneeland, called the *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser*. The only difference in the title is exchanging *Journal* to *Advertiser* ; but the device is new, and the paper begins number *one*.

I shall leave this for the present, and mention the *New-England Journal*, as being the fifth paper of New-England, and which was published many years by the same printers, Messrs. Kneeland and Green, who afterwards printed the *Boston Gazette and Weekly Journal* ; they doubtless combined the two, and it was so named to preserve the *old papers*. A very particular account of the *New-England Journal* was given in my last. It was certainly the best of the publications at that time, and has been equalled by few since.

But we cannot help saying, that either the taste of the town was improved, or the abilities of the people enlarged, to support five newspapers in this place ; or else, Athenian like, they would be always inquiring after something *new*. A few years before, Dr. Franklin says, the country could not give sufficient encouragement to a *second paper*.

Party spirit stimulates, and gives elasticity to all the powers of the mind, whilst it changes the manners of a people : when it operates, all nice calculations and economical principles fall prostrate, or lose their influence. The disputes concerning the governor's salary, and his power to negative the speaker, were agitated with warmth, and supplied matter to employ the minds and *pens of the learned*, and to gratify the tongues of the *idle*. Private bickerings will also increase, where there is much food for political altercation. It is an easy thing for any man to think himself greatly interested in the public concerns. Post-masters, printers, editors, were somewhat officious from the nature of their business ; they fell into angry disputes, and had their friends to meddle with the con-

tention ; to say nothing of authors, who love to write, and often have their expectations frustrated when they think they are gaining reputation. Whatever was the cause, the fact was, that a certain number of newspapers were published in this town of Boston before other places of New-England could give encouragement to one such publication.

We may remark, however, that Boston was not only the capital of Massachusetts, but the town most celebrated of any in North-America. Its trade was extensive ; and the name often stands for the country in old authors. To come from the *new settlement*, or from *Boston*, was one and the same thing at later periods than we are now making mention of. It took many years of the present century to gain a rival ; though now we see several, that not only *approach* this place, once *chief* among the provinces, in population ; but go far beyond it, in numbers, business, wealth, and splendor.

A sixth newspaper, edited by that eminent lawyer, J. Gridley, was published in Boston before the *Rhode-Island Gazette* ; which I observed in my last, was the next in New-England. Newport was then a very flourishing place. It was, for many years, the second town in New-England ; but began to decay as the town of Providence increased ; and since the revolution of our country, it has put on a very solitary appearance.

The next public paper printed in Boston, after the *Rehearsal*, was the *Evening-Post*, of which I formerly gave an account ; then succeeded the *Post-Boy* ; then the *Independent Advertiser*, by Rogers and Fowle ; the first number in 1748 ; which was supported by the whigs, who gave a device indicative of their principles, *a bird let loose by the hand of Britannia, or the goddess of liberty*. It was thus designed ; but may as well represent *America in the character of a female*, active in doing good, profuse of her favours, and pregnant with blessings for future times.—The famous *Boston Gazette*, published for many years by Edes and Gill, and some time by Benjamin Edes, had this device on one side, with an aboriginal of the country on the left. The figure of the lady, giving freedom to the

bird, was retained ; but the impression of the savage was set aside *after the first year*.

Mr. Fowle, the printer of the *Advertiser*, was thrown into prison for a satire on the General Court, when the excise bill passed the house of representatives in 1754.— He gives an account of this, and his imprisonment, which he chose to suffer, rather than expose the authors of the pamphlet, called *the Monster of Monsters*, and written by a club of the most celebrated wits of this country, who were very well known, but escaped legal censure. *Dat-veniam corvis censura vexet columbis*. Mr. Fowle always thought himself injured, and for many years expected satisfaction ; but whether his friends wanted zeal, after serving themselves with his assistance, and gaining their point ; or the cause was less just than he imagined, his hopes were blasted, and the poor man had but empty praise, instead of the solid advantage which had been promised, or which he flattered himself that he should receive.

The first number of Edes and Gill's paper was published in April, 1755.

This newspaper has been much celebrated ; it has been, and will be a treasury of political intelligence for the historians of this country. Otis, Thacher, Dexter, Adams, Warren, and Quincy, Drs. Samuel Cooper and Mayhew, stars of the first magnitude in our northern hemisphere, whose glory and brightness distant ages will admire ; these gentlemen of character and influence offered their first essays to the public through the medium of the *Boston Gazette* ; on which account the paper became odious to the friends of prerogative ; but not more disgusting to the tories and high church, than it was pleasing to the whigs. Edes and Gill printed this paper till the year 1775, when the situation of this town made it necessary to separate, and they never renewed the partnership. Mr. Gill carried on a paper, and called it the *Country Journal* ; and Mr. Edes printed the *Boston Gazette* till the year 1798, when, in a formal address, he took leave of the public.

Green and Russell published the *Weekly Advertiser*, in

the month of August, 1757. This was connected with the post-office, and had the same device with the Post-Boy, *the ship and the rider with the horn*. They soon exchanged the name, or rather combined it with the Advertiser. They also published another paper *by authority*, with the *state arms*. This was called the Massachusetts Gazette, published every Monday, as Draper's was every Thursday.

In the month of October, 1769, the Massachusetts Gazette and Post-Boy and Advertiser were combined, and became one paper. It was doubtless more agreeable to subscribers to have one newspaper, than two different papers half the price each; and it was more convenient for the printers, who had less trouble, from having the subscribers less separated. A few individuals might subscribe for an half sheet, and not be able to go farther; this could be the only inducement to publish two separate half-sheets the same day; but, on the whole, the presses, which did this were fully persuaded of its inconvenience, and in the same year united the two parts into one complete sheet, preserving the name of *each*. And since that time, our printers have found it more for their interest to print several papers per week, than to divide the intelligence of a single day.

The *Boston Chronicle*, printed by Mein and Fleming, was first published December, 1767. It continued only two years. A fair type and paper, extracts from some of the most celebrated books in Europe, hardly known then in America, and some whole pamphlets circulated through this paper, made it more valuable as a literary production, than most other periodical publications. It was really a work entertaining and useful for some time, till the absurd politics of its *patrons*, and gross ribaldry of the editors, made it appear like a vehicle of slander, rather than a pure font of intelligence. The majesty of the people was insulted; those characters, in whom they placed the greatest confidence, and some of whom have since sacrificed their lives and fortunes for the good of their country, were calumniated; nor was the spirit of calumny more virulent than the language was indecorous. Mein's character sunk with his paper. As a mercenary scribbler, he was employed to asperse the character of the Americans

in some of the London papers ; but he was soon discovered to be the writer, and his former conduct exposed. From *such a man* the scurrility lost its point, and all its force.

There was another paper on the *tory side* of the question, published by Mills and Hicks and supported by some of the best writers in defence of the taxation of the colonies. Twenty papers, signed *Massachusetts*, afterwards collected into a pamphlet, were said to excel, on account of the subtlety of the argument, as well as its plausible manner and elegant style ; they were imputed to the attorney-general of the province, and also to a lawyer of some eminence, who at that time took a decided part on the prerogative side, but who had been a leading character of the whigs.* Several British officers wrote in the gazette of Mills and Hicks, willing to show their prowess in the field of political controversy before the time arrived for their military genius to *blaze*. This paper contained as much European news, and useful speculations upon common affairs, as to give it a very prominent figure among the respectable newspapers published at that time. I never saw the papers after the war commenced ; and probably the writers became more acrimonious in their language, and unjust in their censures. For the sake of the information they contain of the spirit of the times the abilities and industry of the writer, I wish we had a set in our library ; it is a *desideratum*, as it would go a considerable way towards our completing the collection of newspapers.

One paper more must be mentioned, though it is but little known ; but it was printed to show the strength and zeal of the party, and soon lost among other ephemeral productions of the times, though it promised great things at the beginning. Certain of the first characters had agreed to support it, not only by encouraging the circulation, but by driving the quill in what they called the

* *Massachusetts* was ably confuted by a writer in the *Boston Gazette*, who took the signature of *Nov-Anglus*, who not only states the arguments in favour of the *rights of the colonies*, but gave an interesting account of the proceedings of the *British cabinet*, in connexion with the *officers of the Crown in America*.

Whoever reads *Weare's* letter to a noble lord, in the first vol. of the *Historical Collections*, must see how just were the *observations of Nov-Anglus*, and be charmed with the political sagacity of the author.

good cause of Britain, and the men who were in authority at that time in the province. It was a paper confined to politicks, without any particular information of occurrences, foreign or domestic. It was called the *Censor*, and published every Saturday, by Ezekiel Russell. It was designed to make up several folio volumes, but soon failed. One volume only was completed, containing seventeen numbers, one sheet each. A second volume commenced, and progressed but three numbers. The editor was a gentleman of this town; a writer very florid, but not elegant nor judicious. Yet it has been suggested by some persons, since the revolution, that Dr. Church was hired by government to publish the *Censor*; and that the tories depended upon the success of the pen, with the documents in the hands of this *Janus-like politician*. But there is no sufficient evidence that Dr. Church ever left the whigs till the war commenced. The intrinsic evidence is a demonstration against his being concerned in editing this paper, who was certainly one of the best writers of this country, whatever his character might be in other respects.

The first number of the *Censor* is November 23, 1771. At this time, the Massachusetts Spy was growing into high repute; a more violent class of politicians filled this paper with their speculations than the whigs who wrote in the Boston Gazette, who were experienced statesmen, and had a particular object in view; to make people understand the nature of government, the rights of the colonies, the oppressions of Great-Britain, and the virtues necessary to promote social order with the principles of liberty. A more disorganizing spirit prevailed among those who wrote for the Massachusetts Spy; and who were, most of them, young men of genius, without experience in business, or knowledge of the world; some of whom, perhaps, had no principles to actuate them; or were enthusiasts, if they had principles; and wanted judgment where their virtue did not fail. Any one who reads a periodical work, styled the *Centinel*, in forty numbers, which was highly celebrated, and some other pieces of a similar nature, will now see that the same spirit and principles lead to a dissolution of all society, and like more mod-

ern publications, *on equality and the rights of men*, are direct attacks at all authority and law; and being carried into effect, would have made confusion here, as they have since dissolved the governments, and desolated the fair fields of Europe. The *Massachusetts Spy* was printed at Worcester during the war; it became a more useful and excellent paper, and did infinite service, in diffusing a knowledge of facts, and some of the best written pieces that have appeared in our American periodical publications.

The printer deserves great credit, and has received much applause for his industry and enterprising spirit, which have led to very considerable improvement in the line of his business, and gained him the name of the *American Baskerville*.

A piece, signed *Mutius Scævola*, in the 37th number of the *Spy*, printed in Boston, 1771, was republished by the editor of the *Censor*; and some remarks upon, and an address to Mutius, filled three papers. Mutius declared the province to be without a governor, proclaimed Hutchinson an usuper, and called on the council to take upon themselves, according to charter, the government of the province. This ebullition of political zeal, or democratic resentment, was not pleasing to the whigs in general, who had no occasion to leap precipices, when they had a straight path to the object in view; and it kindled the flames of war in the minds of the tories. But their defender wanted prudence and skill, who attempted such mighty things in the papers of the *Censor*.

A more judicious writer then entered the lists, who was then second in the chair of government. Lieutenant-governor *Andrew Oliver* wrote seven numbers, under the signature of *Freeman*; and levelled his argument, not only against Mutius, but all who held such principles of the government, as many other writers propagated, and which were the leading sentiments of the opposers of the administration.

As people had taken their sides, few were convinced or converted by the tory writers; and what good they were able to do for their cause, was more likely to be done through the *Massachusetts Gazette*, and the like papers that admitted publications against the conduct and opinions of

the majority of this people. The last number of the *Censor*, which was published, was sometime in the month of May, 1772.

There was no other newspaper published during this time in Boston, than those I have mentioned, when the war commenced ; the *Evening Post*, *Boston Gazette*, *Mills and Hicks's Massachusetts Gazette*, on Mondays. The *Massachusetts Gazette*, by *Draper*, and *Massachusetts Spy*, on Thursdays. The number of newspapers had not increased in the town as we should expect ; but other places, beside Boston, had their weekly papers, and some of them a circulation equal to any published here. Mr. Hall published the *Essex Gazette* in 1768, and continued it till the revolutionary war.*

There was also a newspaper published at Newburyport by Thomas and Tinges.

In New-Hampshire, at Exeter, there was an attempt to print a paper ; but it did not meet with sufficient encouragement. This was by Fowle, a relation of the printer of the *Gazette* at Portsmouth.

In the town of Portsmouth, also, another paper was set up by E. Russell, who afterwards printed the *Censor* in Boston. It was called the *Mercury*, and soon failed.

At Newport, Rhode-Island, Mr. James Franklin (son of Mr. James Franklin, before mentioned) commenced, in 1758, the publication of the *Newport Mercury*. Mr. Franklin died in 1762 ; but the paper was continued, under the direction of his mother, for a few weeks ; after which, till 1768, it was published by S. Hall. This paper (edited by him during those tumultuary times occasioned by the British American stamp-act) was patronized by the most distinguished whigs in that colony ; among whom were the learned Dr. Stiles, the Elleries, the Wards, the Vernons, and Mr. (afterwards Judge) Marchant. These gentlemen rendered essential service to their country by many

* In the year 1775, from the commencement of the war to the removal of the American army from Cambridge, he published the *New-England Chronicle* in Cambridge, and afterwards in Boston ; which contained the best account of things, connected with the state of the armies in this part of the country, that we can find in a newspaper. He afterwards printed the *Salem Gazette*, a most excellent repository of intelligence, till the year 1765, when he removed to Boston.

excellent publications in the *Mercury*; and the editor, Mr. Hall, was, of course, rancorously persecuted by the tories for printing them. The famous *Virginia Resolves* made their *first* appearance in this paper, at least in New-England; and the *publisher* of them was considered, by the enemies of the colonies, as having committed an act of treason. The *Mercury* is still continued.

I have been able to procure a very accurate list of Connecticut newspapers to the present time, by the assistance of a worthy member of our Society, Noah Webster, whose letter I add to my account.

"In pursuance of your request, I have procured from Mr. Thomas Green, the oldest printer in Connecticut, the following information.

"1. The first newspaper published in Connecticut was the *Connecticut Gazette*, begun at New-Haven, January 1, 1755, by James Parker, who afterwards discontinued the publication, and moved to New-York, where he established the printing business.

"2. * The second paper, called the *New-London (or Connecticut) Gazette*, was first published at New-London, by Timothy Green, in 1758. The publication has been continued under another title, and is now continued by his son, Samuel Green.

"3. The third paper is the *Connecticut Courant*, first published at Hartford, by Thomas Green, in 1764, and continued by Ebenezer Watson, who died during the revolution war; since which the paper is continued by Hudson and Goodwin.

"4. Mr. Thomas Green relinquished the *Courant* in 1767, removed to New-Haven, and, in the same year, commenced the publication of the *New-England Journal*, which is still continued by Thomas and Samuel Green.

"5. The *Norwich Packet*, published by John Trumbull, was begun in 1773, and is continued.

* The printer of the Collections informs the author of this narrative, that he thinks this paragraph would stand more correct if written as follows.

"The second paper, called *The New-London Summary*, was first published at New-London, by Timothy Green, in 1758. After his decease, his nephew, of the same name, continued the publication under the title of *The New-London Gazette*; and it is now continued by Samuel Green, son of the last Timothy Green."

"These are all which had an origin anterior to the revolution.

"6. The *American Mercury* was begun at Hartford, by Messrs. Barlow and Babcock, in 1784, and is continued by Mr. Babcock.

"7. The *Litchfield Monitor* was established at Litchfield, in 1784, by Messrs. Collins and Cop, and is continued by the first partner.

"8. The *Middlesex Gazette* was established at Middletown, 1785, by Messrs. Woodward and Green, and is continued.

"9. The *Windham Herald* was first printed in 1790, and is continued by John Byrne.

"10. The *Farmer's Journal* was begun at Danbury about 1790, by Messrs. Douglass and Ely, and is continued by Mr. Douglass.

"11. The *American Telegraph*, at Newfield, a village three miles from Stratford, was begun in 1794, by Beach and Jones, and is continued by the first partner.

"12. The *Chelsea Courier*, at Norwich landing, was begun in 1796, by Thomas Hubbard, and is continued.

"13. The *Oracle*, by James Springer, was begun in New-London in 1796, and is continued.

"14. The *Bee*, by Charles Holt, was begun at the same place, 1797, and is continued.

"15. The *Impartial Herald* was published in 1797, at Suffield, by Messrs. Farnsworth, and is discontinued.

"16. A paper has been lately published at Stonington-Point, by Samuel Trumbull; but I am not informed of the title.

"All these papers are continued, except the first and fifteenth; so that, in Connecticut, there are now published fourteen newspapers.

"In 1784, Messrs. Meigs, Bowen and Dana commenced the publication of the *New-Haven Gazette* in quarto, a paper that was well esteemed; but, in a few years after, was discontinued. Other papers have been begun, but have not gained an establishment."

MR. DUMMER'S LETTERS TO MR. FLINT.

SIR,

I AM now attending on the house of commons about our Canada bills; and having a little interval, I step into one of the coffee-houses to write to you, because I remember I am in debt to you for several letters. Your last, of the 11th of January, I have in my pocket; it came by Mr. Wendal, who seems to me a very modest worthy man, whom I shall be glad to serve, for his own sake, as well as for yours, and others that recommend him. What colonel Byfield says of me, as well as of Sir William Ashhurst, is false; and I can assure you I found him out in a good many lies whilst he was here, notwithstanding he is ever nauseously boasting of his honesty. As for his honour's negativing me, he may do what he pleases, but I would have him consider that public places are held by a very slight and uncertain tenure, and that it is ill policy in him to make any body his enemy. I have now had the honour of serving my country about five years; and I can say, with great truth, that I have ever pursued the interest of my country with zeal and fidelity, and with an anxiety that one seldom feels, but in one's own private and nearest concerns. And now I am to leave it, I can apply to myself the words which our celebrated Chauncy used of his presidency: *Peritorem certe hominem et multis modis aptiorem facile est invenire, sed amantiorem et vestri boni studiosiorem profecto non invenietis.*

I have given your service to the gentlemen you mention, who return theirs to you. I wish you all happiness;
and am, very sincerely, Sir,
your faithful humble servant,

MR. FLINT.

JER. DUMMER.

Westminster, 1st month, Martii, 1715.

DEAR SIR,

MR. Hiller gave me the sight of a letter, in which you desired my direction in the buying some sermons

for you. I was glad of any little opportunity to serve Mr. Flint, and therefore took some pains in collecting them ; and I hope they will please you ; though I must own to you, that I think the modern sermons, which are preached and printed here, are very lean and dry, having little divinity in the matter, or brightness in the style ; I am sure they are no way comparable to the solid discourses which Mr. Brattle gives you every week. Indeed I could have bought you some better than these you have ; but Mr. Hiller confined me to penny sermons.

For the affair of the college, with respect to the legacy left you, Col. Taylor will tell you I assisted in it to the uttermost of my power ; and when I found it was impossible to gain the whole for the college, I moved the Lord-keeper, that as little might go to a school as was possible ; and what must, might be settled on the school at Cambridge. I shall be always proud to serve the college, to which both my duty and my inclination lead me. Pray give your worthy president my humble service, and tell him I don't write him about this matter, because Mr. Newman will do it *ex officio*.

I beg you will remember me, with great respect, to my excellent and ever honoured tutor, Mr. Brattle ; and let him know, that I wrote to him by Capt. Taylor ; which letter I hope he will have before you have this.

In the midst of the noise and hurry which attend my station at court, I often think of your happy collegiate life, where you have a sweet air, good company, time to study, and a calm retreat from the business and vexatious cares of life. I was once so happy myself ; which, when I look back upon, I cannot forbear wishing

Ut redeant multi sic mihi sæpe dies.

But wishes are vain ; and it makes me easy in my station, because it is what the providence of God, in answer to my own desires, has appointed me ; and because I have hereby an opportunity to serve my country, which is the highest honour any man can arrive to. Dear Sir, I wish you many happy years ; and I am, very truly,

your most affectionate, humble servant,

JER. DUMMER.

Westminster, 5th May, 1711.

JAMES CUDWORTH'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR JOSIAH WINSLOW, DECLINING HIS APPOINTMENT TO A MILITARY COMMAND.

MUCH HONOURED,

MY service and due respects being presented; yours of the 19th of December, 1673, came to my hands the last day of that month; wherein your honour acquainted me, that the General Court, by a clear vote, have pitched upon myself to command an hundred men, in joining with the rest, in prosecuting the expedition against the Dutch; and hitherto I have been silent in returning your honour an answer, partly because, though there is some preparation, yet no determination, of any sudden going forth; neither, indeed, will the season admit of such an undertaking at present; also the many urgent occasions and pressing necessities of my own, has longer detained me than indeed has been meet. Hoping those considerations, though they will not justify, yet they may, in some measure, excuse my neglect herein. Concerning the design, how well grounded and warranted such an undertaking is, to me seems doubtful: peradventure it may be my ignorance; and I do apprehend we are in great straight; but whether to sit still, or to be doing, will be best, it is too hard for any to determine. But whether we do the one, or the other, trouble and disquietment threatens to be our portion. However, it does behove all, that are to be principal actors in such a design, to be clear in themselves, not only concerning the lawfulness, but also how expedient such an undertaking may be; then they may, with more comfort and courage, manage that part of the works they are designed unto. Sir, I do unfeignedly and most ingenuously receive the Court's valuation and estimation of me, in preferring me to such a place. It is not below me, or beneath me, (as some deem theirs to be), but is above me, and far beyond any desert of mine; and had the Court been well acquainted with my insufficiency for such an undertaking, doubtless I should not have been in nomination; neither would it have been their wisdom to hazard the cause and lives of

their men upon an instrument so unaccomplished for the well-management of so great concern. So being persuaded to myself of my own insufficiency, it appears clearly and undoubtedly unto me, that I have no call of God thereunto; for *vox populi* is not always *vox Dei*; and therefore I cannot, in any thing give a more full and real demonstration of my loyalty and faithfulness unto my king and country, than in declaring my unfitness for the acceptance of the management of such a design; and should I embrace and accept of the call, knowing my own insufficiency for the work, what should I less, than what in me lies, but betray the cause and lives of men into the hands of the enemy. Learned, judicious, and worthy Mr. Ward, in his animadversions to war, says, that the inexperience of a captain hath been the ruin of armies, and destruction of commonwealths; and that, in the time of peace, every brave fellow desires to be honoured with the name and charge of a captain; but when war is approaching, and the enemy at hand, they quake, their swords out of their scabbards, and had rather make use, in fight, of their wings, than of their talons. Beside, it is evident unto me, upon other considerations, I am not called of God, unto this work, at this time.

The estate and condition of my family is such, as will not admit of such a thing; being such as can hardly be paralleled; which was well known unto some, but it was not well nor friendly done as to me, nor faithfully as to the country, if they did not lay my condition before the Court. My wife, as is well known to the whole town, is not only a weak woman, and has so been all along; but now, by reason of age, being sixty-seven years and upwards, and nature decaying, so her illness grows more strongly upon her, never a day passes, but she is forced to rise at break of day, or before; she cannot lay for want of breath; and when she is up, she cannot light a pipe of tobacco, but it must be lighted for her; and until she has taken two or three pipes, for want of breath, she is not able to stir; and she has never a maid. That day your letter came to my hands, my maid's year being out, she went away, and I cannot get nor hear of another.—And then, in regard of my occasions abroad, for the tend-

ing and looking after all my creatures, the fetching home my hay, that is yet at the place where it grew, getting of wood, going to mill, and for the performing all other family occasions, I have none but a small Indian boy, about thirteen years of age, to help me. Also, a man that goes forth upon such a design, ought to set his house in order, and to settle his outward estate, so as though he never were to return again. And your honour knows how I am blocked up there in respect of the difference and contest betwixt my brother Hoare and myself, which behoves me to stand as it were upon my guard, to defend my just interest ; and if God should take me away, my poor family, in all likelihood, cannot expect but to be great sufferers by him. Sir, I can truly say, that I do not in the least wave the business out of any discontent in my spirit, arising from any former difference ; for the thought of all which is, and shall, be forever buried, so as not to come in remembrance, though happily such a thing may be too much fomented ; neither out of an effeminate or dastardly spirit ; but am as freely willing to serve my king and my country as any man whatsoever, in what I am capable and fitted for ; but do not understand that a man is so called to serve his country with the inevitable ruin and destruction of his own family ; neither indeed can it be imagined, that such an one can manage his business with any comfort and courage abroad, when, by reason of his absence, things are like to succeed so ill at home ; neither can he expect a blessing of God upon his undertakings. These things being premised, I know your honour's wisdom and prudence to be such, as that your will, upon serious consideration thereof, conclude, that I am not called of God to embrace the call of the General Court. Sir, when I consider the Court's act, in pitching their thoughts upon me, I have many musings, what should be the reasons moving them thereunto ; I conceive it cannot be, that I should be thought to have more experience and better abilities than others ; for you, with many others, do well know, that when I entered upon military employ, I was very raw in the theoretick part of war, and less acquainted with the practical part ; and it was not long I sustained my place, in which I had occa-

sions to bend my mind and thoughts that way ; but was discharged thereof, and of other public concern ; and therein I took *vox populi* to be *vox Dei* ; and that God did thereby call and design me to sit still, and be sequestered from all public transactions ; which condition suits me so well that I have received more satisfaction and contentment therein, than ever I did in sustaining any public place. You also well know, that there are many settled and established military commission officers in this colony, who have sustained their place double and treble the time I sustained mine, which doubtless has given them large and fair opportunity to gain more experience, and to attain greater experience in military affairs than, in reason, can be expected from me ; so that my not embracing the court's call cannot be a prejudice and detriment to the country, but a benefit and advantage, in causing them to make a better choice of some more able, and better experienced in affairs of that nature. Sir, in all this I have not dealt feignedly nor fraudulently with you ; but really and truly ; hoping it will be so accepted and taken ; desiring the Almighty to so endow you with all wisdom, for the management of such concerns as you are called to be exercised in ; that all under you may live a peaceable and quiet life in all godliness and honesty ; and so prays he, that is willing, wherein he may, to serve you, Sir, who is
your humble servant,

JAMES CUDWORTH.*

To the much honoured JOSIAH WINSLOW,
Governor of New-Plymouth, these present.

Scituate, the 16th of January, 1673.

* " In August, 1673, advice came to Boston, that the Dutch, after taking several ships at Virginia, had possessed themselves of New-York, whilst Col. Lovelace, the governor, was at New-Haven ; and that the Dutch force was bound further northward. This intelligence caused a great alarm in the colony. The castle having been destroyed (by fire) not long before, Boston was less capable of defence. The best preparations were made, which could be made. The Dutch fleet returned to Europe." Vide Hutchinson, l. 259. Note.

It was upon this occasion, probably, that Capt. Cudworth was appointed to the command, which he wishes, by his letter, to decline. This letter is inserted, as exhibiting character, and representing the simplicity of the age, and the modes of thinking that then prevailed. We may be assured, that the writer did not "*wave the business*," to use his own expression, "*out of an effeminate*

JAMES CUDWORTH'S LETTER TO GOV. JOSIAH WINSLOW.

*From the garrison on Mount-Hope neck,
the 20th of July, 1675.*

MUCH HONOURED,

YOURS of the 18th instant came by the post to me about eight o'clock at night. Understanding that you are unacquainted with our present condition and the state of things at present amongst us; the account of which, by a post on Saturday last, I gave you of things as they then were, and this day, by post, acquainted with what has fallen out since; but lest they might miss of coming to your hand. On Friday last I marched out with about an hundred and twenty men, to search for Philip and squaw sachem; and as we were marching, we saw two Indians, one was shot down, the other fled; and before we killed him, he declared, by pointing, whereabouts the squaw sachem was, and whereabouts Philip was; so we marched to find out the squaw sachem; and in our travel were fired upon out of the bushes, and in and out of swamps were fired at, and we had a hot dispute, especially when we were to go near to a swamp; in which skirmish we came to the place of rendezvous, but squaw and children fled. We have lost two men, and four more wounded. On Monday following we went to see if we could discover Philip; the Bay forces being now with us; and in our march, two miles before we came to the place of rendezvous, the captain of the *Forlorn* was shot down dead; three more were then killed or died that night, and five or six more dangerously wounded. The place we found was a hideous dismal swamp; the house or shelter, they had to lodge in, contained, in space, the quantity of four acres of ground, standing thick together; but all women and children fled, only one old man, that we took there, who said, *Wittoma* was there that day, and that Philip had

or dastardly spirit." Upon the breaking out of Philip's war, he had the command of the Plymouth forces on the first expedition into the enemy's country, and conducted with approved bravery and discretion. His letter of July, 1675, was written while on that expedition.

been there the day before, and that Philip's place of residence was about half a mile off; which we could make no discovery of, because the day was spent, and we having dead men and wounded men to draw off. Also the old man told me, that in the skirmish we had with him on Friday, that we killed seven men, and hurt and wounded divers others. Now so it is, that we judge it not our work to assault him at such disadvantages; for the issue of such a design will be to pick off our men, and we shall never be able to obtain our end in this way, for they fly before us, from one swamp to another. Now that which we consider to be best, is to maintain our garrison, though but with twenty men, and that there be another garrison at *Pocassett*; and to have a flying army, to be in motion to keep the Indians from destroying our cattle, and fetching in supply of food; which being attended, will bring them to great straights; and therefore we judge it best not to give up our garrison until further order; and we see a necessity, that divers of our men should come home, being tired and worn out by labour and travel, by wants and straights; for indeed we have been sadly on it, upon account of provision; and unless some more effectual course may be taken for the future, there is no possibility for men to hold out; so that we judge an hundred men, at least, must be for the garrison and army; and we judge a flying army about the town, that may be helpful to get in men's harvests, and so to fly from one town to another, whose constant motion will keep the enemy in fear.

How these will come to be provided for, I cannot yet see. Pray let us hear from you, and be further ordered by you what to do; not intending to break up, or come away, until things be brought, by order from you, to better settlement. So craving pardon, ever resting yours to serve you,

JAMES CUDWORTH.

LETTER FROM JOHN EASTON TO GOVERNOR JOSIAH
WINSLOW OF PLYMOUTH COLONY.

NINEGRETT,* one of the two chief sachems of the Narragansets in our colony, importuned me thus to write to you, that, as he saith, it is the Indian custom or law, that when any sachem's men are driven and cast ashore, or their goods, upon any other sachem's jurisdiction, or taken up by any other sachem's men, that the goods are to be restored to the sachems whose men they were; and this spring, twelve Indians, at a time, were drowned in the sea, coming from an island, and some of their goods drove up in your jurisdiction at Dartmouth; and he desireth you to inform those Indians, that they should restore to him all the goods of those drowned that they have got. No more to trouble you, desiring as we are, so to behave ourselves, your loving neighbours and friends, Englishmen. I was desired by our court thus to write to thee.

I have not been negligent, but have not as yet had opportunity to do any thing concerning thy respectful letter to me, wherein thou mentioneth John Smith; but think I shall suddenly have opportunity, and give thee account of what I have done. Thy friend,

JOHN EASTON.

Rhode-Island, 14th 3d month, 1675.

They would have this open, that they might shew what course they were taking.

LETTER FROM NATHANIEL THOMAS, ON THE EXPEDITION
AGAINST PHILIP, TO GOVERNOR WINSLOW.

Swansey, June 25, 1675.

RIGHT HONOURED SIR,

A PARTICULAR account of our arrival here, and the sad providence that yesterday fell out at *Matta-*

* *Ninegrett* was sachem of the Nyanticks, and uniformly adhered to the English. *Callender*, in his century sermon, observes, that part of this tribe were then remaining, while no traces were left of the Narragansets, Pequods, &c.

poise,* of the loss of six men, without doubt, you have from our general, which may, I desire, be an inducement to you to strengthen our towns, that are weakened by our departure ; since the Indians do their exploits on out-houses and straggling persons. It is reported, credibly, that *Uncas* sent *Philip* twenty men last Saturday was se'n-night ; and sent him word, that if he sent him six English heads, all the Indians in the country were engaged against the English.

Sir, our men are all well and cheerful, through God's mercy. Send not your southward men to us, but secure yourselves with them, and send us help from the Massachusetts, which is our general's and council's advice.

The forces here are dispersed to several places of the town, and some to Rehoboth, which this day we intend to draw into a narrower compass ; which, when we have done, we intend to lay ambushment in the Indians' walks, to cut off their men, as they do to cut off our men ; for their present motion is to send forth scouts to lie in our walks, to make discovery, and cut off our men.

I pray, sir, remember me to my wife, and bid her be of good cheer ; the Lord is our keeper. Our soldiers here desire to be remembered to their wives and friends. William Ford is well of his ague. Thus desiring your honour's and all people's prayers for us, I remain

your honour's servant,

NATHANIEL THOMAS.

For the Right Honourable
JOSIAH WINSLOW, Esq.
Governor of Plymouth
colony.

A LETTER FROM SECRETARY RAWSON TO GOVERNOR WINSLOW, TO BE COMMUNICATED TO THE COUNCIL.

GENTLEMEN,

AFTER many agitations and considerations of our present state, in reference to the late and present actings

* In Swanzeey. There is another place of the same name in Rochester.

of the Dutch in the sound, and in confidence and assurance of your compliance with us, according to our articles, and your late invitations and encouragements, our General Court have ordered two vessels to be forthwith equipped as men of war, to secure the passage through the sound, and to repress the present insolency of the Dutch; for the preservation of the honour and reputation of our nation, and the assurance and encouragement of our friends and allies; not doubting but a few days will furnish us with such intelligence as may direct our future counsels and actings; which we shall, with all diligence, impart unto you. We are now endeavouring, with all expedition, to put the General Court's order in execution; and we doubt not but before, or soon after these come to your hands, you will be satisfied of the well accomplishment thereof. Commending this affair, yourselves, and all counsels thereabouts, to the special guidance and blessing of the Almighty, we remain,

Gentlemen, by order of the government and council of the Massachusetts, in New-England, your assured loving friends and confederates,

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

Boston, 14th March, 1673-4.

P. S. Sir, I thought it not amiss to inform you, our General Court have ordered and appointed the 26th inst. to be kept as a day of humiliation throughout our colony, to humble our souls before heaven, in the sense of our being exercised with various difficulties and trials, particularly the breaking forth of notorious and scandalous sins among us; many persons straightened with respect to scarcity of grain and provisions, and danger of war threatening us; the condition of our native country and the people of God elsewhere in Europe, respecting war and other troubles, and to seek the Lord's special favour and blessing on the country, endeavours and labours of the people the year ensuing. Nought else but my service to you. Subscribe, your humble servant,

EDWARD RAWSON, *Sec.*

LETTER FROM GOV. LEVERETT TO GOV. WINSLOW.

Boston, 26th March, 1676.

HONOURED SIR,

UPON the intelligence, just now come to my hand, by the way of Wrentham, that this morning Capt. Peirce, with his company, were cut off by the enemy, within eight miles of Woodcock's, only three men escaping to Woodcock's house, and some Indians; the report is, the enemy was about a thousand; and questioning whether you might have an account thereof by any other hand, I judged it convenient to signify the same unto you, desiring the good presence of the Lord to be with you, and direct you in your counsels and enterprises.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

JOHN LEVERETT.*

The towns are so drained of men, we are not able to send out any more.

LETTER FROM EDWARD PALMER TO GOVERNOR JOSIAH WINSLOW.

New-London, January 16, 1675.

MUCH HONOURED SIR,

THESE serve chiefly for cover to the inclosed; wherein are several letters to your honour, and sundry for Boston, wherein your honour's care is requested in forwarding them by the first conveyance; some of them being for the commissioners, and others for the governor and council. Sir, the council at Connecticut have granted a liberty to myself for the furnishing Massachusetts

* Captain Peirce was of *Scituate*. His company consisted of fifty English, and twenty friendly Indians from *Cape Cod*. All the English, says *Hubbard*, and the greater part of the Indians, were killed. It was afterwards reported, by captives, that 140 of the enemy were killed in the desperate defence made by this brave company. *Hubbard* relates several ingenious stratagems, by which some of the Indians of Capt. Peirce's company preserved their lives. He compares Capt. Peirce to "*Sampson*, who was content to die with his enemies, that he might overthrow them thereby."

Woolcock's was about 27 miles from Dedham, near Pawtucket river.

forces, under your command, with what provisions I am capable of procuring; which will be chiefly beef, some pork and pease, and some small quantity of biscuit, as the weather will give leave for grinding, and the necessity of our soldiers permit the baking of; there being only one bake-house in these parts, and hitherto the mills froze, which have necessitated most families to make use of samp. I have wrote to Mr. Wharton at Boston, to inform the council there, of the liberty granted by ours; also what quantity I am capable of furnishing, and on what terms; upon the return of which, (or order from your honour) I shall dispatch what can be got ready.— Sir, I came yesterday from Hartford, where the council are hastening away their forces to your supply. Major Treat being gone to Milford, but expected there yesterday, that I fear they cannot be with you by the time prefixed, by order of the commissioners. I presume it would not be amiss that your honour's order lay ready, at Stonington, for expediting their march to your head quarters, supposing it will be Thursday or Friday before they can get thither. With my most humble service to your honour, respects to the gentlemen with you, I am,
honoured Sir, your humble servant,

EDWARD PALMER.

I perceive it would prove very grateful to our gentlemen, if an honourable peace might be made with the Indians; for our soldiers are more hardly drawn from home than formerly. The number now raised is 150.

To the Right Honourable his Excellency
JOSIAH WINSLOW, captain-general of
his majesty's forces of the united colonies of New-England, these, at Narraganset, humbly present.*

* In the winter of 1675-6, Gov. Josiah Winslow marched with a thousand men into the Narraganset country, on an expedition against the Indians. On the 19th December, after a cold and fatiguing march through the snow, he made an attack upon a large body of Indians, who had sheltered themselves in a fort situated in a swamp. General Winslow, with his brave troops, obtained a decisive, but dear-bought victory. Six captains were killed, Davenport, Gardner, and Johnson, of Massachusetts; Gallop, Siely, and Marshall, of Connecticut. Eighty privates were killed, and one hundred and fifty wounded. The General received the above letter while on that expedition.

LETTER FROM JOHN FREEMAN* TO GOV. WINSLOW.

HONOURED GOVERNOR,

WE are a distressed people. We hear nothing since from the army. We find the enemy is dispersed through the wilderness; they are, as we judge, round about us. This morning, three of our men are slain, close by one of our courts of guard; houses burnt in our sight; our men being so picked off out of every bush and so few of them, dare not issue out, I have sent to governor Leverett for forty or fifty men and arms. We are forced to keep our courts of guard, and we are not capable to withstand the enemy, though we see houses burning before our eyes. I pray send some arms to us, if you can, and some to our southern towns. *Eastham* hath, as I think, not twenty good arms in it. I pray give them instruction how to manage things for their security, for they much want help. We expect this night to be further surprised by the enemy. We see their design is not to face the army; but to keep a flying army about the woods, to fall on us and our army, as they have advantage. I judge there should be what Indians may be engaged in the quarrel for us, which must hunt them out for us, or else our English will be disheartened to travel about in the woods, and get nothing but a clap with a bullet out of every bush. The Lord humble us for our sins, which are the procuring causes of God's judgments, and remember mercy, and bestow it on us, is the prayer of your unworthy servant,

JOHN FREEMAN.

Taunton, the 3d of the 4th month, 1675.

P. S. I have received yours this instant, with much thankfulness, hoping we shall improve your instructions.

The men that were slain, were John Tisdill, senior, of Taunton, John Knolles, and Samuel Atkins, of Eastham. John Tisdill's house burned, and James Walker's, as we judge.

* Supposed to have been one of the council of war.

RETURN OF LOSS, IN SCITUATE, IN PHILIP'S WAR.

To the Honoured Governor Josiah Winslow, at his house in Marshfield, this deliver with speed.

HONOURED SIR,

WE, whose names are hereunto subscribed, received your order, bearing date the 16th February, 1676; wherein you desire us to send you a list of the names of all such persons, inhabitants or strangers, of what persuasion soever, with what losses they have sustained in their persons or estates, and are in distress; which accordingly we have here done, according to our ability,

ISAAC BUCK, sen.	} Selectmen.
JEREMIAH HATCH,	
JOHN CUSHIN,	

Scituate, the 26th of January, 1676.

“ In Scituate, thirteen dwelling-houses burned, to which there also appertained barns; and one saw-mill. Six heads of families killed, besides many others killed and made cripples; and four families of the eastern people, that have been great sufferers. In all, thirty-two families, wherein are about one hundred and thirty-two persons.”

Note. Here follow the names of the sufferers and the particular items of their losses.

The highest estimate of a house and barn is £.80.

The lowest estimate of ditto, £.35.

EDWARD RANDOLPH'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR JOSIAH WINSLOW, RELATIVE TO HIS PROCEEDINGS AT PISCATAQUA.

Boston, January 29, 1679.

HONOURED SIR,

I AM NOW returned from Piscataqua, having stayed there from the 27th of December last, to the 22d of this instant; and all little enough to get that part of the country to accept of his majesty's authority; which proved the more difficult, in regard that several of the new council

were obliged, either by their possessing great tracts of land from Mr. Mason, or by being sworn to the government of Boston. At first, only Mr. Cutts, president, and another, accepted, and would proceed ; whose resolute instructions brought in the other five, viz. Martin, Vaughan, Danniell, Hussey, and Waldern, very much against the expectation of his party here in this town. This very much startles the government here, who next week have a General Court, which is the reason why I do not wait on you, as I designed, at my return. My letter is pregnant with various news ; all which will be useful or welcome. The inclosed, from Crown, came to my hands at Piscataqua : by that you will easily see a necessity of speeding for court. I did not forget to signify your grateful receipt of his majesty's letters ; and being indisposed, you desired that nothing might be done about Mount-Hope, till somebody did appear from your colony. Sir, be assured Mr. Crown will be doing, and his interest at Court is not small ; and considering the necessity there is of renewing your charter, you can never do your colony greater service, than to appear yourself at Whitehall, where you will very well stem his designs. I am received at Boston more like a spy, than one of his Majesty's servants. They kept a day of thanks for the return of their agents ; but have prepared a welcome for me, by a paper of scandalous verses, all persons taking liberty to abuse me in their discourses, of which I take the more notice, because it so much reflects upon my master, who will not forget it. I know not yet but I may wait upon you to England, intending to be where I may be most serviceable to his majesty's affairs, and assistant to the people of this country. I received, in a letter from Mr. Mason, the following news, that the Parliament was prorogued till the 26th of this instant, January ; that the duke and dutchess of York, with their children, were returned from Flanders, not to go back again ; some say, with instructions to keep his court at Edinburgh or York. Likewise that the difference is reconciled betwixt him and the duke of Monmouth, who is sent for out of Holland. That his majesty and the duke of York received an invitation to dinner, made by the lieutenancy of the city, who came in

a great body to Whitehall ; the lord-mayor being their mouth, made a very acceptable speech to the king and duke. So that, God assisting, all things look very pleasing at home. Your friends are all well at Salem ; where, once a day, we solemnly remembered yourself and lady. I intend, upon the first vacancy, to wait upon you, having more to communicate than is, at this time, fit to trust to paper. I only add my humble thanks for all and last favours. Your neighbour was too quick for me. I expected him the next morning to carry a letter, and receive a further token of his kindness, which must be deferred till next meeting. Wishing you all health and happiness, I remain, Sir, your assured friend and humble servant,

EDWARD RANDOLPH.

“SACHEM PHILIP, HIS ANSWER TO THE LETTER BROUGHT TO HIM FROM THE GOVERNOR OF NEW-PLYMOUTH.”

FIRST. Declaring his thankfulness to the governor for his great respects and kindness manifested in the letter.

Secondly. Manifesting his readiness to lay down their arms, and send his people about their usual business and employments ; as also his great desire of concluding of peace with neighbouring English.

Thirdly. Inasmuch as great fears and jealousies hath been raised in their minds by several persons, which now they better understand the falsity of such reports, as hath formerly been conveyed unto them, Philip doth humbly request the governor will please favourably to excuse and acquit them from any payment of damage, or surrendering their arms, they not apprehending themselves blameworthy in these late rumours.

Fourthly. They are not at present, free to promise to appear at court, hoping there will be no necessity of it, in case their freedom for peace, and readiness to lay down arms, may be accepted ; as also suggestions of great danger that will befall them, in case they there appear, with harsh threats to the sachem, that may be considered.

Per me,

SAMUEL GORTON, jun.

EDWARD RAWSON'S LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR OF
NEW-PLYMOUTH, SOLICITING AID FOR THE COLLEGE
AT CAMBRIDGE.

*To the Honourable THOMAS PRINCE, Esquire, Governor
of the colony of New-Plymouth ; and by him to be commu-
nicated to the Council there.*

MUCH HONOURED GENTLEMEN,

THAT there hath been lately carrying on amongst us, in this colony, a public and solemn motion with reference to the college at Cambridge, we doubt not but is already come to your notice. The more particular nature and design thereof, together with the grounds and occasions leading us at this time thereunto, will something further appear to you from the inclosed. We cannot but judge, that we should not only be wanting greatly unto so seasonable and necessary a work, but also unto our hearty and unfeigned respect to you, our neighbours and friends, if we should not invite you to joia your helping hands, and offer you a share therein with ourselves. How far this nursery of learning hath, from the first, been a signal honour and repute, unto all those our New-England plantations, above others of our nation in these western parts of the world ; how far the glory of God, the interest of religion, the future weal, supply, and propagation of these churches of Christ, stands concerned therein, we need not, especially unto yourselves, with many words to insist on. By a former opportunity we wrote to several eminent persons in England, such as have, some of them, given some lift to this motion, and whom we judged most able and likely to promote encouragement to such works from thence, both by gaining the contributions of pious and nobly disposed persons, and also by their advising and helping in the procurement of a fit person to succeed in the presidentship, then likely to be to me, and now, by the late providence of God, being, actually vacant. By the speedy return of the much honoured Mr. Richard Saltonstall, we have now another opportunity of engaging and betrusting him also in this af-

fair, one of the college's most considerable benefactors, and above many, naturally caring for the good and prosperity thereof. That which hath been already subscribed, and in part collected in our several plantations here, is so considerable, that we cannot but own the enlargement of the hearts and hands of so many people, unto his service, as a signal token of favour from God, and a gracious smile of his providence thereon. Some preparations towards this work, we purpose speedily to set forward; but it will require some considerable time before it can be brought to perfection; so that there will be opportunity enough for all such, as have not yet engaged, to come in, with their offerings of bounty thereunto. This, therefore, is, at this time, our business and request unto you, honoured gentlemen, that you will be pleased to take this weighty matter into serious consideration amongst you, also in your colony, and in what way your wisdoms shall judge most meet, and the Lord shall guide unto, to stir up the well-disposed, under your government, to renew and revive the expressions of their good-will and beneficence to so worthy a work, and of joint concernment to us all. If there be any thing, wherein you may think good to give us your advice, or wherein, you desire information from us, for your further satisfaction in any matter relating to the premises, we shall be most ready, at all times, to attend you therein. We have no further to add at present, but our presenting our due respects to you, and commending you to the blessing of God's rich grace, in this and all other undertakings; remaining, gentlemen,

your assured loving friends and servants,

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

In the name, and by order of the governor
and council of the Massachusetts.

Boston, 12th March, 1671-2.

LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS
GENERAL COURT TO WILLIAM BOLLAN, THEIR AGENT
AT THE COURT OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

In Council, 2d September, 1756.

ORDERED, that John Osborne, Andrew Oliver, and Thomas Hutchinson, Esquires, with such as the honourable House shall appoint, be a committee to prepare instructions to Mr. Agent Bollan, to make humble and earnest application to his majesty for relief from the grievous burden the province is under from the impressing of seamen, fishermen, and others, for the manning of his majesty's ships of war; and the committee are to prepare proper evidence of the late impress from the fishing vessels on the banks, and transmit the same.

Sent down for concurrence.

THOMAS CLARKE, deputy secretary.

In the house of representatives, September 2, 1756.
Read and concurred; and Mr. Speaker, colonel Hale, judge Russell and major Read, are joined in the affair.

T. HUBBARD, speaker.

The committee, for the purpose within mentioned, have prepared a letter to Mr. Agent Bollan, which is herewith humbly presented.

JOHN OSBORNE, per order.

Copy attest.

THOMAS CLARKE, deputy secretary.

SIR,

THE people of this province, during the whole of the last war, laboured under a grievous burden from the impressing of seamen to serve on board his majesty's ships. Not only vessels trading to foreign ports, but coasting vessels, on which our seaport towns depend for their provisions and fuel, were deprived of their hands, and the inhabitants were divers times taken out of small boats in the harbours; and attempts also were made for taking men on shore, which occasioned great disturbances and

confusion, and two persons, who fled to avoid the impress, were barbarously murdered in the town of Boston. We are again brought under the calamity of war, and have already felt a considerable degree of the burden, which we were formerly under ; and not only his majesty's ship stationed in this province, but the ships at Halifax, endeavour to supply their deficiency of men here ; so that great part of the spring and summer past, all inward bound vessels have had their crews impressed ; some have been taken out of our coasting vessels and wood boats ; though that has not been done in many instances, but yet there has been sufficient to terrify the coasters, and to prevent their following their employ. But there has something occurred, the summer past, altogether unprecedented : several of our fishermen have had one or more of their hands impressed while on the banks, or in the prosecution of their voyage. If this practice be tolerated, there is an end to our fishery, the most profitable branch of our business, not only to the province itself, but also to our mother country, as the proceeds of by far the greatest part of the fish, that is caught, centers there. It is said, that this has been done to punish the province for the doings of one of the inhabitants, a merchant, who brought an action of trespass against two seamen, or petty officers, of the *Hornet* sloop, for being concerned in impressing all his vessel's crew, which, in her passage from the Bay of Honduras to Holland, put in here to stop her leaks. Such an arbitrary, unreasonable conduct can have no good tendency, but must prejudice the minds of the inhabitants of the province against the officers of the navy, and be detrimental to his majesty's service. You will have some depositions inclosed, to prove the facts, although it is not improbable a boast may be made of them by those concerned, and that you will have no occasion for evidence.

It seems as reasonable that the northern colonies should be freed from this hardship of impresses, as that the West-India islands should be so ; whether this is a convenient time to make an application for it, you can best judge on the spot ; but this must be allowed to be reasonable at all times, that the burden of manning his majesty's ships should not lie upon one colony alone ; but if it must

lie upon any, that every one should take a proportionable share. Instead of that, we hear of no impresses any where but in the Massachusetts; the consequence is, that our seamen go away, in great numbers, to Rhode-Island and New-York; and by this means, they are in a capacity there, to fit out many privateers, while the persons in trade here, are obliged to let their merchantmen lie still for want of hands. The two houses think it necessary to give you this instruction, viz. that if you shall not think it convenient, at this juncture, to apply for a prohibition of all impresses of seamen in any of the colonies, yet that you should immediately make application, that all the commanders of his majesty's ships, which may be sent into these seas, may be ordered to impress no more in proportion from this province, than from the colonies of Rhode-Island, New-York, or Pennsylvania; the least of which have more seamen employed in their capital towns, than there are in the town of Boston, (such has been the declension of the trade of that town) and that, upon no account whatsoever, any of our coasters or fishermen should ever be interrupted in their voyages, by having any of their hands taken from them. The taking our inhabitants, passing from one town to another, or crossing our rivers or harbours in lighters, or other boats, is so extravagant a thing, that we are well assured no commander could ever answer it. It is absurd to suppose, that the inhabitants should have this privilege by charter, that even the king's governor cannot carry a man of them out of the province without the consent of the assembly, and yet that they must lie at the mercy of every commander in the navy; but such a wanton use has sometimes been made of their power, that it seems necessary there should be some express injunction to them on this head also.

This province has ever been forward in promoting measures for his majesty's service; they have done to the utmost of their abilities, and have been impoverishing themselves for the common benefit. It is hoped, therefore, that no construction to their disadvantage will be made of this application; their disposition to promote the same service is not lessened, but their ability is, and they need encouragement in every way that is possible. I write this

by the special direction of the council and house of representatives ; and am,

Sir, your humble servant.

In council, 11th September, 1756. Read, and ordered that the secretary sign a fair draught of this letter to Mr. Agent Bollan, in the name of the two houses.

Sent down for concurrence.

THOMAS CLARKE, dep. secr'y.

In the house of representatives, September 11, 1756.—
Read and concurred. T. HUBBARD, speaker.

LETTER FROM LEONARD HOAR, M. D. TO JOSIAH FLINT.*

March 27, 1661.

COUSIN JOSIAH FLINT,

YOUR first, second, and third, are before me, in answer to one of mine to you the last year ; the which you esteemed somewhat sharp ; but I thought, and still do fear, that it was scarce so much as was needful ; and I am sure yourself would be of the same mind, if, with me, you knew the unutterable misery, and irreparable mischief, that follows upon the mispense of those halcyon days, which you do yet enjoy. The which letter, whilst you fence withal in your first ; by those seven or eight thin-

* Mr. Hoar was educated at Harvard College, and received his bachelor's degree, A. D. 1650. He went to England in 1653, and took the degree of Doctor in Medicine at Cambridge University. He was elected president of Harvard College in 1672, and resigned March 15, 1674-5. "The students," says Hutchinson, "were too much indulged in their prejudices against him, and he was obliged to resign."—He died soon after his resignation, 1675, and was buried at Braintree, where a monument was erected to his memory by his widow, who survived him many years, and who was a lady of rank in England, of the family of Lisle. The above letter was written while Mr. Hoar was in England. Josiah Flint was, at that time, freshman at College. He was afterwards minister at Dorchester. Hutchinson gives an extract from his diary under the year 1670, vol. i. p. 249. He died in 1680, aged thirty-five. From his tender years, being only fifteen when this letter was addressed to him, it may be supposed that there were some youthful foibles to be corrected ; but it is probable, that the severity of his uncle's temper prompted to a keenness of reprimand, in the beginning of the letter, greater than was necessary. In Mr. Flint's epitaph, he is characterized as a man of great piety and worth.

skulled-paper-put-bys, and as many empty excuses, you did but lay more open your own blame-worthiness, and augment my grief, instead of giving me satisfaction.

But your two latter epistles are better, containing some acknowledgment of those grand defects, discerned in you, and those errors committed by you ; together with your promises of reparation and amendment, by redoubling your diligence in your studies for the time to come. Only remember to do what you have promised, and I thereupon have believed ; that I may see some testimonies of it in all your succeeding letters ; and also hear it testified by others, that shall write to me concerning you.—By all things that you can either revere or desire, I adjure you, that you do not emulate those unhappy youths, that reckon it a high point of their wisdom to elude the expectations of their friends, for a little while ; whereby they indeed not only delude, but destroy themselves for ever.

Your account of the course of your studies, as now ordered, under the worthy Mr. Chauncy, is far short of my desire ; for its only of what you were then about ; whereas it should have been a delineation of your whole method and authors, from your matriculation till commencement. Therefore I can still touch but upon a few generals for your direction. The first is this, that you would not content yourself with doing that only, which you are tasked to ; nor to do that merely as much as needs must, and is expected of you ; but daily something more than your task : and that task, also, something better than ordinary. Thus, when the classes study only logick or nature, you may spend some one or two spare hours in languages, rhetorick, history, or mathematics, or the like. And when they recite only the text of an author, read you some other of the same subject, or some commentator upon it, at the same time. Also, in your accustomed disputations, do not satisfy yourself only to thieve an argument, but study the question before hand, and, if possible, draw, in a book on purpose, a summary of the arguments and answer on all hands ; unto which you may briefly subjoin any thing choice and accurate, which you have heard in the hall, upon the debate of it in public.

Nextly. As you must read much, that your head may be stored with notion, so you must be free and much in all kinds of discourse of what you read, that your tongue may be apt to a good expression of what you do understand. And further ; of most things you must write too ; whereby you may render yourself exact in judging of what you hear or read ; and faithful in remembering of what you once have known. Touching your writing ; take a few hints of many, which I had thought to have given you. First, let it not be in loose papers ; for it will prove, for the most part, lost labour. Secondly, nor in a fortuitous vagrant way ; but in distinct books, designed for every several purpose, and the heads of all, wrote aforehand, in every page, with intermediate spaces left (as well as you can guess) proportionable to the matter they are like to contain. Third, let all those heads be in the method of the incomparable P. Ramus, as to every art which he hath wrote upon. Get his definitions and distributions into your mind and memory. Let these be the titles of your several pages and repositories in the books aforesaid. He that is ready in these of P. Ramus, may refer all things to them. And he may know where again to fetch any thing, that he hath judiciously referred ; for there is not one axiom of truth ever uttered, that doth not fall under some special rule of art.

The gen'g.* on any page, you may (having paged your book beforehand) by a figure set before it, direct from what page it came ; and the species thereof, one or more, which, for method and understanding sake, shall be set down under it, but not handled there : you may, by figures after them, direct to the several pages that are made the repositories for the matters referable to each of them ; and so need no confused alphabetical indices.

Mr. Alexander Richardson's tables would be as an Ariadne's thread to you in this labyrinth, which, with other of his manuscripts in logic, physic, and theology, by transcribing, have been continued in your college, ever since the foundation thereof, among most that were reckoned students indeed. And if you have now lost them, I know

* It is not known what was intended, by the writer, by this abbreviation ; probably "generating."

no way to recover them but of some that were of that society in former times. I suppose Mr. Danforth, Mr. Mitchell, and others, have them. Mr. Hancock, a quondam pupil of Mr. Chauncy's, hath his divinity. But in the utter defect of this, you may make use of the grand Mr. Ramus, in grammar, rhetoric, logic, (the mathematics must be left to your industry and memory, unless it should be some practical branches of it, of which you may take short notes) and then for theology, (which you may yet let alone) you have Dr. Ames's *Medulla*. Of this theme I shall be larger, when you shall give me encouragement threunto, by attending to what I have written on the rest foregoing.

Fourthly—As to the authors you should distil into your paper books in general ; let them not be such as are already methodical, concise, and pithy as possible ; for it would we but to transcribe them, which is very tedious and uncouth : rather keep such books by you, for immediate perusal. But let them be such as are voluminous, intricate, and more jejune ; or else those tractabuli, that touch only on some smaller tendrils of any science ; especially, if they be books that you do only borrow, or hire, to read. By this mean I have kept my library in a little compass, (scarce yet having more books than myself can carry in my arms at once, my paper books only excepted) and yet I have not quite lost any thing, that did occur in my multifarious wandering readings. Were a man sure of a stable abode in a place for the whole time of his life, and had an estate also to expend, then, indeed, the books themselves in specie were the better way, and only an index to be made of them all. But this was not like to be, nor hath been my condition ; and it may be, may not be yours. Wherefore, though it be somewhat laborious, yet be not discouraged in prosecuting it. It is the surest way, and most ready for use, in all places and times, yielding the greatest evidences of your growth in knowledge, and therefore, also the greatest delight. It comprehends the other way of an index too. If for the books you read, you keep a catalogue of their names, authors, scope, and manner of handling, and edition, and so for every several tract, you devise a certain mark, by which you may briefly

quote the author, from whence you had these collected notes, and refer to him for more ample satisfaction in any article ; whereas it shall be too tedious to transcribe him word for word.

Fifthly—For books into which you should thus hoard your store, take at present only some quires of paper, stitched together, which you may increase or subtract from, as you shall see occasion upon experience ; only let them that concern one thing be all culled after one fashion ; and let them be sewed and written so, as that afterwards they may be bound into one volume, in case that you should never have time to digest them again into more handsome order ; at least no further than a succinct epitome, or synopsis.

Sixthly—One paper book more add, of the names of all philosophical authors, and divines, of ordinary note ; of all the several sects, in the schools and in the church ; of all the nations famed in the world ; of all, and singular, the most mysterious arts and sciences ; and of them all, write a Latin alphabetical index, which, by figures, shall direct to the several pages in a book, where you have noted, or will note, the characters, commendations, and censures, which any of them do give of other, and some of the characteristic differences, by which they were known ; the time of their rise, their progress, subdivisions, and several ends. I mean such fragments as shall occur, of these things, to you by the by, in your reading, and would for most part be lost, if not thus laid up. As for the full history of them, wherever that is found, transcribe nothing out of it, for it is too laborious and endless, but only refer to it. Much less do you do offer to gather any thing out of the works of authors, who have written volumes to this very purpose ; such as are Posswine, Sexby, Senensis, Gesner, Draudig, and the like. The great use of this, is to preserve these fragments that yourself shall find in your studies, and could not be otherwise referred. Likewise, that you may know, and compare their thoughts of each other, especially the moderns ; and that accordingly, you may be directed and cautioned in the perusal of any of them. Finally, that you may have of your own store those characters and lineaments by which

you may presently pencil any of them at pleasure, and this not as usually, upon prejudice and peradventures ; but the testimonies of some or other that you may also produce ; for always be sure in this, that you note down the author whenever you excepted any thing of this nature. But this you will judge so vast as never to be accomplished, and therefore vain to be attempted, you never having heard the names of one tenth of those things and persons that I have proposed ; so that you know not how so much as to begin this platform. I answer, that for the progress or completing of this work, you need not take care. Let it but grow as your studies grow ; you need never seek any thing on purpose to put into this book, and for the entrance I shall show it easy. For if you take but one quire of paper, and divide the first two sheets into twenty-four narrow columns, and every page of the rest into two, which also must be paged ; then mark the narrow columns each with one letter of the alphabet, and it is ready for use. For it is but to write the name of such place or person, that next occurs, into your index, with the figures at it, and again that name, with what is there said of it, in your first page of the quire, with the author whence you had it, and it is done ; and the like of the second in the second. When the index shall grow full, it is but to write it over again, leaving larger spaces where needed ; and when that quire shall grow full, it is but to take another, and carry on the same columns and numbers ; and when they grow to be five or six quires to this one index ; why then, if that or any name swell so big for its column, it is but to refer it to some other column further forwards. On the contrary, if any others have not, nor are not like to yield any thing much upon them, when more titles occur, it is but to crowd those into them, referring them also, as the former, by the index and its figures. Thus I think I have made it facile and plain enough ; and believe me, you will find it, beyond your estimation, both pleasant and profitable.

Seventhly—One more quire you may take, and rule each leaf into four columns, and therein note, also alphabetically, all those curious criticisms, etymologies, and derivations, that you shall meet withal in the English, Latin,

Greek, and Hebrew tongues. I still mean, by the by, while you are seeking other matters ; not which you may gather out of vocabularies and critics, that have purposely written on such subjects, for that were but *actum agere*.

Eighthly—Be forward and frequent in the use of all those things which you have read, and which you have collected ; judiciously moulding them up with others of your own fancy and memory, according to the proposed occasions ; whether it be in the penning of epistles, orations, theses or antitheses, or determinations upon a question, analysis of any part of an author, or imitations of him, *per modum geneseos*. For so much only have you profited in your studies, as you are able to do these.—And all the contemplations and collections, in the world, will but only fit you for these. It is practice, and only your own practice, that will be able to perfect you. My charge of your choice of company, I need not inculcate ; nor I hope that for your constant use of the Latin tongue in all your converse together, and that in the purest phrase of Terence and Erasmus. Music I had almost forgot. I suspect you seek it both too soon and too much. This be assured of, that if you be not excellent at it, it is nothing at all ; and if you be excellent, it will take up so much of your time and mind, that you will be worth little else. And when all that excellence is attained, your acqurest will prove little or nothing of real profit to you, unless you intend to take up the trade of fiddling. Howbeit, hearing your mother's desires were for it, for your sisters, for whom it is more proper, and they also have more leisure to look after it ; for them, I say, I had prepared the instruments desired, but I cannot now attend the sending them, being hurrying away from London by the unexpected providence of your uncle Daniel's sickness, which, with some other circumstances, do not a little distress me.

My deservedly honoured friend and colleague, Mr. Stoughton, is a coming over. He hath promised me to do you any civil courtesy, either for advice or loan of a book, or the like. Therefore, to him I wish you modestly to apply yourself, and hearken to ; whom, as I am

sure you will find able, so I am persuaded that you will find both free and faithful, to assist you as is meet.

I shall add but one thing more, for a conclusion ; but that the crown and perfection of all the rest, which only can make your endeavours successful and your end blessed. And that is something of the daily practice of piety, and the study of the true and highest wisdom. And for God's sake, and your own both present and eternal welfare's sake, let me not only intreat, but enjoin and obtain of you that you do not neglect it : no, not a day. For it must be constancy, constancy, as well as labour, that completes any such work. And if you will take me for an admonitor, do it thus : Read every morning a chapter in the old testament, and every evening, one in the new, using yourself as much as you can to one edition of the bible. And as you read, note lightly with your pen in the margin the several places of remark, with several marks. Those I use are ; for such as have any thing in them new to me, notable and evident, this sign' ; for those that are obscure and worthy to consult an interpreter upon, this ` ; for those that are seemingly contradictory to some others, this + ; for those that must be compared with others, this > ; for those golden sayings that are full of the soul and power of the gospel, worthy of highest consideration and admiration, this ∞. And if any three or four or ten verses together be of like import, I upon the first of them set down the proper mark, and double it, as ", `", &c.

Secondly—Out of these latter most eminent sentences cull one or two for to expatiate upon in your own thoughts, half a quarter of an hour, by way of meditation. There use your rhetorick, your utmost ratiocination, or rather indeed your sanctified affections, love, faith, fear, hope, joy, &c. For your direction and encouragement in this exercise, you may read the practice of Augustine, Bernard, or Gerard ; or of more modern worthies, J. Ambrose, R. Baxter, B. Hall, or W. Watson, as to the theoretical part.

Third and lastly—Those two being premised, close with prayer ; for this I prescribe, not whether it should be lingual or mental, longer or briefer, only let it, as well as its two preparatives, be most solemn and secret, and, as it is

said of Hannah, the speech of your heart. The barrenest ground, and with but mean tillage, being thus watered with these dews of heaven, will bring forth abundantly; and that, the most excellent fruits. Do but seriously try these three last things for some good while; and reckon me a liar in all the rest, if you find not their most sensible sweet effects, yea, as that christian Seneca, Bishop Hall, said before me, so I boldly say again, do you curse me from your death-bed, if you do not reckon these among your best spent hours.

Touching the other items about your studies, either mind them or mend them and follow better. So we shall be friends and rejoice in each other; but if you will neither, then, though I am no prophet, yet I will foretel you the certain issue of all, viz. that in a very few years be over, with inconceivable indignation you will call yourself fool and caitiff; and then, when it is to no purpose, me, what I now subscribe myself, your faithful friend and loving uncle,

LEON. HOAR.

SOME MEMOIRS FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES OF THE NEW-ENGLISH COLONIES, FROM THE BARBAROUS AND PERFIDIOUS INDIANS, INSTIGATED BY THE MORE SAVAGE AND INHUMAN FRENCH OF CANADA AND NOVA-SCOTIA. BEGAN NOVEMBER 3, 1726. BY BENJAMIN COLMAN, D. D.

IT was at Falmouth, in Casco-Bay, August the 5th, 1726, that the honourable William Dummer, lieutenant governor and commander in chief of his majesty's province of the Massachusetts-Bay, with the honourable John Wentworth, esquire, lieutenant-governor of New-Hampshire, and major Mascarenc, delegated from his majesty's province of Nova-Scotia, concluded a peace with Wene-movet, chief sachem and sagamore of the Penobscot tribe. We then were ready to flatter ourselves, that a foundation was laid for some lasting peace with these treacherous natives. Not but that we were well aware of the narrow and feeble foot that peace was built on; only one tribe

of the Indians appearing and acting in it ; though, as they declared in the name of the other eastern tribes, and promising to resent it, and join with us, in case any of the tribes should rise against us. Nevertheless, they had suffered so much in the last short war, through the blessing of God upon the councils and arms of the provinces ; that we thought they would be glad of peace, and then our trading-houses were now put into so good order, to the great advantage of the savages, that we concluded their interest would keep them quiet. For the Indians may buy of us far cheaper all sorts of goods they need, than they can of the French ; and the goods in our trading-houses are carried, in a manner, to the very doors of the eastern tribes. But notwithstanding all these reasonable prospects, and hopeful grounds of peace, within less than a month the French and Indians began new outrages upon us.

Samuel Daly, of Plymouth, on a fishing voyage, put into Malegash harbour, to water, on the 25th of August, when seeing John Baptist, a Frenchman, on the shore, he hailed him, and asked him to come on board ; which Baptist and his son presently did ; and after some friendly talk of the peace, lately concluded between the English and Indians, master Daly asked Baptist down into his cabin to drink. The meanwhile, Baptist's son took the canoe and went ashore. Daly and his mate, with three more men, were so simple as to take the sloop's canoe and go ashore, leaving Baptist on board, who declined to go with them, saying, that he would call his son to carry him, which he soon did in French, and off came his son with two Indians, who, as soon as they had got on board the sloop, took down the English ensign ; the Indians bidding the English on the shore to ask quarter. Baptist girded the ensign about his waste, and tucked a pistol in it. Daly, with his men on shore, went to Mrs. Giddery, the mother of Baptist, and begged her to go on board with him, and intercede with her son to restore him his sloop. After some time, she went with him ; but now several more Indians had got on board, who threatened him with their hatchets. Baptist soon ordered him to come to sail ; but Daly and his men watched the first opportunity to

rise upon the French and Indians, and found one the very next day ; upon Baptist's going down into the cabin with three of the Indians, Daly shut to the cabin door upon them, easily mastered the son and the Indians upon the deck, and then firing into the cabin, the three Indians threw themselves into the sea. Daly brought his prisoners to Boston, where, at a court of admiralty for the trial of piracies, on the 4th of October, Baptist, his son, and three Indians were found guilty and condemned to die, and were executed on the 2d of November.

The Indians complained that the French misled them into such villainous practices, and wished their countrymen would take warning by them. Baptist also seemed to relent, and though he had always shown himself a bitter enemy to the English, he now wished his friends would live in love and friendship hereafter with them, and carry kindly to them.

This was a plain and horrid instance of the French their instigating the Indians to those villainous robberies and murders, which they have so often committed without any provocation on our part. And no doubt it was from their rage at the peace lately made, and in hopes that this might be resented by us as an open and manifest breach of it, and prove a means of a new war, that they led the Indians into this cursed act on the first opportunity that offered. They had also found the war gainful to them, and were loth to lose the plunder and spoil it brought them ; partly from the Indians, who carried all they took to them ; but more especially from the advantage, which the war gave them to head the Indians in the spoils they made the last war upon our fishing vessels. But now the good providence of God discovered them, and took vengeance of them for their treachery and villainy ; and our government wisely hung them up, Indians and French together ; as they well deserved to die by the laws of all nations. We hope this detection of the French will be a warning to them, and their execution a terror to the Indians ; and the whole turn, by the good will of God, to the establishment of the peace.

On November 23, the Great and General Court or Assembly of the province met at Boston, and his honour

the lieutenant-governor, in his speech, informed them, "That, near a month before, he had received an account of a house at Kennebunk that was rifled, and two women and two children carried away from it; but that as yet he had not been able to find by whom the villany was committed; though proper endeavours had been used, and were still using, to that end. In the meanwhile, he had assurances from the sachem of Penobscot, that he was resolved to keep the peace, and had sent out divers parties of his men, either to persuade or force from our frontiers any ill-minded Indians, which they should get the knowledge of." His honour likewise informed the court, "That he had also assurances of the faithful and friendly dispositions of the Norridgewocks, and other tribes, who come daily to trade at Richmond fort.

His Honour added, "that he could not but mention to them the necessity of an act for the equal and speedy distribution of justice, in all causes wherein the eastern Indians may be concerned, the present course of the law not being so well adapted to their circumstances." This he offered as a means of maintaining and perpetuating the peace.

The next day his Honour sent a message to the house of representatives, acquainting them, that his orders for dismissing the soldiers at the block-house above Northfield, were not sent. He had notice from some of the Norridgewock Indians, as well as from the commissioners at Albany, that some fellows of the Canada tribes, in several parties, were, by the command of the government of Canada, spirited out for mischief on our frontiers; and that then by advice of his majesty's council, he had continued the soldiers till the sitting of the court; and was yet of opinion, that it would be inconvenient to dismiss that garrison, being the only one in the western frontiers, till the peace shall have a general and effectual operation.

The next day, November 25, the house of representatives voted a committee to draw up proper instructions to the agent of the province, to use his utmost endeavours to obtain an order to prevent the governor of Canada from stirring up, and exciting the French Indians, in

their unjust and barbarous abuses of his majesty's subjects. A very wise and just resentment of the base and impious conduct of the French governor towards us.

1726. August 23. The lieutenant-governor received a friendly letter from the Penobscot Indians, informing him, that three of the Norridgewock Indians were arrived from Canada and four from St. John's, and are very well pleased with the peace.

September 6. The lieutenant-governor informed the Penobscot Indians of the perfidious hostile action of the Frenchmen and Indians that had piratically seized on Dally, &c. and that he should call a court for the trying them for their lives, when they should have all possible justice done them.

October 14. The commissioners of the Indian affairs at Albany, informed the lieutenant-governor of a party of Indians from Quebec, who informed them that they had seen the new governor of Canada, who had sent for the chiefs of the eastern Indians of nine castles, to whom he had made a speech, and had inquired which of them had made peace with the people of New-England; that the chiefs of three castles stood up, and said that they had; on which the governor told them, that since they were turned English, he would not protect nor assist them, but order the priest, who lives among them, to leave their habitations; and would assist the Indians of the other six castles, with what they had occasion for, having received a ship laden with all sorts of goods for their use; and made them a present of eight hundred pounds of powder, and told them, he had orders from the king, his master, to furnish them with what they had occasion for to prosecute the war with the people of New-England, who possess their land, to which they have no right; and that, hereupon, four parties were gone out against New-England.

A letter of the same date came to the lieutenant governor from Ahanquid, an eastern Indian, informing him of seven Indians that had been with their tribe, to move them to renew the war, which they had refused. He said, that because he had promised to give information of any such designs, therefore he now affirmed this. His

Honour answered his letter, and told him that he took it very kindly, and looked on it as a mark of his sincerity and good will; ordered him a good blanket, and promised to reward him for giving him intelligence of any ill designs against us.

October 21. The lieutenant-governor wrote to Wenunganet, chief sachem of Penobscot, reminding him of his engagements to get the best intelligence he could of the designs and motions of any ill-minded Indians; assuring him, that if he, or any of his tribe should at any time sustain any damage, by their adherence to the English, he would not only make good the damage, but also reward them for their service.

October 27. Colonel Wheelwright wrote to the lieutenant-governor, that Philip Durill of Kennebunk went from his house with one of his sons to work, the sun two hours high, leaving at home his wife, a son twelve years old, and a married daughter, with a child of twenty months old, and returned home a little before sun-set, when he found his family all gone, and his house set on fire, his chests split open, and all his clothing carried away; that he had searched the woods, and found no sign of any killed.

Three Indians were seized and secured upon suspicion, at winter harbour, and sent to Boston. The lieutenant-governor informed Wenunganet, the Penobscot sachem, of the mischief done, and the Indians seized; and that he kept them in order to discover the authors of this violence; that they should be well provided for, and dismissed without harm, if they were found innocent; that it was of great importance, for maintaining the peace, that these captives be restored, and the authors of this wickedness detected and brought to justice; that all the tribes that had made peace, were obliged to endeavour this, by their solemn treaties. These Indians were afterward brought to Boston, found innocent, and dismissed friendly.

November 3. Captain Heath had an opportunity, at St. George's, to inform Egeremet, Ahanquid, and several principal Indians, of what had passed. They replied, that they thankfully received the governor's kind letter and presents, and would always give him notice of any

designs of ill-minded Indians, that came to their knowledge. That when their chief men came from hunting, they would with one heart, strive to know these Indians, who, by this action, had made themselves enemies to them as well as to the English.

November 18. Wenunganet wrote from St. George's to the lieutenant-governor, a friendly, long and sincere letter, concluding thus: "We look upon those Indians as much our enemies as yours, and think ourselves as much in danger from them as any of your people; and we are resolved to have satisfaction for the wrong done."

November 22. Captain Penhallow, from Georgetown, informed the lieutenant-governor, that Wivurna and Sheepscot John had seen four Indians, who informed him of women and children taken at Kennebunk, and carried away by Canada Indians.

January 2. Morcus, the chief sachem of the Kennebec Indians, wrote from St. George's to the lieutenant-governor, that "he was resolved to stand by the peace concluded, so long as God gives him breath."

On the 16th, Wivurna wrote to the lieutenant-governor, that he was fully satisfied, and all the blood that lay boiling before in his bosom was now washed off, and he would labour for a calm in the land; and if any windy clouds should rise, he would make haste to inform him, that they might do us no harm. In three things (said he) you make my heart glad; my grandson, that was dead, is alive, and safe returned to me; Canavas, that was taken, is returned safe, and is encouraged to do good service; and your kindness to me and my people, I am thankful for. I am now old and grey-headed: I have seen many good gentlemen, English, French, and Indians; many of them are dead; but of all, I have not found like governor Dummer for steadiness and justice. If I were a sagamore and young, the first thing I did should be to see your face; but as I am old, and not able to travel, I heartily salute you, my good friend.

WIVURNA.

I have transcribed this letter at length, as the perfection of the Indian style, and good sense that I have met with. This savage had a soul sensible of true greatness and hon-

our, goodness and justice; and charmed with them in a governor or chief sachem. Governor Dummer merited the savages' esteem, and I account him the more honoured in it, the more barbarous and bloody he had been, who was now struck and softened by his steadiness and justice. His predecessor had shone thus in the eyes of these same savages, if men from among ourselves had not hindered him from being kind and just to them, as they now assisted his lieutenant to be.

On February 13, Morcus told Capt. Giles that he had sent, by Canavas, to the Aresaguntacook, and those tribes, that none of them do any hurt to the English; that he had found great kindness from them, and they were for peace, which he also should labour for.

The same day, Capt. Smith, the appointed truckmaster, acquainted Wenunganet and other chiefs, that he was ordered to advise them not to trade with others, lest they be wronged in their prices; but he would do them justice. They answered "That as to rum, they were well pleased; but they should think it hard to be hindered trading with whom they pleased for other things. We are masters of our own things (said they), and we were told, at the conference, it was a free trade. And if we trade elsewhere, and are wronged, we shall not blame the government." This again was said as became a free and righteous people.

Some of the Indians having been rude and affronting at Capt. Giles's garrison, Wenunganet, a day or two after, very courteously desired him to take as little notice as possible of them; for the party were few in number, and they had shamed him in their behaviour; but he hoped to put a stop to it, that the like should not be again seen.

About this time, Laron wrote to the governor, requesting him that there might be but little rum sent to the truck-houses, for their young men could not use it well, and he found it hurt them in their health, and unfitted them to attend the prayers, and made them carry ill both to the English and their Indian brethren. This is the mind of all our chief men. I salute you, great governor, and am your good friend,
Saguaram, alias Laron.

Before this, it seems that lieutenant-governor Dummer had given Laron some letter of recommendation, as a mark of his special respect ; but Laron sent him a humble message, praying that it might be made some way beneficial to him, and that some tokens of special respect might be shewed him at our forts, or that a certain sum might annually be paid him, as he is daily labouring for the public good, or else he desired to resign up his recommendation.

The lieutenant-governor condescended to answer all the letters of Wenunganet, Morcus, Wivurna, Laron ; writing to each of them with great humanity, such as shewed him a father to his country, while the Indians were ready to think him so to them. I have read the letters with a great deal of pleasure, as well as those to his officers in command and trust, in the eastern parts ; which show his impartial justice to every one in their places, and his care that they paid a just regard to each other.

March 6. He wrote to Capt. Giles, that he had sent him a piece of the best strands, to be distributed in blankets at his discretion, to such Indians as should deserve it best of the government, by bringing intelligence or other-ways ; and that he should endeavour that he might have always a supply for secret services ; not doubting but he would faithfully apply them : Also, that he had sent a present for Wenunganet and Laron, a gun each, with their marks and names on them. He added, what the Indians said to you respecting the trade is right, that their goods are their own, and they may sell them to whom they please ; but if they will sell to other people, than those the government have appointed to trade with them, and happen to be cheated, they must take it to themselves. The meanwhile, you will take all occasions to make the Indians sensible of the care the government have of their welfare, in providing every thing for them, they may need, without the least prospect of any gain.

Being favoured with a view of the minutes of council for the time wherein the letters I have been referring to, were received or written, I find that the honourable the lieutenant-governor laid every letter he received before his majesty's council, and took their advice and consent

in every answer he made ; which I note as a good instance as of the wisdom and prudence of the present administration, so of the fidelity and diligence of the government, in their continual attendance on the public service, upon the most minute occasions.

By a letter, April 4, from Falmouth in Casco-Bay, we had advice, that the Indians, who sometime since went to Canada, were returned, and said that every thing was like to be quiet and peaceable. They also informed, that the people, who were taken from Kennebunk last fall, were all killed, except the boy ; and that they were nine Indians from St. Francois that did it ; and pretend they would not have killed them, had not the English pursued them so closely.

June 1. The lieutenant-governor, in his speech to the General Court, said, that he had the satisfaction to acquaint them, that the peace with the Indians seemed every day more established, by the steady, just and honourable proceedings of the government ; that he could not neglect that occasion of moving it to them once more, that a proper provision be speedily made for the encouragement of suitable persons, to undertake the instruction of the eastern Indians, especially their youth, in religion and good.

June 12. Capt. Heath, at Richmond fort, inclosed to his honour the lieutenant-governor, a letter from three of the chiefs of the Kennebec, Wawenech, and Aresaguntacook tribes of Indians ; giving an account of their sincere desires of a general peace, and requesting to have an interview with his honour. His honor, took the advice of his majesty's council upon the motion, and determined to meet the Indians at Falmouth, or somewhere on Kennebeck river, in order to the ratifying the late treaty, with these tribes also.

Accordingly, on Monday, the 10th of July, his honour, with several gentlemen of the council, and divers members of the honourable house of representatives, embarked for Casco-Bay, where they arrived the next day ; where also lieutenant-governor Wentworth met him from Piscataqua ; and in a few days after, about an hundred Indians came thither of the Norridgewock, Aresaguntacook,

and Wawench tribes, desiring to come into the peace; made the last year with the Penobscots, that they might enjoy the benefits thereof.

August the 1st. The lieutenant-governor arrived at Boston, having ratified the peace with said tribes, with this additional article; that the Indians should join fifty men of theirs with an hundred and fifty English, or in that proportion, as there might be occasion, to subdue any refractory Indians, that might attempt to disturb the peace.

A proclamation was emitted, strictly commanding and requiring all his majesty's good subjects to live in peace and amity with the Indians, and to give them all necessary comfort and assistance.

LETTER FROM HENRY NEWMAN, ESQ. TO THE REV.
HENRY FLYNT.

Middle Temple, 10th September, 1723.

DEAR SIR,

IN compliance with your desire, I bespoke a copy of the statutes of the university of Cambridge, &c. and thought I had obtained a great curiosity; but when I came to see what popish stuff they consisted of, I could not but applaud the prudence of the university, in not letting them be made public; and if I had known either the emptiness of them, or the expense of transcribing them, which came to £ 2 17 0 beside paper and binding, I should not have sought after them, but upon a more positive command than I had. Such as they are, I desire our college corporation will be pleased to accept them, and also the printed extract of the statutes of the university of Oxford, wherein, perhaps, some useful hints may be found for improving your discipline, if it wants improvement.

These are packed up in a box, sent to Mr. Dudley, and with them, the 3d and 4th volumes of Brandt's History of Reformation, and the 1st volume of Saurin's Dissertations on the Old and New-Testament, which our old benefactor, Mr. Chamberlayne, presented in quires to

the college library ; and I desire you, or Mr. President Leverett, would please to signify the receipt of them, with thanks to the benefactor.

I used formerly to present you with the binding of these benefactions that came to my hands in quires, but as they happen oftener than heretofore, which I wish they may continue to do, I hope you will not take it amiss, if I, for the future, charge the college with such articles as they occur.

The binding of Brandt's History of Re-	}	£ 0 9 0
formation, in 2 volumes, large folio,		
lettered, cost 4s.6d. each,	}	0 3 6
Binding 1st vol. of Saurin's Disserta. folio,		
; of the petty charges of the box sent	}	0 3 4
to Mr. Dudley, custom-house fees,		
&c. the college-books being two of		
the six folios contained in the box,		
		£ 0 15 10

I am indebted to Mr. president Leverett for a kind, though short letter, of the 23d of May, which I hope to answer ere long. In the mean time, pray assure him of my most hearty respects, and let him know I have heard nothing of the address he therein mentions, neither from the governor nor Mr. Hollis.

I have wrote to colonel Quincy upon your political affairs, an account very unpleasing to repeat, and therefore beg leave to refer you to him.

I made the president's and your compliments to the governor, who returns his, and expresses a great esteem for you.

I hope you will see him early the next spring, and whatever he can do for the advancement of the college, I am sure you may depend on him for.

My duty to the corporation, and please to believe that I am, reverend and dear Sir,

your most obedient, humble servant,

HENRY NEWMAN.

Rev. Mr. Flynt.

LETTER FROM PAUL MASCARENC TO GOV. SHIRLEY.

SIR,

Annapolis-Royal, 6th April, 1748.

THE most difficult task of any to me is my giving my opinion on the civil government proper for this province. I shall, however, proceed in the manner I have done in the preceding, relating to fortification, and give an account of the government that has subsisted, and the alterations made therein, since the year 1710, when this fort was reduced to the power of the crown of Great-Britain ; from whence may appear the defects that may be proper to be amended.

At the reduction of this fort, no capitulation was made but for the garrison and the inhabitants of the Bantieue (a league round the fort) ; these had leave to withdraw with their effects, and to dispose of those they could not carry with them, for the space of two years. The rest of the inhabitants, all over the province, made terms that winter with the then governor Vetch, who received them on their submission, but no oath was required of them, except of the inhabitants of the Bantieue, for the time of the capitulation.

In 1714, Mr. Nicholson came over governor and commander in chief over the province, and proposed to the French inhabitants, the terms agreed on for them at the treaty of Utrecht, which were to keep their possessions, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion, as far as the laws of Great-Britain do allow, on their becoming subjects to the crown, or to dispose of them, if they chose to withdraw, within the space of a twelve month. They, to a man, chose the last, having great promises made to them by two officers, sent here for that purpose, from Cape Breton, then beginning to be settled by the French. But these not sending vessels to fetch away the inhabitants, they remained, and though often required to take the oaths of fidelity, they constantly refused it. The government, during this interval of time, was vested solely in the governor and in his absence, in the lieutenant-governor or commander in chief of the garrison of Annapolis-

Royal, except a council of the captains formed by general Nicholson, which did not exist above five or six weeks.

Mr. Philips came over in 1719 captain-general over the province, with instructions to form a council of the principal of the British inhabitants ; and till an assembly could be formed, to regulate himself by the instructions of the governor of Virginia. Governor Philips, for want of inhabitants, formed the council with the lieutenant-governor of the garrison, (Mr. Doucett) who, at the same time, was a captain in his regiment, and named first in the list of counsellors ; his major, Laurence Armstrong ; the first captain, Paul Mascarenc ; Captain Southack, commander of the province schooner ; the collector, Hibbert Newton ; the chaplain, and other staff officers of the garrison ; and Mr. Adams was the only inhabitant admitted. There was another (Mr. Winniett) who was not then named, but in process of time was called to the board ; but afterwards dismissed on some disgust. The whole number was twelve ; but as it was made up of transient persons, it was soon reduced ; and to keep up the number of seven, the commander in chief took in officers of the garrison or regiment ; subaltern officers being often judged more capable than their captains, which however has proved of ill consequence with regard to military subordination, in a place where the civil government had no other means to support itself but by the military power, the inferior officers, by being admitted of the council, thinking themselves above their superior officers. The first appearance of this, was when Mr. Armstrong, then lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, came, in the absence of governor Philips, to be under the command of Mr. Doucett, a captain in the same regiment, who was lieutenant-governor of the garrison, and as the first named in the list of counsellors, commanded in chief over the province. Colonel Armstrong going home, obtained the commission of lieutenant-governor over the province ; but on his taking upon him, at his arrival here, the detail of the garrison, new disputes arose with the lieutenant-governor of the fort ; in which, as the officers sided some one way and some another, proved of very ill consequence to the peace and good order of the place. At the decease of

colonel Armstrong, I found myself the next in the list of counsellors, and, of consequence, president for the time being, and with the ready agreement of Mr. Cosby, then major of the regiment, and lieutenant-governor of the regiment, I took upon me the administration of the civil affairs of the province; he being then in expectation to have an order from home to command over the whole province, in which failing, he made some motion to order me to Canso, thereby effectually to dissolve the civil government, upon which I received orders from home to continue at Annapolis-Royal at the head of the civil government. In the administration of it I endeavoured to carry myself with the utmost caution and moderation, submitting to his command in all things that related to the garrison and regiment, that were not opposite to the keeping up the civil government; and extending this no further than to the settling the differences between the inhabitants, and using the best means I could to keep them in a due subjection to his majesty. At colonel Cosby's decease, and in the absence of governor Philips, the whole authority and power, both civil and military, became vested in me, and was further corroborated when his majesty was graciously pleased to appoint me lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, and lieutenant-governor of the garrison. This has prevented, at least, a clashing between two heads; but not between the heads and the members of the council, which I have made no addition to, but is composed, as I found it, of the surgeon of the garrison, William Sheene, the secretary, William Shirreff, the fort major, Erasmus James Philips, captain Handfield, lieutenant Amherst, lately gone with leave, and the deputy store-keeper, William Howe. These gentlemen, or the most of them, are of opinion, that, as in the civil government they reckon me only as *primus inter pares*, I can do nothing out of this fort without their participation and consent, not so much as to send a party out. Your Excellency knows too well the circumstances of the place as to think me in the wrong, if I have not conformed myself to this notion, or to several others of the like nature. I have, however, kept up the form of government as I found it, having conformed to the resolutions taken in council, in

what did not depend on secrecy or military operations ; and, in this last, I generally consulted the captains of men of war, when any were here, and the captains of the troops under my command. It is to be observed, that if I should depart this life, or remove, in the condition this place is now in, the civil government, according to the course followed hitherto, will be vested in the surgeon of this garrison, and the military on captain Heron, unless the first should pretend to have the chief direction in both, as it is presumed, not by a few. And if captain Heron, who indeed labours under a very ill state of health, should fail, captain Handfield is the next, but a younger counsellor, which will still bring the same perplexity, and may be of great detriment to his majesty's service, which I have represented ought to be provided against, but have had no answer.

Governor Philips having formed the council as before mentioned, issued out a proclamation, summoning the French inhabitants to take the oaths of allegiance on the same terms offered to them as before, though the time prescribed had so long ago been elapsed. But these inhabitants in general still refused it, alleging, that they had been detained contrary to their desire, which indeed was partly true, as general Nicholson had declared they should not depart in vessels being built on English ground, or English bottoms, and that it belonged to the French to come and fetch them in their own. Governor Philips wrote home for fresh instructions how to act in this emergency, applying for more forces to prevent the French inhabitants from going away in a tumultuous and disorderly manner, or for bringing them into a due subjection ; for which he desired, if I remember right, two regiments, besides the four companies of his own, then at Annapolis-Royal, with proportionable shipping to transport these troops as occasion should require, and this in a time of profound peace, and when these inhabitants were not above a third of the number they are now increased to. In answer, he was directed not to use any violent measures, but to endeavour to keep the people easy till, at a proper time, it might be resolved how to proceed in this case.

The governor went home in 1722, and things remained in this situation, under the administration of Mr. Doucett, lieutenant-governor of Annapolis-Royal, and president for the time being, over the province, till Mr. Armstrong, having been made lieutenant-governor over the whole province, returned in 1725, and found means to bring the inhabitants to take the oath to the government; but on governor Philips returning some years after, these inhabitants complaining that this oath had been extorted by undue means, his excellency brought them at last to take it willingly, and the same was tendered, and taken, in general, by all the men of competent age, in all the settlements of this province: the tenor of this oath is inserted in the papers inclosed. The word *true* being interpreted *fidele*, has made it to be called the oath of fidelity. The French inhabitants intended to have a clause, not to be obliged to take up arms against the French, which, though not inserted, they have always stood was promised to them, and I have heard it owned by those who were at Manis when the oath was administered at that place, that such a promise was given to them in writing. This oath was reckoned to be little binding with people who had missionaries amongst them, supposed always forward to dispense the keeping it, and ready to absolve them on the breach of it. But hitherto the contrary has been evident; some of these priests having publicly declared that they would refuse the absolution, even at the point of death, to any that should join in arms with the French, and this at the time that Duvivier was at Manis and some of his officers, at the sermon where these words were pronounced. Their plea with the French, who pressed them to take up arms, was their oath, their living easy under the government, and their having no complaint to make against it. Your Excellency is acquainted with the means I have used for keeping this people and their priests in that temper. The using any force or violence against them, especially when the enemy was continually pouring into this province, might have drawn on very fatal consequences.

To keep up some form of government amongst the French inhabitants, governor Philips ordered them to

choose a certain number amongst them, under the name of deputies, to act in behalf of the people, in publishing his orders, and making application when their occasions should require; which was accordingly obeyed. This river, divided into eight districts or hamlets, has eight deputies; the other settlements, mostly, four each; in all I reckon twenty-four. They are every year newly chose on the 10th of October, the anniversary of the king's coronation, and of the taking of this fort. They are invested with no judiciary power, but are appointed often as arbitrators in small cases, where, if any of the parties are not satisfied, appeal is made to the governor or commander in chief, and council. These differences, mostly in meum and tuum, were settled before the board, at three set times of the year, when the people of the several settlements up the bay used to resort for judgment on their pleas; but, since the war, have been postponed to be composed in more peaceable times. These inhabitants, though not one in an hundred can read and write, speak generally with good sense, and plead their own cases; but as they can only speak the French tongue, it is tedious for those members of the council who do not understand that language, and must have the substance repeated in English, before they can give their opinion. How far the power of this board extends, has been often a question; some extending it to all cases; others, again, reducing it to a mere power of arbitration. It is happy, in this perplexity, that no crimes of a capital nature have been committed for these thirty-eight years, except to what relates to the defection of some of the inhabitants. A boy, indeed, set his master's house on fire, on which, application was made at home, but no answer received.

There are here, persons prejudiced against the French inhabitants three different ways. The first is, by an imbibed notion that all who bear the name of French must be natural enemies of Great-Britain; the second, from views of interest and other relations, and those so affected, though in public they can run down these inhabitants, yet, underhand, favour them, and are partial towards those by whom they find their interest promoted; the third, deem this people, by their being originally from another nation, and differ-

ing in language, manners, relation and religion, no better than in a continual state of rebellion, and are ever talking of outing them, transplanting or destroying them, without considering the circumstances this province has lately been, and still is, in, and the fatal consequences that might have ensued from any violent measures. Your Excellency may judge there has been no little difficulty accrued from the managing these different tempers.

What seems most wanted here is proper persons to form a civil government, there being no British planter or inhabitant that can properly be so called in this province. The French, of that denomination, as their religion will not allow of their taking the oath of supremacy, are, besides, generally of the lowest class of farmers or husbandmen, poor and unlearned, there being, as I mentioned before, not one in an hundred that can either read or write.

What is mentioned in this paper may suggest reflections on the present government, composed of military officers of the garrison; which reflections will appear more proper, when expressed by any other person than myself. I have numbered the several articles, that, if any explanation is required on any of them, reference may be made thereto the more easily. As I was copying this fair, the little schooner came in. I comply with your further desire of a copy of governor Philips's letters patent; those he had from the late king are, I believe, registered in Boston, in 1719. I have added the ten first articles of his instructions, from the original in my hands, with the true form of the oath taken by the French inhabitants, whereof I had mentioned the substance above: by all which, I hope your Excellency will have a true notion of our state and constitution, and be enabled to point out means to amend it. In which I beg leave to remind you, that the state of a commanding officer is not very advantageous, not only to himself, but even to the public service, where he has nothing wherewith to reward those who behave well, and a coercive power, clogged with many difficulties, over those who behave ill.

I am, with great esteem and respect, Sir,
your most humble and most obedient servant,
MASCARENC.

PRINCE AND BOSWORTH'S PETITION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF PLYMOUTH, RELATIVE TO THE MACKEREL FISHERY.

To the Right Honoured Magistrates and Deputies of the General Court of New-Plymouth, now sitting.

THE wise providence of the great Guider of all men and actions having so ordered, by his providence, to bring me here in this juncture of time, wherein there hath been brought under consideration that fishing design, of late years found out at Cape Cod, for mackerel with nets; which, when we came from home, I may truly say, I had not the least thought to have, in the least manner, troubled this honoured assembly with things about; yet being here, and understanding that possibly there may be brought under consideration, something in order to the restraint of foreigners from fishing there; and it may seem an expedient, founded on good reason, that it should so be, I would humbly intreat this honoured Court, that I may, as I desire with humbleness, so I may without any offence to this honoured Assembly, present you with some particulars referring to that small town of Hull, in which we live.

May it therefore please this honoured Court to understand, that my humble request is, first, whether that the honoured Court may not have or see just cause why our little and small place of Hull, though out of your jurisdiction, may still enjoy the privileges we have hitherto had, though others should be denied; and the reasons I would humbly suggest are these; first, because we were some of the first that were the discoverers and first bringers of it to light, as it now is attended to the profit of the whole colony here, which we could willingly think were some ground to build our hopes on, for the enjoyment of such a privilege. Secondly, because we humbly conceive that those of your town, who have been on that employ, will say, as well as we know that ours coming there have been, a further aim and no hindrance to them. And, thirdly, let me with all humbleness say, that, had it not

been for some of us, we believe it had not been kept afoot to this time ; for our friends in your patent, after the first or second voyage, had given it off again, and had not some of us kept on, and so been instrumental, beating out by evening there, and travelling on the shore at all times and seasons, and so discovered the way to take them in light as well as dark nights, it had not been so certain a thing as now it is ; or had we kept but that one thing private, we know it had, if we may inoffensively so speak, been a great obstruction to it to this day. But we were open-hearted to yours, and told them what we knew, and we would hope that your Honours, and this honoured Assembly would be so to us. We humbly beseech your Worthies not to be offended, though we thus speak, if it may be said, that as we were the first that laboured in it, so we have had the first and most profit by it ; may it please you to let us freely say, without offence, that this last year, wherein your both persons and colony had the opportunity to improve it, hath yielded more profit clear than two or three years before, because we were but just now come fully to understand it ; but the truth is, by reason of the dearth of salt, and lowness of mackerel in the years before, and our gaining was not so considerable ; especially add this to it, that in three, we lost one voyage, for want of understanding what we have made them acquainted with, as to the light moons. But if you think that the motion, as to the whole town, may be too large, because it may be there may be very many, we humbly leave it to the honoured Court to bound the town to what number you see good, two or three, or what you see good ; and so having made bold to present and trouble you with lines, I pray account it not a presumption, but an humble request in the behalfs of that little town of ours, which hath a great part of its livelihood by fishing. And so, in all humbleness, leaving these things to your consideration, I humbly take leave, and rest your humble petitioners in the half of ourselves and town,

JOHN PRINCE.

NATHANIEL BOSWORTH.

Plymouth, this 8th June, 1671.

LETTER FROM WILLIAM BOLLAN, AGENT FOR THE MASSACHUSETTS, AT THE COURT OF GREAT-BRITAIN, TO JOSIAH WILLARD, SECRETARY OF THAT PROVINCE, RESPECTING AN INTENTION OF GOVERNING THE COLONIES LIKE IRELAND.

Henrietta Street, March 5, 1755.

SIR,

IT is proper for me to acquaint you with some intelligence gained while the clause for extending the mutiny bill to the provincial troops was depending, and which I shall endeavour to give you exactly as I received it, viz. when I attended at the House of Commons to have my petition against the clause presented, the member, who was to present it, happening not to come down so early as I expected, and it being necessary the speaker should see it before offered, and fearing there would not be time enough left for it, I got a ministerial member of my acquaintance to shew it to the speaker, who, upon returning it to me, told me that if received, it would not be entered at large upon the minutes, for that would be speaking out to the people in America. This I believe slipped from him inadvertently; and two other members of good intelligence, firm friends of the colonies, and one of them a person of very considerable note, while this affair was in motion, told me that it was intended, by some persons of consequence, that the colonies should be governed like Ireland, keeping up a body of standing forces, with a military chest there; to which one of them, who was bred a lawyer, added, the abridgment of their legislative powers, so as put them on the same foot that Ireland stands by Poyning's law. You are sensible, that since Poyning's act, in Ireland, the 10th of Henry VII. no act can pass, in their parliament there, till it be first assented to by the king and privy council of England. This information was given me with an injunction that it should not be made public; but with an intent, doubtless, that the proper use should be made of it; and accordingly I now communicate it to you, adding, that another very intelligent and worthy person, a great friend of the co-

lonies, has lately, at several times, made the like observations to me, with respect to the keeping up a standing military force in the colonies. I need not observe to you, Sir, that we live in times which require great caution, circumspection, and secrecy, on many occasions. From what has been said to me, by a great man, I have some suspicion that my intelligence has been discovered ; and I have been at a loss to know whether my letters to you, in your public capacity, are wholly confined to the members of the General Court, and whether, by the nature of your office, there be any security that the intelligence, which they receive from their agent, is not open to those, who ought not to be made acquainted with it. Permit me to observe, that an improper discovery, in this case, may not only prevent future intelligence, but also be attended with other inconveniences ; wherefore I desire, that before mention be made of this matter, to any one, you will be pleased to confer with Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Hubbard concerning the proper use to be made of this intelligence, which being given you just as I received it, you will be able to judge what credit and regard is due to it.

I am with great esteem, Sir,
your most obedient and most humble servant,

W. BOLLAN.

To the Hon. JOSIAH WILLARD, Esquire.

**MR. BOLLAN'S PETITION TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD,
RELATIVE TO FRENCH ENCROACHMENTS, 1748.**

To his Grace Duke of Bedford, one of his majesty's
principal secretaries of state, &c.

The memorial of William, Bollan Esq. Agent for the,
province of the Massachusetts-Bay, and specially
appointed to attend his majesty's ministers for the
preservation of Nova-Scotia,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT by the treaty of peace, concluded at Utrecht,
31st March, 11th April, 1713, between the queen of
Great-Britain and the most christian king, (article 12), it
was agreed, that all Nova-Scotia, or Acadia, with its an-

cient boundaries, also the city of Port Royal, then called Annapolis-Royal, and all other things in those parts, which depend on the said lands, should thereafter be possessed alone by British subjects; and all right whatsoever, by treaty, or by any other way obtained, which the most christian king, the crown of France, or any the subjects thereof, had hitherto had to the said lands and places, was, by the same treaty, yielded and made over by his most christian majesty to the Queen of Great-Britain and to her crown for ever.

That the cession of all Nova-Scotia, or Acadia, with its ancient boundaries, must as your memorialist conceives, necessarily be understood to comprehend all that country, which was first granted to Sir William Alexander by king James the first, who, by the same grant, gave it the name of Nova-Scotia, and by which it is expressly bounded by the river Canada, now called St Lawrence.

That the country lying between Nova-Scotia and the ancient province of Main, which was granted by king Charles the second to the duke of York, is, by the original grant thereof, bounded by the river Canada. And by the charter granted to the inhabitants of the Massachusetts-Bay, by king William and queen Mary, that river is plainly supposed to be one of the chief boundaries of the lands thereby granted to them: it being therein expressly provided, "That no grant of any lands lying or extending from the river of Sagadahock to the gulf of St. Lawrence and Canada rivers, and to the main sea northward and eastward, to be made by the governor and general assembly of the said province, be of any force, without the approbation of their majesties, their heirs, and successors." So that the river Canada, being the natural and great boundary between the British and French colonies lying to the eastward, has, as your memorialist apprehends, been, and ought to be, at all times, held and insisted upon as such, by the English.

That by the treaty aforesaid, (article 15,) the five Nations or Cantons of Indians were declared subject to the dominion of Great-Britain.

That these nations being declared subject to the dominion of Great-Britain, by both crowns, the dominion in

chief over all their country must, according to this treaty, necessarily of right belong to the crown of Great-Britain only; excluding, utterly, his most christian majesty from all rule and dominion therein.

That the lakes Cadaracui or Ontario and Erie, which, taken together, extend from east to west near five hundred miles, and the large countries lying on the north and south sides thereof, extending southward unto the other territories of his Britannic majesty, belong to the Iroquois or Five Nations; they having long since conquered, destroyed, and extirpated the numerous nations, which inhabited those countries; and, by consequence, the sovereignty over all the said lands and waters appertains to his Britannic majesty.

That nevertheless, his most christian majesty, in manifest violation of the aforesaid treaty, and in derogation of his Britannic majesty's right of sovereignty, did, during the late peace, erect a fort on the east side of the Erie straight or river, running out of lake Erie into lake Cadaracui, and near the mouth of it; that is, in the body of the country belonging to the Iroquois or Five Nations. Their settlements at this place being obtained in the following manner: the Five Nations have a custom, among them, of adopting some of the prisoners they take in war; and one M. de Jonquiere, a Frenchman, having, in his youth, been made a prisoner by the Sennekas, called by the French Honnonthauans, one of the Five Nations, and he having been adopted into that nation, and become a great favourite with them, and having afterwards returned to his own country, and been made an officer in the French army, was, for that reason, pitched upon as the most proper person to effect this establishment. Thereupon the said Jonquiere went among the Sennekas; and, at an assembly of their chiefs, assured them, it would be the greatest pleasure in the world to him to live with his brethren, and said, he should visit them more frequently if they would allow him a cabanne for his retirement. They answered, that they should ever regard him as one of their children, and that he might lodge himself in the place which he should judge most commodious for him. The other four nations opposed this proceeding in favour

of M. de Jonquiere ; but the Five Nations being independent one of another, in many respects, and jealous of that independence, the Sennekas, not perceiving M. de Jonquiere's real intent, insisted upon it, that he was a child of their nation, and ought to enjoy his right, and he thereupon prevailed. Though, in fact, while he was urging the rights of his adoption, he was really acting by commission and order from the governor of Canada, and endeavouring to establish a fortress for the French king in the British dominions. And he having, under this colour gained the permission he prayed for, a house was built and fortified, so that a real fort was established. The French pretend, that after the making of the treaty of Utrecht between the two crowns, the Five Nations protested against the article declaring them to be subject to the crown of Great Britain.

This protestation, if ever made, was probably the effect of management of the French ; but could give the French no right to erect a fortress in a country, which, by treaty then subsisting, was by them declared subject to the crown of Great-Britain.

That the French, during the late peace, and ever since, have maintained armed vessels upon Cadaracui lake ; by means whereof, and of the fort abovementioned, which stands on the south-west side of said lake, and of fort Cadaracui, or Frontenac, which stands on the north-east side thereof, and was built long since by consent of the Iroquois, to serve, as they understood, as a store-house for merchandise, but was afterwards converted into a fort, the French command, in a great measure, the lake and adjacent country.

That, notwithstanding the great notoriety of the extended property of the Five Nations, and his majesty's right of sovereignty over the same, the French now claim both the lakes aforementioned, as part of the lakes of Canada, and all the lands adjacent, including the chief part of the Iroquois country.

The better to countenance such their pretensions, it was lately given in charge to M. Bellin, engineer of the marine of France, to prepare charts or maps of the countries, they claim on the continent of North-America,

to be published to the world ; whereupon the same have been so prepared and drawn, as to enlarge the dominions of the French at the expense of the English, whose American empire they would reduce to such narrow limits, that measuring according to M. Bellin's charts of Louisiana, and the neighbouring countries, across the province of New-York, and near the capital of it, from the extent of Canada, as expressly therein declared, to the Atlantic ocean, the land belonging to the crown of Great-Britain will be found reduced to the breadth of about forty common marine leagues of England and France, of twenty to a degree. And your memorialist is concerned that he has occasion to say, that, upon examining the maps lately published at London, together with a large work, entitled, "A complete System of Geography," &c. (which is published with his majesty's royal privilege and license), which maps are said to be drawn by his majesty's geographer, he finds not only that both the lakes Cadaracui and Erie, and all the lands lying on the north, together with the great villages of the Iroquois, and a great part of their country lying on the south sides of those lakes, are thereby assigned to the French as part of Canada ; but also, that, measuring in manner aforesaid, across the said province of New-York, from the declared extent of Canada to the Atlantic sea, according to the map entitled, "A new and accurate map of Louisiana, and part of Florida and Canada, and the adjacent countries, drawn from surveys, assisted by the most approved English and French maps and charts," the British empire is there further reduced, and brought to about thirty leagues in breadth. And the map of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, New-York, and New-England, with the adjacent countries, published with the said system of geography, and likewise said to be drawn from surveys, assisted by the most approved modern maps and charts, extends Canada still further over the Iroquois country towards the city of New-York.

That his Britannic majesty's dominions and the Iroquois country extend from the east end of lake Cadaracui, and from the other lands of the Iroquois beforementioned eastward, upon the great river of the Iroquois, called, by

the modern French geographers, and others following them, the river of St. Lawrence, although called by M. de L'Isle, the great French geographer, and others, by its proper name, the river of the Iroquois, extending eastward and southward, unto his majesty's other territories, and comprehending the lake of the Iroquois, now called by the French lake Champlain, and by the English sometimes lake Chumplain, and at others lake Champlain, Corlear, or the sea of the Iroquois; but called by the Dutch, when they possessed the province of New-York, as well as by the English geographers of that time, by its antient true and proper name, the lake, or sea of the Iroquois only.

That during the late peace, the French erected at Crown-point, on the west side of the lake last mentioned, and near the bottom of it, a sort of considerable strength; which stands at the distance of about thirty-one leagues from the Atlantic ocean, according to M. Bellin's chart of the eastern part of New-France or of Canada, drawn also, by order, to be published; measuring across the province of New-Hampshire, near Portsmouth, the principal town. From this fort, the French, during the war now ending, sallied out with a party of their Indian allies, and destroyed Saratoga, in the province of New-York, and committed other ravages there, putting in danger the ancient city of Albany; and took fort Massachusetts, belonging to the province of that name; and broke up and destroyed divers towns and settlements in that province, rendering desolate a considerable part of it.— This fort at Crown-point stands near the outward settlements in several of his majesty's provinces, and favours the incursions of the French, in time of war, to that degree, that, instead of the English being able to go on to improve the small pittance of waste lands, which seems to be left for them by the French, they will not be able to support their settlements already made; especially when the French plantations, covered by this strong fortress, shall be encreased and strengthened so far as they will, in a short time, very probably be, in case this place be continued in their possession.

That the French have already made some few settle-

ments on the eastern side of the lake, which is the side next to the English settlements. And they not only claim, but, as they flatter themselves, have now also secured lake Sacrament, a smaller lake, which lies at a little distance from, and communicates with the other. This lesser lake lies at the distance of near twenty-eight leagues from the western ocean, according to M. Bellin's map last mentioned. And they extend their claim still further southward from the last lake, declaring New-France or Canada to extend so far there that, according to the same map, it comes within twenty-six leagues of the sea lying off Portsmouth.

That with respect to the country lying further eastward, and extending to the gulf of Canada or St. Lawrence, it appears to your memorialist, that some obscurity, or artful uncertainty, has been studied and used in drawing and finishing this chart of the eastern part of New-France; but according to the best judgment your memorialist can form of it, after considering also their other charts, their conduct and pretensions, they dispose, or purpose to dispose of it in the following manner: Of the country lying to the eastward of the lake of the Iroquois, between the river Canada, or St. Lawrence, and the ocean, and extending eastward to the country marked out for Nova-Scotia, and which is of the breadth of fifty-two leagues, or thereabouts, instead of confining themselves on the north side of the river, they assign a part for New-England about twenty leagues broad, taking the rest to themselves. And as they now say, that Acadia comprehends only the peninsula, or the tract of land almost divided from the continent by the bay of Fundy, and bay Verte, after leaving this peninsula to the English, the remainder of the country, which is about sixty-three leagues broad, they would divide by assigning to the English about one third part of it, lying to the south, taking the rest to themselves; including all that lies upon the gulf of St. Lawrence to the northward of Richibouctou, opposite to the north end of the island of St. John's.

That at the time of the reduction of Nova-Scotia to the obedience of her late majesty queen Anne, and at the time of its cession, there was a French settlement at Gaspee,

bordering upon the gulf of Canada, made, as your memorialist apprehends, not by any of the ancient inhabitants of Nova-Scotia, or their descendants, but by persons who came directly from old France. Over these people, the English have not, as your memorialist understands, at any time during the late peace, or the war now ending, exercised the least authority ; but the people living there, although within the boundaries of Nova-Scotia, and at a place particularly named in the grant of that province to Sir William Alexander, have continued wholly under the government of the French. This settlement is increased so far, that, before the commencement of this war, the French used to load there, annually, with fish, about six sail of ships.

That the French have also made encroachments by some settlements on the south side of Canada river, in the English country lying to the westward of Nova-Scotia.

That the preservation of the ancient boundaries of Nova-Scotia, and keeping the French on the north side of Canada river, appears to your memorialist to be a matter of very great importance ; because, that not only a considerable part of the country will be lost with that boundary, whenever lost, but another boundary, in your memorialist's opinion, will scarce ever be found and established ; so that the English will be unable to enjoy what shall be left them, by the new boundary, with any tolerable certainty or safety, but endless contests and quarrels will ensue.— And further, the French will have obtained very great advantages, by having established their footing on the south side of the river. And, in the next place, the English, by parting with the river, their ancient boundary to this province, will necessarily prejudice, in a great degree, their boundaries to divers other provinces, whose northern boundaries are not better, if so well, ascertained as that of Nova-Scotia. And the French likewise, by getting over the river, will have greater opportunities of influencing the inhabitants of Nova-Scotia, who are, as your grace is sensible, already inclined to them. And this province, having been the object of desire in the French, ever since the settlement of the two nations in America, and more especially such of late, they will

doubtless use their utmost efforts to gain or increase an interest there.

That the maintenance of his majesty's sovereignty over the Five Nations and their country, and securing their attachment to the English, is a matter of the greatest consequence ; as their country is of such large extent ; is situated in the best latitudes ; prevents the junction of the French settlements on the rivers Canada and Mississippi ; and gives us an opening to the western and northern Indians ; and as the Five Nations are the most warlike people on the continent of North-America, and who have been a great defence to the English colonies, and the principal check to the growth of the French power.

That the French having long since gained a part of the Five Nations, and a few years ago been able to render those nations in general dissatisfied and wavering in their fidelity to the British crown, they will doubtless use their utmost endeavours to improve that dislike, which those nations, at this time, unhappily have to the English.

The premises duly considered, it is humbly submitted to your grace, whether it be not necessary, that, by the treaty of peace at this time depending, the French be confined to the north side of the river Canada ; and that they cause all their forts and settlements on the south side of that river to be destroyed, evacuated or delivered up to his Britannic majesty ; and that they entirely quit the country of the Five Nations.

W. BOLLAN.

GOV. HAMILTON'S LETTER TO GOV. SHIRLEY.

Philadelphia, 6 May, 1754.

SIR,

I RECEIVED, two days ago, by express, the letter and papers herein inclosed, from Col. Washington, who had proceeded, with a detachment of one hundred and fifty men of the Virginia forces, to the New Virginia store on Potowmack, within one hundred and thirty miles of the river Ohio, where Capt. Trent had began to build

a fort for the reception and security of those forces ; at which place he received the disagreeable account of the French having made themselves masters of that fort, and of the retreat of the people employed in building it. As governor Dinwiddie, to whom the king has committed the conduct of this expedition, had not, when he wrote last, which was on the twenty-seventh of last month, received any information of this transaction at Ohio, I cannot pretend to say what alteration it may occasion in the measures he had concerted ; but I think we may now daily expect to hear from himself on that head ; in the mean time, I could not dispense with imparting to you the forementioned intelligence by express ; and am, with very great respect,

your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

JAMES HAMILTON.

His Excellency WILLIAM SHIRLEY, Esq.

P. S. I propose writing to your Excellency soon, more fully, on the subject of your last.

MAJOR WASHINGTON'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR HAMILTON.

HONOURABLE SIR,

IT is with the greatest concern I acquaint you, that Mr. Ward, ensign in captain Trent's company, was compelled to surrender his small fort, in the forks of Monongahela, to the French, on the 17th instant ; who fell down from Venango, with a fleet of three hundred and sixty batteaux and canoes, with upwards of one thousand men and eighteen pieces of artillery, which they planted against the fort, drew up their men, and sent the inclosed summons to Mr. Ward, who, having but an inconsiderable number of men, and no cannon, to make a proper defence, was obliged to surrender. They suffered him to draw off his men, arms, and working tools ; and gave leave that he might retreat to the inhabitants.

I have heard of your Honour's great zeal for his majesty's service, and for all our interests on the present occasion. You will see, by the inclosed speech of the Half-

King, that the Indians expect some assistance from you ; and I am persuaded you will take proper notice of their moving speech, and their unshaken fidelity.

I thought it more advisable to acquaint your honour with it immediately, than to wait till you could get intelligence by the way of Williamsburg and the young man, as the Half King proposes.

I have arrived thus far, with a detachment of one hundred and fifty men. Colonel Fry, with the remainder of the regiment, and artillery, is daily expected. In the mean time, we advance slowly across the mountains, making the roads, as we march, fit for the carriage of our great guns, &c. and are designed to proceed as far as the mouth of Red Stone Creek, which enters Monongahela about thirty-seven miles above the fort, taken by the French, from whence we have a water carriage down the river : And there is a store-house built by the Ohio company, which may serve for a receptacle for our ammunition and provisions.

Besides these French, that came from Venango, we have credible accounts, that another party are coming up Ohio. We also have intelligence, that six hundred of the Chippoways and Ottoways are marching down Scioto creek, to join them. I hope your honour will excuse the freedom I have assumed in acquainting you with these advices ; it was the warm zeal I owe my country that influenced me to it, and occasioned this express. I am, with all due respect and regard, your Honour's most obedient and very humble servant

G^o. WASHINGTON.

To the Hon. James Hamilton, Esq. governor of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia, 6 May, 1754.

A true copy, examined by *Richard Peters*, secretary.

James Foley, the express, says, he left Mr. Washington at the new store on Potowmack, about one hundred and thirty miles from Capt. Trent's fort, at the mouth of Monongahela, on Saturday, 27th April.

A SUMMON, BY ORDER OF CONTRECŒUR, CAPTAIN OF ONE OF THE COMPANIES OF THE DETACHMENT OF THE FRENCH MARINE ; COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY'S TROOPS NOW ON THE BEAUTIFUL RIVER—TO THE COMMANDER OF THOSE OF THE KING OF GREAT-BRITAIN, AT THE MOUTH OF THE RIVER MONONGAHELA.

SIR,

NOTHING can surprise me more, than to see you attempt a settlement upon the lands of the king my master ; which obliges me now, Sir, to send you this gentleman, chevalier Le Mercier, captain of the bombardiers, commander of the artillery of Canada, to know of you, Sir, by virtue of what authority you are come to fortify yourself within the dominions of the king my master ? This action seems so contrary to the last treaty of peace, concluded at Aix la Chapelle, between his most christian majesty and the king of Great-Britain, that I do not know to whom to impute such an usurpation, as it is incontestable that the lands, situated along the Beautiful river, belong to his most christian majesty.

I am informed, Sir, that your undertaking has been concerted by none else than by a company, who have more in view the advantage of a trade, than to endeavour to keep the union and harmony, which subsist between the crowns of France and Great-Britain, although it is as much the interest, Sir, of your nation, as ours, to prevent it.

Let it be as it will, Sir, if you come into this place charged with others, I summon you, in the name of the king my master, by virtue of orders, which I got from my general, to retreat peaceably with your troops from off the lands of the king, and not return ; or else I find myself obliged to fulfil my duty, and compel you to it. I hope, Sir, you will not defer an instant, and that you will not force me to the last extremity. In that case, Sir, you may be persuaded, that I will give orders that there shall be no damage done by my detachment.

I prevent you, Sir, from the trouble of asking me one hour of delay, nor to wait for my consent to receive or-

ders from your governor; he can give none within the dominions of the king my master; those I have received from my general are my laws, so that I cannot depart from them.

If, on the contrary, Sir, you have not got orders, and only come to trade, I am sorry to tell you, that I cannot avoid seizing you, and to confiscate your effects to the use of the Indians, our children, allies, and friends; as you are not allowed to carry on a contraband trade. It is for this reason, Sir, that we stopped two Englishmen, last year, who were trading upon our lands. Moreover, the king my master asks nothing but his right; he has not the least intention to trouble the good harmony and friendship, which reigns between his majesty and the king of Great-Britain.

The governor of Canada can give proof of having done his utmost endeavours, to maintain the perfect union, which reigns between two friendly princes; as he had learned that the Iroquois and Nepissingues of the lake of the two mountains, had struck and destroyed an English family, towards Carolina, he has barred up the road, and forced them to give him a little boy belonging to the family, which was the only one alive, and which Mr. Wlerick, a merchant of Montreal, has since carried to Boston; and what is more, he has forbid the savages from exercising their accustomed cruelty upon the English our friends.

I could complain bitterly, Sir, of the means taken, all last winter, to instigate the Indians to accept the hatchet, and strike us, while we were striving to maintain the peace.

I am well persuaded, Sir, of the polite manner in which you will receive Mr. Le Mercier, as well out of regard to his business, as his distinction and personal merit. I expect you will send him back with one of your officers, who will bring me a precise answer. As you have got some Indians with you, Sir, I join with Mr. Le Mercier an interpreter, that he may inform them of my intention upon that subject. I am, with great regard, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant, CONTRECOEUR.

Done at our camp, April 16th, 1754.

Philadelphia, 6 May, 1754.

A true copy, examined by *Richard Peters*, secretary.

SPEECH FROM THE HALF KING TO THE GOVERNORS OF VIRGINIA AND PENNSYLVANIA, REFERRED TO IN MAJOR WASHINGTON'S LETTER.

From the Fort on Ohio, April the 18th, 1754.

A Speech sent by the Half King* Seruniyattha, and the belt of wampum to the governor of Virginia and governor of Pennsylvania.

BROTHERS the English, the bearer is to let you know how we were used by the French. We have been waiting this long time for the French to strike us; now we see what they design to do with us, we are ready to strike them now, and wait for your assistance. Be strong, and come as soon as possible you can, and you shall find us your true brothers, and shall find us as ready to strike them as you are. We have sent those two young men to see when you were ready to come, and then they are to come to us, and let us know where you are, that we may come and meet you; and we would desire, if you could, that the men from both provinces would meet at the forks of the road. And now, if you do not come to our relief, we are gone entirely, and shall never meet I believe, which grieves my heart. To confirm this to be truth, here is my wampum I have sent.

Gave a string of Wampum.

The Half King made this speech to me; now I depend upon you to go with those two young men to both governors yourself; for I have no dependence on those that are gone so long, and have never returned nor sent any word.

Delivered to me by John Davison, an interpreter.

Philadelphia, 6 May, 1754.

A true copy, examined by *Richard Peters*, secretary.

* The Name of the Indian chief.

A LIST OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE-ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, UNDER THE FIRST CHARTER; AND OF THE GOVERNORS, UNDER THE SECOND CHARTER, COLLECTED FROM THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

FOR the year 1647 John Coggeshall, President,
 1648 Jeremiah Clarke,
 1649 John Smith,
 1650 Nicholas Easton,
 1651 ditto.

This year, 1651, William Coddington went to England, and procured from the council of state a commission, constituting him governor of Rhode-Island, and the islands belonging to the same; with which he returned in the fall of the year 1651. This caused very great uneasiness and confusion in the colony, all the inhabitants upon the main refusing submission to Coddington's government. The colony appointed Mr. Roger Williams and Mr. John Clarke to go to the court of London, to procure Coddington's commission to be vacated, which they effected in the year 1653; after which, Mr. Williams returned, and on the 12th of September, 1654, was chosen president, agreeable to the charter and the laws of the colony. Mr. Clarke remained in England as the colony's agent, until he obtained the last ample charter from Charles II. in 1663.

For the year 1655 Roger Williams was chosen president,
 1656 ditto,
 1657 Benedict Arnold,
 1658 ditto,
 1659 ditto,
 1660 William Brenton,
 1661 ditto,
 1662 Benedict Arnold,
 1663 ditto.

This year, on the 8th of July, king Charles II. signed the last charter, whereby Benedict Arnold was constituted governor.

The following is a list of the governors, chosen annu-

ally on the first Wednesday in May, agreeable to this charter;—where the years are not specified, the same governor was continued in office.

<i>Governors.</i>	<i>Years when chosen.</i>	<i>Years Governed.</i>
Benedict Arnold,	1663	3
William Brenton,	1666	3
Benedict Arnold,	1669	3
Nicholas Easton,	1672	2
William Coddington,	1674	2
Walter Clarke,	1676	1
Benedict Arnold,	1677	2
John Cranston,	1679	1
Peleg Sanford,	1680	3
William Coddington,	1683	2
Henry Bull,	1685	1
Walter Clarke,	1686	1
The charter superseded	1687 }	
by Sir Edmund Andross,	1688 }	
Henry Bull,	1689	1
John Easton,	1690	5
Caleb Carr,	1695	1
Walter Clarke,	1696	2
Samuel Cranston,	1698	29
Joseph Jenckes,	1727	5
William Wanton,	1732	2
John Wanton,	1734	7
Richard Ward,	1741	2
William Greene,	1743	2
Gideon Wanton,	1745	1
William Greene,	1746	1
Gideon Wanton,	1747	1
William Greene,	1748	7
Stephen Hopkins,	1755	2
William Greene,	1757	1
Stephen Hopkins,	1758	4
Samuel Ward,	1762	1
Stephen Hopkins,	1763	2
Samuel Ward,	1765	2
Stephen Hopkins,	1767	1
Josias Lyndon,	1768	1
Joseph Wanton,	1769	6

Nicholas Cooke,	1775	3
William Greene,	1778	7
John Collins,	1786	3
Arthur Fenner, Esq. our } present governor,	1789	11
<i>Newport, 1800.</i>		

LETTER FROM HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR JAY, COR-
RESPONDING MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
TO ITS CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

SIR,

Albany, 8th October, 1799.

ON reading the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year 1798, which you was so obliging as to send me, I observe a mistake, which I will take the liberty of mentioning.

The report of the committee of the board of correspondents of the Scots Society for propagating christian knowledge, who visited the Oneida and Mohekunuh Indians, in 1796, is one of the papers published in this volume of collections. The report contains twenty-four queries, with the answers of the committee. The following are among them.

Query 18—Are any of them under the guardianship of the state of New-York?

The *answer* contains, among others, the following paragraph. "The Brothertown Indians are more particularly under the guardianship of the state, as may be seen by a late act of assembly, a copy of which accompanies this report."

Query 19—What sums of money or quantities of goods do they receive from the state; how are they divided, and what use do the Indians make of them?

The *answer* contains, among others, the following paragraph, viz. "The Brothertown Indians receive an annuity of 2160 dollars, which sum is partly appropriated to the purpose of maintaining a school, partly to the payment of an *attorney* to transact their business, and the remainder to be applied to *their* benefit as *he* shall judge proper."

The act of assembly alluded to, was passed the 4th March, 1796, and is entitled, "an act for the relief of the Indians who are entitled to land in Brothertown." Among many other provisions in it, there is the following, viz. "The treasurer of this state, for the time being, shall, on the first Monday in August next, and on the first Monday in August in every year thereafter, out of any money then in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, pay to the order of the *person administering the government* of this state for the time being, the sum of eight hundred and sixty-four pounds six shillings and four pence, being the amount of the interest of fourteen thousand four hundred and five pounds six shillings and eight pence, at the rate of six per cent. *who* shall cause so much thereof as may be necessary for that purpose, to be applied for erecting a school-house, and maintaining a school in Brothertown, for the education of Indian children, *and the remainder*, after payment of the salary to the attorney herein after mentioned, to and for the benefit of the Indians then residing in Brothertown, in such manner as *he* shall judge proper."

The answer to the 19th query inadvertently applies the word *he* to the attorney, whereas it relates to "the person administering the government of this state, for the time being."

Immediately after the passing of the act, and in pursuance of it, three discreet and respectable superintendents of the affairs of the Brothertown Indians were appointed. They personally visit the settlement, inspect the state of their affairs, and become informed of their wants, and consequently of the kind and quantity of the supplies most necessary and proper to be provided for them. The superintendents make annual reports to the governor, and usually specify, in detail, the various objects to which the *remainder* of the annuity, after payment of stated salaries, should, in their opinion, be applied. The governor thereupon gives orders for the application, either agreeable to their advice, or with such variations as he may judge expedient. The superintendents annually present their accounts and vouchers to the treasury department, where they are examined and settled by the comptroller, who

regularly certifies the same. I subjoin a copy of his last certificate; it will evince the precise and accurate manner in which the business is conducted.

Being persuaded that the information and remarks contained in this letter will be acceptable to the Society, I request the favour of you to lay it before them.

I have the honour to be, with great respect and esteem,
Sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN JAY.

The Rev. Dr. JOHN ELIOT, corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

COPY.

“Superintendents of the affairs of the Brothertown Indians to the state of New-York, Dr.

	dolls.	cts.
1798. December 7. To cash from the treasurer		
by warrant No. 718	2160	79
26. To balance of their last account	632	57
	2793	36

Credit.

1799. August 8. By the amount of their account	1125	73
Balance in the hands of the superintendents	1667	63

“State of New-York—Office of Comptroller.

“I have examined the above account, and do certify, that William Floyd, Edmund Prior, and Thomas Eddy, the superintendents of the affairs of the Brothertown Indians, have produced vouchers for the expenditure of one thousand one hundred and twenty-five dollars, and seventy-three cents, of the money they received out of the treasury of this state, on the warrant of the comptroller, dated the seventh day of December last, by order of his Excellency the governor of this state, pursuant to the third section of the act for the relief of the Indians who are entitled to lands in Brothertown; and that, including the balance of their former account, the sum of one thousand

six hundred and sixty-seven dollars and sixty-three cents remains in their hands, to be applied to and for the benefit of the Indians residing in Brothertown, in such manner as his Excellency the governor shall judge proper and direct.

(Signed) "Samuel Jones, Comptroller.

"Albany, 2d October, 1799."

N. B. It is intended to build a grist-mill at Brothertown, and hence the present unexpended balance is considerable.

A LETTER FROM THE TREASURER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY TO THE PRESIDENT, ON THE PROPRIETY AND EXPEDIENCY OF AN APPROPRIATE NATIONAL NAME DESIGNATORY OF THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES, AS A DISTINCT PEOPLE FROM THE OTHER INHABITANTS OF THE TWO VAST AMERICAN PENINSULAS.

12 December, 1799.

SIR,

A PERIOD of twenty-three years has elapsed since the people of these United States seized upon the right; and after an eventful and glorious, belligerent contest established their claim to the sovereignty of an independent nation; but they have never yet assumed an appropriate name to designate them as such, when singly, and personally applied. In this respect our country exhibits a singular exception to that of all others, who are in possession of supreme, political power.

The appellation of *United States* is merely descriptive of our national confederacy, and cannot attach to the individual citizens, who are the subjects of this Federal Government. Therefore, if an inhabitant of New-York was asked by a foreigner, to what country he belonged, his reply would be, that he was an American, and not, that he was a free denizen of the United States; because, that he might be, and yet be a Swede or a Scotchman. Besides, the term *American* is of indefinite extent, and indiscriminately includes all the native inhabitants of this

immense continent, from Patagonia to Baffin's Bay ; and from the Carribean Archipelago in the Atlantic, to the shores of California, on the North Pacific ocean. The Mustee and Creole of Cuba, or Barbadoes ; the tawny savage of the Oronque, as well as his fiercer brother of Lake Superior, are all *Americans*, as truly, as the wealthy native of Maryland, or the sober citizen of Philadelphia. At least, so are they considered on the continent of Europe. And hence it was, that in the years 1775 and 1776, the French, for want of a national, discriminate mark, called all the inhabitants belonging to the then thirteen revolted colonies, by the general name of *Bostonians*. They could not designate them as English, Scotch, or Irishmen, for we were at open, determined war with Great-Britain ; and with her government, had indignantly shaken off the name of Britons ; and they were aware of the impropriety, if not absurdity, of calling them Americans, because that was confounding a brave, intelligent, and free people, occupying a distinct territory, with every species of inhabitants which the new world had bred. Little acquainted as they then were with this country, and finding that the most firm, systematic, hostility to all the plans of the British cabinet, originated in, and were strenuously and steadily pursued by the inhabitants of Boston, who defied, and first met the vengeance of a mighty nation, directed by an irritated and most willing sovereign, perhaps the adoption and appropriation of that term, for a short period, was not amiss. But it ought to have taught us, that with our change of civil dominion, it had become necessary and proper to vary our national name, or rather to adopt a distinct and definite one.

To denominate ourselves *Americans* instead of Englishmen, was as incorrect as it would be for the individuals who now compose the French Republic, to relinquish the name of Frenchmen, and call themselves *Europeans*. The latter marks them as inhabitants of a principal section of the globe, but certainly involves in it nothing descriptive of the nation they compose.

To illustrate this position a little farther, permit me to detail a short conversation. I was once asked by a gentleman at Paris, what countryman I was. I answered,

that I was an American. "Born in Mexico, perhaps, Sir?" No; I am not a Mexican. "You are perhaps, from Canada?" No; for then I should have declared myself a Canadian. "But suppose you had been born in the island of St. Croix, or Trinidad, what would you have called yourself then?" In the first case a Dane, in the other a Spaniard. "And why do you call yourself now an American?" Because my countrymen, who are the citizens of the United States, have chosen to be so designated. "Well, my good friend, I had the fortune to be born on the banks of the Gambia, where my father was then settled as a factor, with his family, and yet I should scarcely thank any person, who should think proper, on that account, to represent me as an *African*."

Should it be alleged, that when we adopted the term **AMERICANS**, it was intended as an emphatic, and exclusive appropriation, specially applicable to the citizens and people of the United states; the answer is, that such a gentilitious assumption is too general; and to render it sufficiently discriminate, it would be indispensably necessary for the rest of the world to agree in naming anew, the heterogeneous millions, who inhabit the two vast peninsulas of North and South America, together with all the numerous islands, which are appendant to them.

In our intercourse with foreign countries, it is not barely a cause of inconvenience and confusion; but in some parts of Europe, even a stigma is affixed, to our strangely merging our specific, national character in a name designatory of all the natives of the most extended quarter of the earth; or more properly, being destitute of any name. And does not sound policy dictate the prudence of a measure, which should unite all the provincial distinctions of Vermontese and Georgians, Carolinians, and New-Englandmen, Virginians and Pennsylvanians, in one general, aggregate, national title: to be adopted by the legislature of the United States, and formally declared as the name and peculiar description of all the free citizens of our national confederacy.

It has been a prevailing sentiment for ages, that great injustice was done to the intrepid talents of that immortal navigator, *Columbus*, in permitting an inferior adven-

turer to deprive him of the honour of giving name, as he had birth, to half the globe. But the Florentine explorer of the southern continent, *Americus Vesputius*, with all his address, might not have succeeded, had not his christian name easily admitted a termination similar to that of two other quarters of the earth, and furnished a corresponding sound with that of the opposite continent of Africa.

With a view of rendering a partial retribution to the memory of the illustrious discoverer of the western world ; in some degree to vindicate public gratitude, as well as to assign a name to the new nation, which our revolutionary war had created, reiterated, private attempts were made to denominate the extensive country which composes the dominions of the United States, COLUMBIA ; but hitherto without success. And the term *Columbians* seems confined to orators, and poets, who retain it for the purpose of aiding a sonorous sentence, or rounding a musical period. So difficult is it to produce an alteration in any popular usage, which has obtained the sanction of time ; unless the amendment is justified by public authority, and becomes the language of the laws.

The philosophic historian of the two Indies, puzzled for a more suitable distinction, denotes us *Anglo-Americans*. An amphibolous compound, in the assumption of which, the Abbe Raynal has been followed by most of the foreign geographers. And it is not uncommon to find the inhabitants of the United States styled by British writers, *the ci-devant colonists* ; and sometimes the *people of the revolted colonies*. Nor ought we to complain at being subjected to such a mongrel description, so long as we continue unclassified among other nations, by the public neglect of granting to the people of the United States the right of assuming a specific name.

There is a pride of country inherent to the human character. A Swiss would resent being called a Neapolitan ; and so would a Creek Indian, if mistaken for a Tuscarora. A national diversity marks the physical, as well as geographical and political boundaries of different regions, in a barbarous, equally with a cultivated state of society. Hence a natural, if not strong reason, given by

negroes for their dislike of mulattoes ; because, say the blacks, *Mulatto he no gotee no country.*

Aware how much easier it is to subvert than to supply, I would not wish to escape from the task of furnishing a name in some measure appropriate, if I dared to hazard the ridicule that must attach to so presumptuous an attempt by an obscure individual. Permit me then, sir, only to suggest, that the vast territory included within the limits of the United States, exhibits a scale of production on which nature has stamped her boldest features. Her lakes and mountains, forests and rivers, astonish, while they distinguish this from all other countries, and might justify a title of the proudest import. But the obstacles which present themselves against affixing an appellation, thus geographically descriptive, and at the same time applicable to the inhabitants, are various, if not insuperable ; whereas the recollection that the national district of COLUMBIA will very soon contain the capital of the empire, irresistibly forces upon the mind a term which supersedes the difficulty ; has long been familiar to our ears, and would therefore, most probably, be cheerfully acquiesced in by a majority of the citizens of the United States ; and its adoption be speedily, and effectually, communicated to all foreign countries through the medium of the custom-house, by an insertion in the register of every vessel, and other official fiscal certificates. Why *Columbian* is not equal, in sound and meaning, to that of *Hibernian*, or *Cal-edonian*, is left to the discovery of those who prefer the terms *Scotch* and *Irish* only because they contain fewer syllables, and are best understood in vulgar parlance.

The ancient and modern history, both of civilized, and barbarous nations, afford many examples of a whole people deriving a name from the metropolis of their respective countries ; and a few, adopting that of their particular founders, or primary legislators ; but in neither do we find any nation, the citizens of the United States excepted, who were not distinguished by a peculiar appellation, differing from that of their government.

Although there may not at present be any grounds for apprehension that our inhabitants, like those of one of the states of Greece, may be subjected to a nick-name ; under

which history has preserved their records, and which, even at this distant period, continues proverbial ; yet it is not impossible, without some public provision against it, that they may be saddled with one, founded on accident, whim, caprice, resentment or ridicule, and which may obtain a foreign currency, from a concurrence of circumstances, in despite of every effort to control it.

The youth and fair fame of our nation, the comparative paucity of our population, the innovations, and reforms, which mark the present eventful æra, all conspire to facilitate the adoption of a name suited to our circumstances as an independent people ; and which, there can be little doubt, that the rest of the world would acquiesce in, after the same shall have received a governmental sanction, and have been declared by the supreme authority of our country, as the name and designation, by which the free citizens of these United States, shall, forever thereafter be known and called.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM TUDOR.

JAMES SULLIVAN, Esq. President of the
Massachusetts Historical Society.

LETTER FROM HIS LATE EXCELLENCY JONATHAN TRUMBULL, ESQ. TO BARON J. D. VANDER CAPELLAN,
"SEIGNEUR DU POL, MEMBRE DES NOBLES DE LA
PROVINCE D'OVERYSUL, &c."

Lebanon, 31st August, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE the honour and pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your first and triplicate letter, dated 7th December, 1778 ; the former came to hand the 18th instant, the latter about three weeks ago, by Capt. Niles, from France. The duplicate came to Philadelphia ; Mr. Erkelens took it, and unhappily irrecoverably lost it, in Connecticut river, to his and my grief, as it was the first that arrived. I do sincerely thank you for the communication ; and your kind offer of correspondence is very freely embraced. The letters I sent, I feared were not re-

ceived, or were neglected. Col. Derks kindly offered to see the quadruplicate delivered. That gentleman's polite and agreeable behaviour and disposition inclined me to make another attempt, to be sure of its delivery. Before your receipt of that, sent by him, I am agreeably entertained with your's. In consequence, shall embrace every opportunity to carry on a correspondence, which, I trust, may be mutually acceptable, and prove beneficial to the public, especially to this springing in the wilds of America.

The first English emigrants, who came to settle here, were a set of pious people, persecuted in England, removed to Holland in the year 1608. They remained in Leyden, until one hundred and one removed to New-England in 1620. They began on a bay, and built a town called *Plymouth*. The next adventurers, likewise for the sake of religion and liberty, came over in the spring of 1630; with the venerable governor Winthrop at their head, they begun another settlement, on a small bay, about forty miles northward of Plymouth. They built Salem, Charlestown, Boston, and very soon a number of other towns, and planted christian churches in them, with a number of godly ministers. They were driven from their native land on account of their religious principles, endured great hardships, yet they beheld many admirable acts of God's providence towards them, both in their voyages to this new country, and in their settlements, surrounded by barbarous savages, and wild beasts. In all, God was their sun and shield; they prospered and flourished, and soon became able to raise necessary provisions; yet, not long after their arrival, they were persecuted by their enemies in England. The divine protector and preserver of men guarded and blessed them in their new beginnings.

In 1640, governor Winthrop, in his Journal, inserts the following passage, viz. "Upon the great liberty which the king left the parliament to in England, some of our friends there wrote to us, advising, to send over some to solicit for us in parliament, giving us hopes we might obtain much: but consulting about it, we (the governor and assistants, convened in council) declined the motion for this consideration, that if we should put ourselves under the protection of parliament, we must

“be subject to all such laws as they should make, or at least such as they might impose on us; in which course, though they should intend our good, yet it might prove very prejudicial to us.” Here observe, that as at this time, so it hath been ever since, that the colonies, so far from acknowledging the parliament to have a right to make laws binding on them in all cases whatsoever, they have ever denied it in any case.

In August, 1635, a number of people removed and settled a town called Windsor, on Connecticut river. October following, another company settled a second town, about twelve miles below, on the same river, called Weathersfield. The next month, a fort was begun at Saybrook, at the entrance of that river. Thirty-first of March following, Mr. Hooker, pastor of the church at Newtown, in the Massachusetts-Bay, with most of his congregation, removed and settled a town between Windsor and Weathersfield, which they named Hartford. It was uncertain, at that time, whether these towns were not within the limits and jurisdiction of the Massachusetts. It was soon found they were not. The inhabitants in them met, formed a constitution of government, and entered into solemn agreement thereon, dated January 14, 1638, copy of which is inclosed.

Under this original charter, formed by these people, an independent government was established, and administered until 1662. During this time, many more towns were settled, and christian churches organized. Thus a government is formed on Mr. Locke's plan, near the time of his birth, as many others had been even from early time.

Our predecessors, from apprehensions of danger, and with views of protection, applied to the king of England, the nation we are derived from, for a charter; whereby they and their successors should have protection, and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects within any of his dominions: which was granted, we yielding and paying therefor, to him, his heirs, and successors, only the fifth part of the ore of gold and silver, in lieu of all other services, duties, and demands whatever: copy of which is inclosed. From whence it ap-

pears, that the material difference between that formed by themselves, and the new charter from the king of England, consisteth in a mutual and reciprocal compact and covenant, on his part, that we shall enjoy the rights, liberties, and immunities of others his subjects within the realm. On our part, to yield our allegiance, and the fifth part of the ore of gold and silver. Under this constitution, well formed for the good of the people, government hath been duly exercised, and truly and faithfully administered, until the present contest. The king hath cast us out of his protection, whereby our obligations to allegiance are dissolved, and we return to our former condition of a free and independent state. Our government and authority remain the same as at the first, without any essential variation or alteration. To shew our state and condition, I know not how to do it better, than by inclosing "Heads of inquiry sent by the secretary of state, 5th July, 1773, and the answers returned in October, 1774;" on which I have made some marginal notes.

My first letter was accompanied with copies of the petition of this government to the king, his answer, and my last letter, addressed to the secretary of state for America, the earl of Dartmouth, to which an answer has never been returned.

Many parts of the subsequent history of our military affairs will appear almost incredible even to our friends, and by our enemies will undoubtedly be reprobated as ridiculously false. Conscious, however, of the most sacred regard to truth, I shall dare to oppose a simple narrative of facts, to the cavils of an enemy, known to be equally fruitful in arts of deception, as in cruelty and insolence.

The first act of hostilities was committed at the village of Lexington, fifteen miles from Boston, by a body of troops, whose orders were to destroy a quantity of military and other stores at Concord, a few miles further distant. The country having received intelligence of the march of these troops, the preceding evening, and ignorant of their destination and orders, had, in several places, put themselves under arms, with a resolution, not of opposition, but of self-defence. With this idea, the militia of Lexington, in number about sixty or seventy men,

were formed on their usual parade, and performing their manual exercise, on the morning of the 19th April, 1775, when the advanced guards of the British came up. No questions were asked; but an order to the troops to fire, instantly followed a command to the inhabitants to disperse. Several were killed and wounded. The alarm spread through the neighbouring country; and every bosom, already irritated by previous insolence, upon this new and open attack, burned with all the enthusiastic rage which injury, added to insult, has power to kindle in minds of native courage, educated in the haughtiness of republican liberty. The event of the day was the natural consequence of such a commencement. The stores at Concord were indeed destroyed; but the countrymen, heedless of danger, though ignorant of discipline, in revenge, attacked, partially routed and pursued the veteran soldiers of Britain, with the most persevering obstinacy, and great success, for fifteen miles. The heights of Charlestown afforded the astonished, dispirited fugitives an asylum for the night; though even when so advantageously posted, their courage was not so much their protection, as their cruelty, in threatening the destruction of the town, in revenge of a new attack.

Thus were we necessarily involved, in a moment, in all the present and future horrors of a civil war; a people rather possessed of that courage, which can dare, and that obstinacy which can persevere in danger, than of the experience which instructs, or that penetration and prudence which insure success in the prosecution of enterprises thus extensive and arduous: a people unexperienced in independent government or war, and unprovided with either officers, troops, or magazines for the support even of a campaign, against a nation, whose name we had been taught to reverence; to whose troops we had, from our cradles, ascribed the greatest character for bravery and discipline; and whose navy rode triumphant in every part of the globe. But this comparison, so little to our advantage, had no weight in minds from which the enthusiasm of liberty had banished all idea of fear. The New-England colonies instantly determined to support the war. Troops were raised by enlistment, and regularly

officered, to succeed to the place of those, whom the first alarm had collected in a very irregular manner: and in the beginning of June, the army, thus formed, consisted of 20,000 men, strongly posted on the heights in the neighbourhood of Boston.

On the 16th June, 1775, it was resolved to form a post on that part of the high grounds of Charlestown highest to the town of Boston; from which we should have the power of annoying the enemy, both in the town and harbour. The plan for the execution of this determination was not well formed; and the executive part, dependent on officers and troops unacquainted with discipline, was still more inattentively prosecuted. About six hundred men, with arms and entrenching tools, were marched down in the evening, and broke ground at 12 o'clock. The entrenchments, for want of engineers, were in a similar style with the preparatory steps, sufficiently injudicious. At day-break, of the 17th of June, we were discovered by the enemy, and a cannonade immediately commenced, which continued, with little interruption, though as little execution, till afternoon. Meantime the unfortunate six hundred, fatigued with labour and want of sleep, and quite inadequate in number to the defence of the post they had been employed to form, were not only not relieved by fresh men, but not even furnished with provisions and liquors for their refreshment, or the extraordinary ammunition which they must necessarily expend. In this situation they were attacked at 3 o'clock, P. M. by 1200 British troops, under the command of Gen. Howe. Yet even when thus unsupported by their brethren, exposed to the fire of several ships of war and batteries, and the attack of double their number of men, they maintained their post with determined firmness, and repeatedly forced the enemy to give way; till general Howe, being strongly reinforced, and finding themselves still abandoned to their fate, their ammunition exhausted, their commanding officer, the brave general Warren, and near half their number killed or wounded, the remaining few fled, and left the enemy masters of the field. To add to the horrors of this *new* scene, the town of Charlestown was set on fire, and reduced to ashes. Perhaps there have

been few more obstinate battles ever fought ; near one half the troops engaged, on each side, being either killed or wounded ; that is, of the British 1100, and of the Americans more than 300.

The only consequence of this action was, to exasperate the contending parties, in the highest degree, and to inspire each with more exalted ideas of the other's strength, and the necessity of more laboured defence and fortifications.

The establishment of the army, in the pay and service of the United Colonies, and the arrival of generals Washington, Lee, and Gates, immediately after the battle of Bunker-Hill, were important events, and introduced a great improvement of the discipline of the troops. No offensive measures, however, were taken, during the remaining part of this campaign, except the sending a detachment of 1000 men, under the command of colonel Arnold, into Canada, by the way of Kennebeck river, a route hitherto unattempted, and almost unexplored. This expedition was intended to divert the attention of the enemy from general Montgomery, who was advancing by the way of lake Champlain, and to whose operations it is now necessary to advert.

The posts of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, always heretofore considered the barriers of New-England, were taken by surprise, immediately after the commencement of the war, by a party of volunteers from these states and New-York ; who, at the same time, had the good fortune to make themselves masters of the navigation of lake Champlain, by taking the enemy's small water force. Upon this success, the idea first originated in Congress, of conquering, or rather liberating from British domination, the province of Canada ; an idea in which they were confirmed by the repeated general disaffection of the natives of the country, who were expected to join in the attempt.

A body of troops was immediately raised, and the command given to generals Schuyler and Montgomery, the former of whom being confined by sickness, the latter sailed from Crown-Point, the 31st August, with about 1200 men, to form the siege of fort St. John's, at the bot-

tom of lake Champlain. After a siege of about two months, this post surrendered in the beginning of November, and was immediately followed by Montreal.

In the beginning of December, the troops commanded by general Montgomery joined those of colonel Arnold, on the plains of Abraham, before Quebec; both divisions amounting, when united, to only 800 or 1000 men.—Two causes united to produce this amazing deficiency: a mutiny and scarcity of provisions had obliged colonel Arnold to send back one half of his detachment, from Kennebeck: and the expiration of the positive term of enlistment, added to the excessive severity of the climate, and their distance from home, were reasons, in the minds of those commanded by general Montgomery, too powerful to be borne down by their patriotism, and which induced the greater part of them to desert him in the moment of victory. Yet, with this paltry number, the siege of the strongest city in America was formed. But the innumerable obstacles, arising from the inclemency of the season, the difficult transportations of provisions, the distant probability of any reinforcement, and the uneasiness of the remaining few of the army, compared with the weakness of the garrison, and disaffection of the citizens, soon induced the commanding officers to determine on attempting the city by assault. The necessary dispositions were accordingly made; and on the 29th December, at night, two attacks were made on two different quarters. The division, led by colonel Arnold, pushed on with an intrepidity which would have done honour to Spartans, and had forced their passage into the town, when they learnt the death of the brave, but unfortunate Montgomery. His division were on the point of mounting the walls, which were already abandoned by the enemy, when the accidental discharge of the last cannon killed the general and two other principal officers, and so damped the spirits of the soldiery, that they immediately retired with precipitation. In the instant when he received this dejecting intelligence, colonel Arnold was wounded in the leg by a musket ball, and disabled from acting. A retreat was immediately ordered, which only a part of

his troops were able to effect, the greater number being killed or taken.

Notwithstanding this misfortune, the troops still maintained their posts, nigh the city, during the remainder of the winter, in hopes of the arrival of a reinforcement sufficient still to give success to the enterprise; but in vain. The winter passed without bringing any adequate assistance; and the arrival of several British ships, with a body of troops, obliged them to raise the siege, precipitately, on the 4th May, 1776; abandoning their hospital of near 200 sick and wounded, with the baggage, stores, &c. to the triumphant enemy.

While this passed in Canada, the army lay quiet in their quarters before Boston, till the first of January, on which day the enlistment of the troops expired. Few men had yet been recruited, on the new establishment for another campaign; and six months of real service had, in a great degree, damped the extravagant ardour, which had its origin more in novelty and passion, than in fixed principle. Nor could any reason of virtue, of patriotism, or policy, prevail on these late intemperate heroes to bear only a few days longer fatigue, and separation from their friends. The service was almost universally abandoned in a moment of critical danger; and the army, in one day, was reduced from 20,000 to less than 5,000, a number in no degree adequate to the defence even of our quarters. The militia were called in for a few days, till recruits could be collected from the country: and the most vigorous exertions were made to promote and expedite the forming a new army.

In February we were in condition to act offensively. Preparations were accordingly made; and on the evening of the 5th March, the heights of Dorchester were occupied by a strong body of troops, and a warm cannonade kept up, from several quarters, on the town. After a few days, the enemy, finding any attack upon our posts impracticable, with any prospect of success, and their own situation neither advantageous or safe, evacuated the town on the 17th, and sailed for Halifax.

New-York being thought their next most probable object, the army of general Washington marched for that place, and arrived before the middle of April.

Before I proceed to the ulterior operations in this quarter, the defeat of general Clinton, in South-Carolina, demands our attention. He had been detached, during the preceding winter, from Boston, and appeared, successively, before Newport, New-York, and Charleston.— On the 28th June, an attack was made on Sullivan's-Island, which commands the entrance of the latter harbour, by the fleet commanded by commodore Sir Peter Parker; at the same time, the land troops, under Sir Henry Clinton, were to act in conjunction, by crossing a small arm of the sea, which covered the rear of the fort, and was supposed to be fordable. Fortunately this information was false, and the general was necessitated to stand an idle spectator of the unsuccessful attack and defeat of the fleet. The loss, on the British part, was two small ships burnt, and about three hundred men killed and wounded; the remaining ships having received great damage in their rigging and hulls. On ours, two men killed, and about ten wounded. The defeated fleet and army soon after joined general Howe at New-York.

Soon after general Washington's arrival at this last mentioned place, large detachments were ordered into Canada, to support our desponding friends in that quarter; but from the badness of the roads, and consequent difficulty of transportation, it was impracticable to arrive at Quebec in season. They were met at Trois Rivières by the flying troops; the spirit of dejection soon spread; the small-pox made wild havoc; the enemy pursued closely; and in a few days we were completely dispossessed of all our conquests.

The army, amounting to about 5000, of whom 3000 were sick, reached Crown-Point in the last of June; and were safe there only, as it was impossible for the enemy to cross the lake.

Ticonderoga was chosen as a more tenable post: the army removed thither in the beginning of July, and immediately applied themselves, with unremitting assiduity, to repairing the old fortifications, and constructing new, and soon saw themselves in a very respectable situation. Each party was, at the same time, busily employed to keep, or to regain the naval superiority: and on the 18th October,

the two fleets, consisting each of twelve or fifteen small vessels and galleys, and carrying about one hundred pieces of cannon, fell in with each other. A warm engagement ensued, in which the British were completely victorious. The loss, on our part, was almost all our vessels, and about 250 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. In a few days, the army, commanded by general Carleton, advanced to Crown-Point, with an intention to attack the troops at Ticonderoga, at that time amounting to about 13,000 : but having reconnoitred the strength of our position, and our apparent numbers, it was thought prudent to retire into Canada. The American army retired into winter quarters about the middle of November, leaving a garrison of 1000 men.

While this passed in the northern and southern departments, our army at New-York (amounting, in enlisted troops, but to about 8000 men) were busy in fortifying the city and its neighbourhood, and making every preparation for the reception of the enemy, of whose object we had obtained full intelligence.

On the 4th of July, the Congress, convinced that the fixed resolution of the British court was conquest ; despairing of any accommodation on rational, or even tolerable terms ; and willing to convince the world, as well as our enemies, that *Liberty or Death* was our determination ; published their Manifesto and Declaration of Independence, abjuring all future connexion with Great-Britain, in the view of a parent state, forever ; a step the more truly great, as our danger was then the more imminent.

In the middle of the month, the first division of the British fleet arrived in the harbour of New-York, and were soon followed by the second, as also by the troops from the West-Indies and Carolina. The whole army, amounting to 30,000 men, were landed and encamped for refreshment on Staten-island. During this time, advances were made for an accommodation, by Lord and Sir William Howe, the commanders of the British army and navy, under the style of " his majesty's commissioners for restoring peace to his rebellious colonies in North-America." In consequence of which, Dr. Franklin, and two other gentlemen, were named, on the part of Con-

gress, to confer with the commissioners, and know from them the extent of the powers with which they were vested. A conference was accordingly held at Staten-Island; in which it appeared, that the authority of the commissioners extended to little more than the *granting pardons* for crimes, of which we did not acknowledge ourselves guilty, and protections of *persons and property*, which we ourselves were prepared to defend. The conference was consequently broken off, with no other effect, than convincing us, more fully, of the insolence of the enemy; and them, more fully, of our obstinate attachment to our liberty, on the original principles of the dispute.

On the 23d of August, the British army landed on Long-Island, and on the 27th, attacked the entrenched posts of our troops, opposite to the city of New-York, which were defended by about 4000. The day was unfortunate to us: and in the night following, we abandoned the island, with the loss of about 1200 men, killed and prisoners. This misfortune was soon followed by the loss of the city, and afterwards the whole island of New-York, except fort Washington, at the north end, in which was left a garrison of 2000. Meantime, the army, retiring through the lower counties of New-York, as the enemy advanced, dared not to risk an action, till they had gained the strong mountainous grounds of North-Castle; from whence, after having viewed our position for some days, without daring to attack, the enemy retired towards New-York. Intelligence being now gained, that general Howe had changed his plan, and determined to attempt the city of Philadelphia, general Washington crossed the North river, with part of his army, and took post on the west bank. The enemy, meantime, had carried fort Washington by storm, on the 16th of November; and now crossing the river, unexpectedly, surprised fort Lee, in the front of the army, who were immediately obliged to retire. A few days gave the enemy the entire possession of the southern part of New-Jersey; general Washington still necessarily retiring before them, till the river Delaware at length checked their rapidity of success. Our troops, having taken a strong position behind the river, and secured the boats at the different ferries, now found time

to recover from the fatigue of their retreat. The enemy immediately after went into winter quarters, leaving 1500 at Trenton, opposite general Washington, and distributing the remainder of 10,000, in the different towns and villages of New-Jersey.

On the 20th December, our army being reinforced by the division which had been left on the east side of the North river, and a part of those who served the northern campaign, a resolution was taken to attack the enemy at Trenton, on the 25th, at night. The blow was successfully struck, with the loss, on the British part, of 800 killed and wounded, with the artillery and baggage of the post. A few days after, having collected their different detachments, they advanced to Trenton, when general Washington, finding their superiority too great to hazard an action, decamped on the night of the 2d of January, 1777, and fled off towards Princeton, twelve miles in their rear, where three regiments, who were on their march for Trenton, were attacked, and cut to pieces.— This unexpected blow, and the danger of their baggage at Brunswick, obliged the enemy to retire with precipitation. Their out-posts were called in; and from the undisputed command of a state, their possessions were reduced to a few miles about that town, our army choosing a strong position north of them.

You will not be surprised at the continued series of misfortunes, which succeeded each other the whole of this campaign, when you view an inferior number of troops, raw and undisciplined, and consequently sickly, with all the additional embarrassments of an unarranged equipage, making their first field campaign, against a *superior* number of veterans, inured to all the fatigues, and educated in all the discipline of regular war; furnished with every convenience of equipage and stores, and commanded by officers of experience. It is rather matter of wonder, that such troops should make in general, so good an opposition as they did, through the campaign; and after all their misfortunes, at length rise superior to a triumphant enemy.

But you will, with reason, ask, whence the deficiency of our numbers originated? Among the many causes for

this grand source of misfortune, no one, perhaps, contributed more, than the hope, which generally prevailed, at the commencement of this campaign, that, as there was yet no declaration of war, the dispute might still be accommodated by a negotiation : that Great-Britain, convinced of our obstinate determination, might at length find *her interest* more essentially served by retracting the obnoxious claim of taxation, than by prosecuting the war, whose most favourable event, according to their pursuit, could only produce our ruin, and the consequent loss to them of every advantage from commerce or revenue. These hopes, with the universal horror, which, on a little unimpassioned reflection, the idea of a continued war inspired, our remaining affection for a country, whose connexion we had till now been happy in ; and the inexperience of all ranks of officers, unavoidable in a country just entering, as it were, upon life, joined to deter us from that necessary energy in recruiting the new army, which a more experienced prudence would have dictated ; and ultimately led us into all the variety of misfortunes of this campaign.

Our enemies have ever asserted, that our declaration of independence, in addition to many parts of our previous management, was a definitive proof of our original intentions ; and that, from the first, we had determined on our subsequent conduct. But you may believe me, when I assure you, that our constant wish, till continued injury had driven us to this declaration, and our connexion with France, was for peace, and reunion with Great-Britain, in preference of all the nations of the earth. Awaked, at length, from these delusive dreams, and convinced of the madness of all our fond expectations from the wisdom or justice of our enemy, we determined on this declaration, on a connexion with foreign powers, and the raising an army of regular troops for the war. Every effort was therefore made, and we took the field, the next campaign, with a much finer force, than we had before seen.

The encampment of the grand army, under general Washington, was formed at Middle-Brook, a few miles from Brunswick, the head quarters of the enemy. The two armies lay in view of each other for some time, till

in June, the British made a movement from their left towards Philadelphia; but finding themselves checked in the first moment, and reduced to the necessity of hazarding a general action on disadvantageous terms, or abandoning the enterprise, they chose the latter; and, a few days after, abandoned Brunswick, and every part of New-Jersey, having maintained their conquest only six months.

The whole army immediately embarked on board a fleet of more than three hundred sail, and put to sea, leaving us in the most anxious uncertainty of their destination. Philadelphia was at first conjectured, and soon determinately known to be their object. The army landed on the last of August, at the head of Elk river, on the eastern shore of Chesapeak bay, and about eighty miles from the city, below which general Washington had now chosen his position. The two armies advanced towards each other, and the Americans encamped on the north bank of Brandywine creek. On the 10th of September, the enemy advanced to the opposite bank, on the next day effected the passage. Young in the stratagems of war, and deceived by false and contradictory intelligence, we found the enemy already upon our right flank, even before any danger was apprehended. An unfortunate action and precipitate retreat were the consequences, in which we lost more than 1200 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. The baggage was saved, by having been early sent into our rear. A variety of manœuvres, on the one part intended to prevent, on the other to force, the passage of the Schuylkill, now the only barrier of the city, employed the remainder of this month; at the close of which another fortunate stratagem put the enemy in possession of their long-wished for object. Their army encamped at the village of Germantown, six miles in front of the city. Accurate information being received of their position, general Washington, on the 4th of October, surprised, attacked, and pursued the whole army for near two miles. But the excessive fogginess of the morning, which prevented his seeing the confusion of the enemy, and injudicious attack upon a party, who had thrown themselves into a strong stone house, joined to change the fortune of the day. The enemy rallied, and it was soon

our turn to retire. Our retreat, however, was executed without any loss.

The British army were now in quiet possession of the metropolis of America; but the navy were not yet so successful. The chevaux de frise, which had been sunk, in several lines, across, the Delaware, at 6 or 8 miles below the city, with the fortifications, frigates, and galleys, by which they were covered, remained, a long time, difficult obstacles to their gaining the command of the river. Repeated unsuccessful attacks were made on different posts, both by land and water; in one of which, made by the Hessian troops, count Donop, with about 500 men, were killed or taken; and in another, the Augusta ship of war of 64 guns, and a frigate, were burnt. After a long contest, and not till every defence was ruined, and almost every cannon dismounted, the garrison abandoned their last post, and retired to the army, leaving the enemy undisturbed masters of the water communication, as well as the city. The American winter quarters were fixed at Valley-Forge, on the Schuylkill, about twenty miles above the enemy.

This campaign had been still more important, and gloriously successful, on our part, in the northern department. At first, indeed, relying on false and flattering intelligence, we had paid too little attention to the preservation of the strong post of Ticonderoga. The garrison, in June, amounted to no more than 4000 men. While in this weak state, general Burgoyne, with an army of 10,000 British and Hessians, from Canada, appeared before the place in the beginning of July. After a few days shew of opposition, the garrison, commanded by general St. Clair, finding their numbers far inadequate to a defence, and despairing of a seasonable reinforcement, abandoned the place on the night of the 4th of July, leaving their provisions, stores, and artillery to the victor. A step, at that time universally execrated; but of which, subsequent information has evinced the necessity and prudence. The flying troops, after a tedious march of sixty or eighty miles through a country covered with wood, and destitute of inhabitants or refreshments, and after several skirmishes with the advanced light troops of the enemy, reached fort

Edward on the North river, fifty miles above Albany, on the 12th of July.

The dread, with which this unexpected blow filled the whole country, was as extravagant, as their rage against the commanding officer, who, in the language of the day, had sold, or given away, the most important fortress on the continent. The universal disaffection was carried to such excess, as to prevent, till the appointment of generals Gates, Lincoln, and Arnold to the service of that department, any number of militia from joining the dispirited garrison at fort Edward, or even till their arrival near Albany. But in the moment these officers assumed their command, an air of confidence took place of the despondency, which before universally prevailed, and every one was flushed with the hope of approaching victory. This animation was highly increased by the very successful attack of a body of militia, under command of general Starks, at Bennington, upon a detachment commanded by colonel Baum, of the Hessians; in which the latter were totally defeated, with the loss of near 1000 men, killed and prisoners, and all their baggage, artillery, &c. &c. About the same time, another detachment, commanded by general St. Leger, who invested fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk river, about ninety miles west from Albany, after an unsuccessful siege of some days, was obliged to retire, with precipitation and loss, on the 22d of August. In the beginning of September, general Gates, having been strongly reinforced, by the militia from the New-England and New-York states, advanced to Stillwater, and soon after to half way between that and Saratoga, where he encamped within a few miles of the enemy. On the 19th September, an attempt to gain our left flank, brought on a partial action, in which the enemy were unsuccessful. On the 7th October, a second battle was fought, in which more than half of each army were engaged. The British were severely repulsed, and pursued into their entrenchments, with the loss of general Frazer, their commanding officer, and near 500 men killed, wounded and prisoners. The 11th, general Burgoyne began to retire towards lake George, leaving his hospital, and part of his baggage, in our possession. He was closely

pursued ; and on the 13th, necessitated to encamp at Saratoga, the pass of the North river being occupied by a detachment of the victorious army. Here, finding himself surrounded on all sides, cut off from all support, and the possibility of effecting his retreat, on the 16th he surrendered himself and army prisoners of convention. To rescue general Burgoyne from the ruin which impended, general Clinton (who, during the expedition to Philadelphia, commanded in New-York) undertook an expedition against the forts in the high lands of the North river, from thence intending to penetrate to Albany. Accordingly, on the 5th of October, he attacked fort Montgomery, at the head of 5000 men, the garrison amounting to about 700 ; and after an obstinate engagement of two hours, carried the post, and with it the command of the river. From this he instantly advanced towards Albany ; but his success was too late. General Burgoyne had already surrendered, and himself was obliged immediately to retire to New-York, after demolishing the forts which he had taken.

Had this movement been made a few days earlier, it might have been efficacious ; or had general Burgoyne prosecuted his first success in a proper manner, we must almost inevitably have lost the command of the North-river, and the whole state of New-York, and consequently the communication between the eastern and southern states. But fortunately, after the success at Ticonderoga, instead of pushing (as he should have done) 1500 or 2000 light troops, with their blankets, a few days' provisions, and arms only, to Albany, (which place they might have reached, and maintained, till the arrival of the whole army) the enemy amused themselves with triumphing in their victory, and publishing proclamations. They advanced at length, with ill-time caution, and embarrassed with heavy artillery and baggage, as if with a design to allow the army and country time to recover from their panic, and put themselves in a new posture of defence.—Rashness in this instance, as in many of the great movements of war, would have been wisdom : but the opportunity lost only for a moment, was lost forever.

In January, 1778, a treaty of amity and commerce was

signed at Paris, between the kingdom of France, and the United States of America. This unexpected blow, with the loss of general Burgoyne and his army, occasioned a new set of commissioners to be appointed by the parliament of Great-Britain, in February following. In May they arrived in Philadelphia, having been preceded by copies of the bills, on which their authority and commission were founded. These were considered by Congress as equally nugatory and preposterous with the former, and intended rather to gain time, by lulling us into security, than to answer any pacific purposes : and the gentlemen, in consequence, were received without the least attention or notice.

Nothing passed, in this interval, between the two armies, till the campaign of 1778 at length opened by the evacuation of the city of Philadelphia, in June. The army of the enemy, commanded by general Clinton, retired across New-Jersey, towards Staten-Island. By this movement, general Washington was left considerably in the rear : but the militia of the country, still sore from the insults and barbarities of the preceding year, and animated with the wish of revenge, exerted themselves so vigorously in retarding the march of the enemy, that on the 27th of June, the American light troops came up with the rear of the British at Monmouth, and immediately begun the action : being too far advanced to receive seasonable support from the main body, they were at first obliged to retire ; but the fate of the day instantly changed on the appearance of general Washington ; and after several unfortunate skirmishes, the enemy took advantage of the night, to make a very expeditious retreat, by which they escaped to Staten-Island, without any additional loss.

Fortunate as this evacuation of Philadelphia was in its conduct, it was much more in point of time : for a few days after, the count D'Estaing, who sailed from Toulon on the express design of blocking up the British fleet in the river, arrived with thirteen sail of the line off the capes of Delaware ; the most unfavourable winds and weather having occasioned him so long a passage, as gave general Clinton opportunity for this lucky escape.

From the capes, the count immediately sailed for New-

York, with an intention to attack the city ; but the water of the harbour being found insufficient for his largest ships, he sailed for Newport, on Rhode-Island, which had been long in the hands of the enemy, and against which an expedition, by land, was now undertaken, under the command of general Sullivan.

The beginning of August, the American troops, in number about 10,000, (of which the greater part were militia) landed on the island without opposition, the French fleet then lying within the harbour. At this moment, Lord Howe, with what ships he had been able to collect on the station, appeared in the offing, and was immediately pursued to sea by the count. A violent storm, which arose the next day, and continued for almost a week, prevented an engagement of the two fleets, and dismantled several of the French ships ; in consequence of which, they were obliged to put into Boston to refit.—The army of general Sullivan were thus left to carry on the siege alone, which they did with vigour, till, finding the support of the fleet was no more to be expected, they retired, on the 28th of August, from their camp before Newport, to the north end of the island, where the enemy, next day, ventured to attack them, and were repulsed with considerable loss. The 30th was employed, by each party, in throwing up lines of defence, on the American part intended only as a deception. The stratagem succeeded perfectly ; and on the evening we retired from the island, undiscovered, and without the loss of a man, though the encampment of the enemy was less than cannon shot distant, and their advanced guard within call of ours.

After this unsuccessful attempt, nothing material passed during the campaign, till the detachment of a considerable body of troops from New-York to the West-Indies and Georgia ; to the former of which the French fleet sailed in October, and were soon followed by the British, now commanded by admiral Byron.

The division destined for Georgia arrived, and soon made themselves masters of the principal part of the country, without much opposition or loss. From Georgia they marched, in April, for Charleston, in South-

Carolina, before which place they appeared in May. A division of our troops, who had retired before them, entered the town, and, with the inhabitants, prepared for a vigorous defence. General Lincoln coming up, at the same time, with the enemy's rear, obliged them to retire from before the city, and take post on an island in the harbour, occupying only a point of the main land, opposite to their principal encampment. This post was immediately after attacked by general Lincoln, but with bad success, the enemy having been reinforced from the island, which, from some misconduct, failed of being attacked at the same time, by the troops who were destined for that service. Our loss, however, was small, the army retiring in good order. The enemy, in a few days, fearing a second attack, retired by water to Georgia; having thus abandoned great part of their new conquest, almost as soon as obtained.

While this passed, the American grand army had taken their old winter quarters of 1777, at Bound-Brook, in New-Jersey, the British remaining quiet in New-York. The present campaign opened in June, with an expedition of the enemy up the North river, where new fortifications had been erected, more advantageously than those destroyed by general Clinton, and the passage of the river likewise secured by a strong boom. On the approach of the enemy, our advanced posts, after some little specimens of obstinacy, had retired into the mountains, where they gained time for the arrival of general Washington, with the army. An action was at first expected; but the enemy, finding the ground we occupied too strong to be attempted with what troops they had, and after having fortified Verplank's and Stony Points, two commanding eminences below the entrance of the highlands, retired to New-York, leaving strong garrisons in the new posts; the latter of which they called *the American Gibraltar*.

From New-York an expedition was immediately formed against the coasts of this state, and executed with perfect barbarity. The town of New-Haven (the second in the state) was plundered of every valuable; and Norwalk and Fairfield reduced to ashes; the inhabitants suffering every insolence, cruelty, and brutality, that even savages could practise.

But, while they were thus *worthily* amusing themselves, general Washington formed an expedition against their fort at Stony-Point, which was executed in the night of the 15th of July last, by the light infantry of the army, under the command of brigadier-general Wayne. The works were carried at the point of the bayonet: about sixty of the enemy were killed, and near six hundred taken, with the loss on our part of fifteen killed, and sixty-four wounded.

This unexpected blow recalled the attention of general Clinton from his plundering expeditions, and gave him the most cruel chagrin. He was soon, however, permitted to reoccupy the ground, after we had taken off the stores, and demolished the works. A few days after, major Lee, with a detachment of 300 men, surprised a post at Powles-hook, opposite the city of New-York, and only cannon shot distant; made the garrison, 150 men, prisoners, and retired without loss.

These offensive successes have had great effect in animating the army, and teaching them to confide in the admirable discipline, to which they have been formed, by the baron Steuben (a Prussian officer of great merit); a discipline, not inferior, in any point, to that of the best British troops.

About this time, an expedition had been formed, by the state of Massachusetts, against a party of the enemy from Halifax, commanded by general M'Lean, who had established themselves at Penobscot, an harbour in the north-eastern part of that state, about 300 miles from Boston. One frigate of thirty-two, and twelve private ships of war, from eighteen to twenty-four guns, formed the naval force; the army consisting of only 1000 militia. The first landing of the troops was effected with little loss.

The enemy immediately abandoning all their out-posts, retired to their fort, which was strongly situated, and garrisoned by as many disciplined troops as the besiegers could count of raw men. An injudicious delay, in expectation of reinforcement, gave time to sir George Collier to arrive from New-York, with several ships, and a fresh body of troops; in consequence of which, we were obliged to

make a precipitate retreat; with loss of all our armed ships, transports, provisions, stores, &c. and some men.

This misfortune, which was severely felt by the merchants of Boston, was in some degree alleviated, by the arrival, a few days since, of three continental frigates, bringing with them ten sail of a Jamaica fleet, just taken, and having on board 5000 hogsheads of rum and sugar, besides many other valuable articles of West-India goods.

Each moment brings us important intelligence. The defeat of the English fleet in the West-Indies, by count D'Estaing; the declaration of his most Catholic majesty to the court of Great-Britain, which we have just now heard, are very pleasing and interesting events. But the joy we feel is in some degree damped, by the arrival of admiral Arbuthnot at New-York, on the 25th instant, with a fleet of 200 sail, said to have on board 7000 fresh troops; presenting again to our view the devastations and horrors of war, from which, we had begun to hope, we were ere long to be delivered. It is likewise reported in New-York, (I know not with what truth), that 5000 troops are gone to Georgia, and 2000 to Halifax. We may therefore, expect another interesting campaign; the important events of which, I shall make it my study to communicate to you, as soon, and with as much candor as possible.

The foregoing account gives you a general idea of the operations of the war; in which, notwithstanding their many conquests, whether boasted or real, you find the British actually, at this day, masters of little more than they first possessed. New-York, Staten-Island, Long-Island, Rhode-Island, Savannah in Georgia, and Penobscot in Massachusetts, are the extent of their present dominions, all of which, you will naturally remark, owe their preservation much more to the navy, whose superiority we have no power to dispute, than to the army, whom we are now ready to meet in the field.

I can well conceive the address and perseverance of our enemies, in disseminating false and disgraceful reports of our resources and movements: but a very little knowledge of mankind will be sufficient to teach, even the most simple, what confidence is to be reposed in the *assertions*

of those, whose *actions* are seen to deviate so widely from every rule of right. They assert, that "of 32,000 electors of Congress, only 600 have taken the oaths of abjuration." But I affirm to the world, that only in the little state, over which I have the honour to preside, there are 10,000 electors, every one of which has abjured his allegiance to the king of Great-Britain, and sworn to support, with his life and fortune, the liberties and independence of his country; these oaths being one established and irrevocable condition, on which the right of election is founded. They assert, "that the people are disgusted with the measures of the new Congress:" on the contrary, the *recommendations*, only, of this worthy body of men, have every effect of laws, in guiding the actions of their constituents: and it may truly be said, that they have taken no one *material* step, which has not been received with the most hearty approbation. It would be strange indeed, and unprecedented in the annals of mankind, if, in the establishment of a new empire, under the numberless embarrassments through which we have struggled, no errors had been committed, which an after prudence might find to correct.

"The number of royalists is said to have increased with rapidity." Governor Johnson should have learnt to discriminate between people, who *voluntarily* declare in favour of a party, and those whom *misfortune reduces to the necessity* of partial and temporary submission; to avoid the horrible alternative of fire, captivity, and slaughter. Experience or history might have taught him, that a submission, thus forced, is but the prelude to revenge: if he demands example, let him look at New-Jersey, or the more modern instance of Georgia, Carolina, and Connecticut.

"Discord already reigns between the French and Americans, and even among the Americans themselves." Let the French gentlemen, who have been in America, relate the reception they have met with in this country; or inquire of my countrymen, what treatment they receive in France. The answer will decide on individual affection; and the unequivocal conduct of the courts of France and Spain leave as little doubt of the subsistence of national harmony. For ourselves, at the commencement of

the war, the southern and northern states were almost as unacquainted as two different nations ; but now, not only political, but individual union subsists on the firmest, most amicable foundations.

“ That many of the states are on the point of following the example of Georgia, Carolina, and Connecticut, in returning to their allegiance,” is an assertion too impudent-ly false, almost, to merit an answer. However, let the present state of Georgia and Carolina, let the late opposition of two or three hundred raw, surprised militia, and the children of a college at New-Haven, to as many thousand veteran troops in the field, and the precipitate retreat of those veterans in less than eighteen hours, be considered, and I will grant, that America, in general, is upon the point of returning to her allegiance in the very same manner.

The history, which you already have, of the operations and misfortunes of the war, with their causes, furnishes a ready answer to the inquiry of your countrymen, and gives the true reason why “ we did not improve the opportunity of general Burgoyne’s defeat, and the support of “ count D’Estaing, to dispossess our enemy, entirely, of “ the small part of the continent, which still groans under “ their dominion.” It was want of power. New-York, Newport, and Penobscot, with the islands, are to us real *Gibraltars*, impossible to be reduced so long as the enemy command the seas : and this command we can have no power to dispute for many years to come, except by the support of our allies.

I acknowledge, my dear Sir, that no *one action* of the present war merits any comparison to the fury, and the rage of valor, which was displayed at the sieges of Haerlem, Leyden, &c. and which rendered your ancestors so justly, so illustriously celebrated. But when we compare the circumstances of the two countries, perhaps we may be induced to believe, that the collective conduct of the present, has been, by no means, less arduous, than that of the former war.

At the time of your revolt, Holland might already be called old in population, in government, in war, and in arts. Your country, though not of wide extent, was

crowded with cities and inhabitants : you had many men of extensive knowledge and experience : your people were inured to the fatigues and discipline of war, by land and sea : cultivation and manufactures were, by you, carried to an height of perfection, unknown to almost any other part of the world : trade and commerce you had almost engrossed to yourselves : your cities and harbours were already covered with extensive and very strong fortifications : and to these must be added, your *real dominion* over the seas, whether in the ocean, where your fleets were nearly equal, if not almost superior to that of your enemy ; or by your inundations, which formed a new, and absolutely unconquerable style of defence. On the other hand, we see America almost in a state of infancy. We are three millions of inhabitants, indeed, but thinly scattered over an immense country, whose extent on the sea is not less than fifteen hundred miles, and to the back country more than three hundred ; destitute of a single fortified town, or the engineers, the men, or the revenue, necessary for works of the kind ; without a civil officer informed in independent government, or a military of higher rank than a colonel of irregulars ; without almost a man, who had ever served on board a ship of war, or in a disciplined army. Cultivation is, from the youth of the country, but very imperfect ; and manufactures, especially of arms, ammunition, and the requisites of war, from the policy of our connexions, were almost unknown in the smallest degree. These are disadvantages, which already form a striking contrast to the resources of Holland, and might well have been sufficient to deter even the most heroic people from an attempt, which, thus embarrassed, reason would almost stamp with the character of madness and despair. But let us go further, and compare our naval situation with yours, (to say nothing of the advantage derived from your inundations :) Our commerce had ever been so cautiously restricted to our mother country, that we were almost unknown, by name, to the other nations of the earth. Thus destitute of commercial connexions, or political acquaintance, we had, at first, little to expect from the friendship or alliance of strangers ; while the same mediocrity of commerce, in itself, deprived us of

seamen, the soul of a marine. In fine, there was not, at the commencement of the war, a single armed ship on the continent, to defend, even the smallest point of our vast extended coast, against a navy, which, but a few years before, had triumphed over the united powers of the world. The innumerable misfortunes, which were the inseparable consequence of this inferiority, are obvious ; it was impossible to combat, to advantage, an enemy, who could thus, in a moment, evade our attack, and transport himself to a thousand different defenceless quarters of the country. Devastation and plunder were continually in his power, while supplies, of ammunition and military stores, were almost more precarious from abroad, than the manufacture of them was unknown at home. Thus friendless, and thus destitute of resources, the maxims of Fabius were necessarily adopted, and we have hitherto "conquered by delaying."

You will find in the inclosed answers, to the inquiries of the British court, an accurate description of the form of government, population, soil, climate, produce, and trade of the state of Connecticut. The government of the other states are founded on democratic principles likewise, and nearly similar to ours ; most of them are already established, though some (from peculiar difficulties of situation) are still scarcely arranged.

The climate, the soil, and the productions of a continent, extending from the thirtieth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, and in longitude an unknown width, are various beyond description, and the objects of trade consequently unbounded. There is scarce a manufacture, whether in the useful or ornamental part of life, of which you will not here find the materials, collected, as it were, in an immense magazine. In every requisite for naval armaments we abound, our forests yielding prodigious quantities of timber and spars ; our mountains vast mines of iron, copper, and lead ; and our fields producing ample crops of flax and hemp. Provisions of all kinds are raised in much greater quantities, than are necessary for our own consumption ; and our wheat, our rye, our cattle, and our pork, yield to none in the world for quality.

The price of cultivated lands is by no means extravagant ; and of uncultivated, trifling : twelve thousand acres, situated most advantageously for future business, selling for three hundred guineas English, i. e. little more than six pence sterling the acre. Our interests and our laws teach us to receive strangers, from every quarter of the globe, with open arms. The poor, the unfortunate, the oppressed, from every country, will here find a ready asylum : and by uniting their interests with ours, enjoy, in common with us, all the blessings of liberty and plenty. Neither difference of nation, of language, of manners, or of religion, will lessen the cordiality of their reception, among a people whose religion teaches them to regard all mankind as their brethren.

The only obstacle, which I foresee, to the settlement of foreigners in the country, will be the taxes, which must inevitably, for a time, run high, for the payment of the debts contracted during the present war. These, indeed, will be much lightened, by the care which has been taken to confine these debts, as much as possible, among ourselves, and by emitting a paper currency in place of borrowing from abroad. But this method, though it secures the country from being drained, hereafter, of immense sums of solid coin, which can never return, has exposed us to a new and very disagreeable embarrassment, by its monstrous depreciation : an evil which had its rise in, and owes all its rapid increase to, the single cause of our not having provided, at a sufficient early period, for its reduction and payment by taxes. This measure was indeed rendered impracticable, at the proper time, by the radical derangement of the system of government, and consequently of revenue, in many of the United States : and its necessary delay, till the removal of these impediments, gave time for avarice and suspicion to unite in sapping the foundation of our internal credit. Many methods have been attempted for the prevention of a further depreciation ; and among others, the regulation of prices and markets has been repeatedly essayed ; but all efforts of the kind must forever prove fruitless, while they do not strike at a radical cure ; and the evil, after each momentary restraint, springs up, like the hydra's head, redoubled and renewed

in vigour : each new attempt constantly evincing to us, what we ought at first to have received as a fixed principle, "That the value of money, whether real or artificial, will forever be determined by the proportion of its own quantity, to the quantity of all the objects of trade in the country where it is current." Taxes, therefore, are now adopted, and the evil seems at a stand. The continuation of this system, and stopping the emission of additional sums, we now begin universally to acknowledge, as the only effectual remedy ; and the increasing union of sentiment which pervades all classes of men, will soon produce the desired effect. The danger of extravagant taxes, indeed, is much more imaginary than real. We have to defray the expenses of an army of twenty thousand men for four years. These expenses are almost entirely within ourselves ; and one hundred bushels of wheat will at this day discharge the pay of a man as readily as at the commencement of the war. What matters it then, (so long as our country continues to produce an equal quantity of essential wealth), whether that wheat is nominally called one hundred pounds, or an hundred shillings ? The real value (that is, in any foreign market, or in solid coin) is still the same, however we may vary the denomination of our internal currency.

You find I am not an advocate for internal or foreign loans ; in my opinion, they are like cold water in a fever, which allays the disease for a moment, but soon causes it to rage with a redoubled violence ; temporary alleviations, but, ultimately, real additions to the burden. The debts which we have already contracted, or may hereafter be necessitated to contract abroad, I have not a doubt but will be paid with the utmost punctuality and honour ; and there can be no surer foundation of credit, than we possess in the rapidly increasing value and importance of our country.

Indeed it is not so much my wish, that the United States should gain credit, among foreign nations, for the loan of money, as that all nations, and especially your countrymen in Holland, should be made acquainted with the real state of the American war. The importance and greatness of this rising empire, the future extensive

value of our commerce, and the advantage of colonization, are objects which need only to be known, to command your attention, protection and support.

Your "Tertia," with its enclosures, will (together with this) be immediately forwarded to Congress, where, I doubt not, the services you have already rendered this country, and the affectionate attachment you are pleased to testify to our interests, will meet that acknowledgment of gratitude, which pity and relief demand in return from the unfortunate.

Give me leave, most sincerely, to express my grief, that the efforts you have made for the removal of oppression in your own country, and for extending the blessings of liberty and plenty to the poor, should have met with so ungrateful a return of persecution and insult. Unhappy state of man! where opulence and power conspire to load the poor, the defenceless, and the innocent, with accumulated misery! where an unworthy few join to embitter the life of half their fellow-men, that they may wallow in the excess of luxurious debauch, or shine in the splendid trappings of folly!!

Go on however, my dear Sir; continue to assert the liberties of mankind, and support the cause of this injured and unfortunate country. And may heaven, in return for your generous, benevolent, and virtuous exertions, crown your life with the enjoyment of every public and domestic blessing. And if future events should render it convenient, or agreeable to you, to visit this new world, and share with us the enjoyment of universal freedom, may you be happy.

For myself, sixty-nine years, which I have already lived, allow me but a few days, at best, of which I can even hope the enjoyment. But I have children, in whom I am happy to anticipate an elongation of life; and in whom, you may be assured, you will meet with faithful friends, though you should not chance to see,

My dear Sir,

your most obliged, most obedient,
and grateful humble servant,

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

POSTSCRIPT.

March, 1780.

Soon after closing my second, we received the pleasing intelligence, that the fleet of France, under the count D'Estaing, after having defeated admiral Byron in the West-Indies, was again arrived upon our coasts; and preparations were immediately made for co-operating with him against the city of New-York. The enemy likewise, in their alarm, withdrew the garrison of Rhode-Island, called in their out-posts and ships, prepared hulks for obstructing the entrance of the harbor, and made every exertion to put the city of New-York into the best possible state of defence, as their dernier-resort.

In September, the count anchored at Georgia, landed his troops, was joined by general Lincoln, with such troops as he had been able to collect, and formed the siege of Savannah; to which town, the capital of the state, the British had collected all their force, and prepared for an obstinate defence. Artillery was landed from the fleet, batteries opened, and an incessant cannonade kept up for several days. The town, indeed, was ruined, but still no proposals of surrendering the place were attended to by the enemy. The count, therefore, having already remained on this service some days longer than the time limited by his orders, and being now reduced to an absolute necessity of returning to his station in the West-Indies, it was determined to attempt the town by storm; and the resolution was carried into execution on the morning of the 9th of October. Both the French and American troops, however, were repulsed with some loss, and of consequence the siege was immediately raised; the count re-embarking his troops, artillery, baggage, &c. a few miles below the town, and general Lincoln retreating into Carolina, equally without molestation. An accurate account of this affair I have never seen; but it is by no means improbable, that the American troops, who were wholly raw, may have been equally deficient in the conduct of the day, as they were in discipline, since we know how difficult it is to lead unexperienced men to face the dangers of an assault. This is certain, that the veterans, under the count's immediate command, did honour to themselves and to their country. The count himself was

slightly wounded ; and brigadier-general Pulaski, a native of Poland, in the American service, was killed.

This expedition, however, although unsuccessful in its main object, was not unattended with important good effects ; all the British ships of force, in the harbour of Savannah, with a number of transports, and a considerable sum of money for the military chest, being taken by the count on his first arrival ; besides, that the offensive operations of general Clinton, in the quarter of New-York, were entirely checked, and the island of Rhode-Island abandoned to us, after a possession of almost three years.*

* The baron Van der Capellan, in his letter dated Zwol, the 7th of December, 1778, to governor Trumbull, to which the above is an answer, thus expresses himself on the subject of their correspondence.—“ Another cause of distrust, in relation to the *credit* of America, is the false intelligence which the English incessantly circulate, and the effect of which the friends of the Americans cannot destroy from the want of information. It would be of the last importance to enable them, by authentic relations, which should contain nothing but what was *precisely* true, and in which even the disadvantages, inseparable from the chance of war, should not be concealed ; in order, I say, to enable them, from time to time, to give an idea of the *actual* state of things, and of what is really passing on the other side of the ocean. If you choose, sir, to honour me with such a correspondence, be assured, that I shall make a proper use of it. Communications, apparently in confidence, have much stronger influence than those which appear in public. Your letter, which I have communicated, among others, in Amsterdam (with discretion, however, and hitherto without giving any copies) has made a strong impression upon all who have read it. All regret that so handsome, so energetic a defence of the American cause, should be shut up in the port-folio of an individual. A description of the present state and advantages of United America ; of the forms of government in its different republics ; of the facility with which strangers can there establish themselves, and find subsistence : of the price of lands, both cultivated and unimproved ; of cattle, provisions, &c. with a succinct history of the present war, and the cruelties committed by the English, would excite astonishment in a country where America is known but through the medium of the gazettes.”

THE PETITION OF THE EARL OF STIRLING, WILLIAM PHILLIPS LEE, AND MARY TRUMBULL, PRAYING TO BE PUT IN POSSESSION OF SOME LANDS, CALLED THE COUNTY OF CANADA, GRANTED TO WILLIAM EARL OF STIRLING, IN 1635, BY THE COUNCIL FOR THE AFFAIRS OF NEW-ENGLAND. 1760.

To the king's most excellent majesty in council.

THE humble petition of William Earl of Stirling, who is nearest heir male to William the first earl of Stirling, and also to Henry the last earl of Stirling, who died in the year 1739; and of William Phillips Lee, of the city of York, Esquire, and Mary Trumbull, of Easthampstead park, in the county of Berks, spinster; which said William Phillips Lee and Mary Trumbull are heirs at law of the said Henry the last earl of Stirling;

Sheweth,

That his late majesty king James the first, by letters patent, bearing date the 3d day of November, which was in the year of our Lord 1621, did grant to the council for the affairs of New-England, their successors and assigns, all the land in New-England, in America, lying and being in breadth from forty to forty-eight degrees of northern latitude, in length of and within all the breadth, throughout the main land, from sea to sea.

That the said council did, in the year 1635 (*inter alia*) grant to William Alexander earl of Stirling, his heirs and assigns, all that part of the main land of New-England aforesaid, beginning from a certain place called or known by the name of St. Croix, next adjoining to New-Scotland in America aforesaid, and from thence extending along the sea coast unto a certain place called Pemoquie, and so up the river thereof to the farthest head of the same, as it tendeth northward, and extending from thence, at the nearest, into the river Kineboqui, and so upwards along, by the shortest course, which tendeth unto the river of Canada, from thenceforth to be called and known by the name of County Canada.

That the said tract of land was soon afterwards taken possession of by the said earl of Stirling, and remained

many years in the possession of him and his heirs, who were at a very great expense in planting and settling the same.

That the said William earl of Stirling died in the year 1640, and was succeeded by his grandson William, who died a few months after him; and the said last named earl was succeeded by his uncle Henry.

That in the year 1663-4, James duke of York obtained a grant from his brother, king Charles II. of all that part of the main land, in North-America, lying between the rivers called Hudson's and Connecticut rivers, by the name of the province of New-York, including in his letters patent for the same, the island of Stirling, or Long-Island; for the purchasing which island, the said duke had bargained with Henry earl of Stirling; and also including therein, the said county of Canada, above described.

That the said Henry earl of Stirling never did bargain to sell to the said duke of York, his right or title to the said county of Canada, or any part thereof, nor ever divested himself of his right to the same; and the only reason, which can be assigned for the said county of Canada being included in the said grant to the duke of York, is, that in the same instrument, by which the said council for the affairs of New-England conveyed the county of Canada to the said earl of Stirling, they also convey the said island of Stirling, or Long-Island. And the duke of York, having a design to establish the province of New-York, and hearing much of the goodness of the soil of the said island of Stirling, or Long-Island, and of their contiguity thereto, applied to said Henry earl of Stirling for the purchasing his right to the said islands: and the said earl having agreed to sell the said islands to the duke of York, did deliver to his royal highness, or his agents, his title deeds, in order that the boundaries of the said islands of Stirling, or Long-Island, might be inserted in the duke's letters patent for the province of New-York: but by mistake, or otherwise, there was inserted in the said letters patent, not only the boundaries of the said islands of Stirling, or Long-Island, but all other the lands contained in the grant from the said council of New-England to the first-named.

earl of Stirling ; by which means the said county of Canada was likewise included in the said letters patent.

That, in the said agreement between the said earl and duke, Long-Island only being bargained for, and there being no mention made of the county of Canada, the said Henry earl of Stirling, and his heirs, preferred several petitions to the said duke of York, and afterwards to him when king James the second, and to his successors, complaining of injustice done them by the said insertion of the said county of Canada in the said letters patent to the said duke of York.

That their late majesties king William and queen Mary, in their charter to the province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, did give the jurisdiction of the country, comprehended within the said county of Canada, to the legislature of the said province of Massachusetts-Bay, (though it lies at a considerable distance from that province), but with an express prohibition to the granting any part of the soil thereof without the royal approbation.

That the petitioners humbly conceive, that the said grant to the said duke of York in 1663-4, nor the said charter to the Massachusetts-Bay in 1691, can any way invalidate their prior right, held by the said letters patent in 1621 ; and as no settlements have been made in the said county of Canada, by virtue of, or under the said grant to the duke of York, or under the said charter to Massachusetts-Bay, with the royal approbation, the petitioners apprehend no inconvenience can arise by the petitioners being put in immediate possession of the said county of Canada, to which they are so justly entitled.

Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray, that your majesty would be graciously pleased to give the proper directions for putting your petitioners in the possession of the said tract of land, with all the rights and privileges granted to the said first mentioned earl of Stirling ; and that your majesty would likewise be most graciously pleased to give orders to the governor of Massachusetts-Bay, to withdraw, and cease to exercise any jurisdiction therein, in order that so valuable a part of his majesty's dominions in America may be quietly and peaceably settled and im-

proved by the petitioners. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

STIRLING.

WILLIAM PHILLIPS LEE.

MARY TRUMBULL.

LETTER FROM JASPER MAUDUIT, ESQ. TO THE SPEAKER
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PROVINCE
OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, RELATIVE TO A REIMBURSE-
MENT FROM PARLIAMENT FOR THE EXPENSE OF SUP-
PORTING THE FRENCH NEUTRALS FROM NOVA-SCOTIA.

London, 10th December, 1763.

SIR,

MR. secretary's letter of the 24th of August, about the Nova-Scotians, is now before me. The province of Nova-Scotia's being unable to take care of its own subjects, and having been obliged to you for the securing and maintaining of them, is a circumstance, which may very justly be improved into an argument against the taking away any part of your country, to give to another province, which cannot maintain itself; and as such I have mentioned the affair to some of the board of trade and of the treasury. But that, I believe, is all the use that can be made of it; for, from the manner in which the proposal of a compensation has been received, in every place, where I have applied, it is impossible for me to hope to obtain any allowance on that account.

Soon after the receipt of the letter, I went to Mr. Pownall; and after reading part of it to him, stated the reasonableness of your demand for a compensation for that extraordinary expense. His answer was, that this was a business belonging to the treasury, and could not come under consideration of their board. I said, that I apprehended that it was a business before them, because the governor had wrote about it to the board. He replied, that there might be some cursory mention made of it in one of the governor's letters, but they could not possibly take any cognizance of the affair: and when I spoke of

presenting to the board a memorial, in consequence of his excellency's letter, he said, that that would be to no manner of purpose. I then applied myself to one of the lords of trade, who, having long sat at the board, and being an intimate acquaintance, I knew would give me his sentiments without reserve. Upon mentioning the affair, his first answer was, How can they ask for a compensation, when they refused to admit them? I said, that this was not for the last embarkation, but for those whom the province did receive in the year 1755. Oh, said he, that is the old affair, which has been already considered, and was long ago rejected: it will be to no manner of purpose to bring that on again. If even in those years, when we raised so many millions, and gave away our money to all that asked it, this demand was even then refused, you cannot hope that it should be listened to in these times, when parliament find it so difficult to raise even the smallest tax. And whence should they think of receiving the money? The treasury has nothing to give, but what is voted by the house of commons; and the £200,000 has always been considered there, as the compensation for all the several services.

I then went to Mr. Grenville. Upon mentioning that part of the argument, which says, that his most christian majesty, looking upon the Nova-Scotians as some of his most faithful subjects, would order transports for conveying them to France, he immediately said, that cannot be; that is contrary to our acts of navigation. How can the French court send ships to our colonies? When I mentioned the duke de Nivernois's declaration, he greatly doubted the truth of it; but said, that that was a matter which did not lie within his department. I acknowledged that I was sensible that that belonged to the secretary's office; and that therefore I did not wait on him so much upon that account, as upon another, which properly fell within his province, and that was, the granting a compensation for the expense incurred in the maintenance of these people. He instantly replied, that that would be impossible; turned the discourse to another subject, and would not suffer any farther mention to be made of it.^{no}

I then went to Lord Halifax's office; and after attend-

ing a great part of two different days, at last received from him nothing more than this short answer: That he had heard of the affair before; that he had thoroughly inquired into it, and that there was not a word of truth in it.

Thus the matter rests, with respect to the reception of it at the several offices to which I have applied. If his excellency and the council will be pleased impartially to weigh the merits of the subject, I believe they will not wonder at this coldness and inattention which was paid to it. You will remember, that these neutral French were sent into other provinces of North-America, as well as that of Massachusetts-Bay; yet they have none of them directed their agents to apply for a particular compensation for this service, but are content themselves to bear the burthen of it.

In the next place, you will recollect, that the allowance for the year 1761, which is now paid, is much greater, in proportion to the sum expended, than any which you have before received. In former years, the compensation has been less than one half of your expenses; in this, you received at least four-fifths. The pay roll for 1761 amounts to but £ 72828-19-0 equal to £ 54659-4-3 sterling, and the compensation is £ 42774-16-0, besides the £ 5190-12-0 and the sums recoverable from Pennsylvania and Connecticut: add this £ 9000 to the £ 54000 and you will still receive in the £ 42700 alone, full two thirds of your expense. Hitherto I have always held out, that the parliamentary allowance did not come up to one half of your charge; and in former years it really has been less. It would not now be for your interests for me to mention how much the allowance for the two last years of the war exceeds that proportion.

Supposing, therefore, that the house of Commons were disposed to grant a compensation, the utmost which we could ask, would be only the half of your charges. The general court, therefore, will be pleased to think for themselves, whether it be suitable to the dignity of a great province to come to parliament with a petition for four or five thousand pounds. Hitherto the province has stood upon the superior merit of its services, which has

placed it upon higher ground than any of the other provinces. I confess, that I wish it to stand there. And for that reason, in all my several applications, I have carefully avoided the mentioning the particular sum of this demand; choosing that the province should preserve entire the honour of having spent this war, in the public service, four hundred thousand pounds more than it has received, rather than bring it down below all the rest, by being the first to petition for four or five thousand pounds, in compensation for a service, which other provinces are content themselves to bear the expense of. After this, I believe it is unnecessary for me to add, that if we were to petition parliament, there would not be the least hope of success. I have, in my former letter, observed, that a petition for money cannot be received in the house without the king's consent signified by one of the lords of the treasury, which in this case could not be had. But if it could, yet, from what has already appeared since the opening of the sessions, the gentlemen of the house of Commons seem fully sensible, that, of all his majesty's subjects, none are so much benefited by the peace as those of the northern colonies. And, though all acknowledge the loyalty and zeal with which they assisted in the conquest of Canada, yet, with all the expenses they have been at, that they have not bought their peace and security too dear.

Upon the whole, I must submit to the judgment of the general court, whether I have not best consulted for their honour, in not prosecuting this matter any farther.— They, I know, do not desire to hear flattering things, but true ones: and it is my duty to state to them the real nature of every service; and to offer my reasons for desisting from things, which appear not to be feasible, as well as it is to pursue such as are so.

I am, with the highest regard for the
Great and General Court,

Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

JASPER MAUDUIT.

P. S. The distribution of the £ 10,000 is still delayed, but we are promised the warrant next week.

LETTER FROM JASPER MAUDUIT, ESQ. TO THE SPEAKER
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PROVINCE
OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, RELATIVE TO THE DUTY
LAID BY PARLIAMENT ON FOREIGN MOLASSES.

London, 30th December, 1763.

SIR,

IN my letter of the 23d of March last, I acquainted the general court, that a motion had been made, by the first lord of trade, for the lowering of the duty upon foreign molasses, from 6*d.* to 2*d.* per gallon, in order the more effectually to secure the payment of it. And in a subsequent letter, of the 8th of April, I mentioned, that this bill was deferred till the next session. I am now to inform the general court, that this scheme is resumed, and the quantum of the duty is to be one of the first things considered immediately of the meeting of the parliament. All agree, that a practicable duty should be laid, and the payment of it enforced. To attempt to controvert either of these, would be to no manner of purpose. As the general court have not been pleased to instruct me in their sentiments upon this subject, I was left to pursue my own, in conjunction with the other agents. And their silence inclined me to think, that such a scheme, if duty moderated, might not be disagreeable, though they might not choose to appear openly to oppose it. The sum at first thought of, by the treasury, was 4*d.* but Mr. Grenville seems to be now satisfied with two pence.

We are endeavouring at a penny ; it will not be more than two pence. All that the duty can be brought to, under that, must be reckoned as gain. There are many other regulations intended, about which I find that the gentlemen in parliament have very different ideas. I hope, however, there will be found a general disposition to serve the colonies, and not to distress them. But it will be of little use to write of conjectures. All that I can promise is, as far as my health and abilities permit, to be attentive and watchful for your interest.

I here send you a copy of his majesty's warrant for the

distribution of the £ 10,000, which is in my hands ; but the treasury letter not having come in time, it would not be paid till after the beginning of next month. I might have sent you the minute of the treasury ; but as it may be collected from the warrant, I did not think it worth the giving the clerk a guinea for it.

I am, with the highest respect for the great and general court, your most obedient, humble servant,

JASPER MAUDUIT.

LETTER FROM JASPER MAUDUIT, ESQ. TO THE SPEAKER
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PROVINCE
OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, RELATIVE TO THE DUTY ON
FOREIGN MOLASSES, THE KEEPING UP TEN THOUSAND
TROOPS IN AMERICA, &c.

SIR,

London, 11th February, 1764.

I AM now to acquaint the general court that the American bills are not yet brought into parliament. But as the West-India gentlemen have been at the treasury board, and the thought of laying three pence a gallon on the foreign molasses has been again resumed, I have ventured to deliver in to the lords the inclosed memorial. How far I have hit upon the sense of the general court. I cannot say, having been left without any instructions upon these subjects. In my letter of the 12th of March, I acquainted the general court with the intention of keeping up ten thousand men in the several parts of America, and the West-Indies : and that the colonies were to contribute to the maintenance of them. I have not, since the writing that letter, received any objections to this scheme ; and therefore did not think myself at liberty to make any : but judged it best, as we could not oppose, to make a merit of our submission. Nor indeed would any opposition at all avail, in the present state of our finances. Mr. Grenville, after the kindest expressions of regard to the colonies, assured my brother, that whatever were the distresses brought upon the revenue by the extravagant expenses of the war, they did not mean to draw any thing from America for the relief of them. All that was desired was, that it should bear the

charge of its own government and defence, and nothing more. In this the parliament will most certainly concur with him. Nor do I find the least disposition in the other agents to oppose it. All that we can desire, therefore, is to have the duties laid in such a manner, as to be the most equal, and the least prejudicial to our trade.

I should do injustice to my brother, not to acknowledge that the memorial to the treasury is entirely of his drawing. He thought it might be of service to lay the argument in one view before their lordships, and, considering the very formidable number of votes, which the West-Indians have in the house of commons, that it is our business to avoid, as much as possible, the committing ourselves in any dispute with them. Many of the merchants, he has talked with, are convinced that it is a common concern with both colonies, to discourage, as much as possible, the French, Dutch, and Danish distilleries, and for that purpose to allow the foreign islands to sell us their molasses. But many of the mere planters do not choose to look so far. One thing their own interest has suggested, which may be of service; they have desired the lords of the treasury that no ships may be permitted to sail from the West-Indies without a certificate, upon oath, that the sugars, rum, and molasses, on board, are the produce of the island it clears from.

There is another affair, which my brother has undertaken, and hopes he may succeed in. As the renewing the bounty given to the Greenland fishery is now under consideration, he thought that this was the proper time to apply for taking off a discouragement, which lies upon yours. And after talking first with the secretary of the treasury, and then with Mr. Grenville, upon the subject, he drew up the petition inclosed, which has been signed by the merchants here, and presented to, and approved of by the treasury, and by the board of trade. Lord Hillsborough was pleased to say, that the petition carried with it its own evidence. He hopes to get it into parliament next week, and if it be carried, it may be a saving of ten or twelve hundred pounds a year to the province.

I am, with the highest respect to the great and general court, your most obedient, humble servant,

JASPER MAUDUIT.

LETTER FROM THOMAS MAYHEW TO GOV. PRINCE.

Upon the Vineyard, 19. 6. 1671.

Worshipful, and deservedly honoured,

YOURS of the 5th of this instant, I received this 18th, wherein I perceive it is very true that you had great trouble with the Indians, notwithstanding your gentle and kind dealing with them, of which I never doubted, especially respecting yourself; and I cannot but wonder, and that very much, that those of *Seconnett* stand out, the chief sachem, and also the sachem of that place, having submitted. I conceive they are not without a *back*. It is probable to reason, that there is a dormant strength, to awake in its season. However, I do not question but God will direct yourself, and those with you in authority, so to order things, that they shall fall short in bringing against you any wicked designs to pass.

Honoured Sir, as to our Indians, in my best understanding, there is no manner of plot known to any of the heads of this island; for before I went to York, considering the troubles in your colony, I went to all the towns, some English with me, and they did give in their names for to subject themselves to his majesty, and to fight against his enemies and the enemies of his subjects, if called thereunto. This was upon the matter universal, only at *Metack's* place were not many present; but himself, and those present, did freely give in their names. But since I came home, bringing with me a commission to govern all the Indians of this island and Elizabeth isles, I sent for all the sachems and chief men, acquainting them with what was done. All the sachems, with many others, as well non-praying as praying men, did, with much thankfulness, submit unto his honour's act in setting me over them; and every person present, by holding up his hand, did promise to advance the worship of God. The like was never of them heretofore attained.

Sir, it is so, that my favour unto Indians hath been thought to be overmuch; but I say, my error hath been, in all cases, that I am too favourable to English; and it

hath always been very hard for me to preserve myself from being drawn to deal over-hardly with the Indians. Pray consider it, for I shall be circumspect as concerning the Indians, and shall advise you faithfully, as occasion presents. This day I have sent down for to acquaint them, that they keep themselves at home, lest they bring trouble on themselves. And further, these are to certify you, that thinking that the commissioners were to sit at Plymouth, and yourself president, requested to write unto you in my behalf; as by the inclosed you will see; which letter I did think to bring myself, but I hear that the commissioners sit at Boston, so I come not. I desire that if any advantage, you will put it forth to the accomplishment of the contents of his unto yourself. We had often discourse of you at my being there, who by one recommended his affectionate love unto you.

Good Sir, take it for granted, that I shall not fail, upon all occasions, to advise you of the needful concerning the ————. I hoped to have met the commissioners; but seeing they come not to Plymouth, I cannot accomplish it. Not else at present; but saluting yourself, with all due respects, commending you to God, both for direction and protection, in this great and weighty affair; with my prayers to that purpose, in haste, I rest, Sir,
your worship's to serve, your's,

THOMAS MAYHEW.

To the Right Worshipful THOMAS
PRINCE, Governor of New-Plymouth. These at his house present with speed.

JAMES WALKER'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR PRINCE.

Much Honoured Sir,

AFTER my humble respects presented to you, these are to acquaint you with Philip's answer to your letter. My sons being visited with the ague, forced me to procure brother Harvey to go over to cousin James Brown with the letter, who sent for Mr. Williams to interpret; Mr. Williams not being well, came not till afterwards;

yet cousin James and brother Harvey went down to Mount Hope; and the dance being broken up, Philip and the most of his chief men were much in drink; only Acumpouin and Tom Samsuik were sober; so that Philip could not then give any answer. Only there passed some words betwixt Philip and cousin James, and Philip struck off cousin James Brown's hat. The day following they went again to Philip, and Mr. Williams with them. The letter being read, and Philip caused fully to understand it, they could get no positive answer about Philip's coming to Plymouth, because Mr. Eliot had sent for him to Boston, and he looked for another messenger that day; which messenger they met about two miles from Philip's house; which messenger told them that his message was to desire Philip to be at Punkapoge the last day of this week, and at Boston the Tuesday following. Philip and Tom exclaimed much against *Sausiman* for reporting that any of the Narraganset sachems were there. Not further to trouble you; but rest desiring the good Lord to be with you, and guide you in all your weighty affairs.

Yours to serve,

JAMES WALKER.

Taunton, Sept. 1, 1671.

DANIEL GOOKIN'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR PRINCE.

HONOURED SIR,

I UNDERSTAND, by a paper brought hither by Mr. Southworth, (being a copy of some Indian testimony left upon record there), wherein I am accused for speaking words to a Natick Indian, tending to animate Philip and his Indians against you. Sir, I look upon it favoring of as little charity as justice, to receive, record, and publish Indian reports, tending to the infamy of any christian man, much more a person in public place, without any other demonstration than such figment and falsehood as usually accompany the Indians' tales. I charge no person with doing this thing; neither do I desire to know who it is; the Lord forgive him or them as I do, that have been the inventors or somentors of such a false and reproachful scandal.

Sir, let me say to you in the words of truth and soberness, and upon the fidelity of a christian, and in the presence of God, before whom all things are naked and open, that such a thing never entered into my heart, much less into my lips; neither did I, to my remembrance, either see or speak with any Natick Indian for several months before I heard of this report; nor ever did I speak or lisp to any Indian of Natick, or other, the least word about the business, since I first heard of those differences between your colony and the Indians. At the court of assistants, March sitting last, at the time when your letter came, and the court considered of it, my own conscience, and others present then, can witness, how forward I was to strengthen your hands in that matter; but first to try all ways of prudence to issue your controversy: but in case the Indians be not reduced to order, then to give forth our utmost assistance, as the case should require. And of this, both yourself and all others may rest assured, that this report is a devised thing; and I may say of it as Nehemiah, (vid. Nehemiah vi. 8.) that there is no such thing, but the authors of it have feigned it out of their own heart, to this end that my hands might be weakened in the work that God hath committed to me: but I trust in God, he will disappoint satan and his instruments, and give me courage to defy satan, and do my duty.

Sir, thus much I thought expedient to write unto you about this matter, not that I stand in need of an apology, for my innocency is to me a sufficient shield in that respect; but if I should be altogether silent, it might be interpreted that I am guilty. Sir, I trust yourself and other your magistrates will put on such christian charity as not to credit such reports; but I am not unwilling this should be searched to the bottom, and see my accusers face to face, and not to shun any scrutiny therein.

Thus desiring to present my due respects to yourself, and the rest of the magistrates, I remain your assured loving friend,

DANIEL GOOKIN.

Cambridge, the 12th of April, 1671.

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR PRINCE TO DANIEL GOOKIN.

HONOURED SIR,

YOURS of 14th instant I received yesterday, by which I perceive you are much troubled about a copy of an Indian testimony by Mr. Southworth to Boston ; not because we received it for truth, but that we might know whether there were truth in it or not, (reports being indeed very false, not only among Indians but many English also), which for aught I yet see, might lawfully be done, without the least impeachment or diminution to charity or justice to any christian man, though in place. But whereas you please to charge us with receiving, recording, and publishing such falsehoods to your infamy ; Sir, I do assure you, in a word of truth, there is nor was not any such thing ; and therefore I might say the charge is wanting in charity, justice, and truth also. And whereas it is said you should speak words to animate Philip and his Indians against us ; it is some mistake or misrepresentation, for that paper spoke it not. That spake of *not fighting with Indians about horses and hogs*, as matters too low to shed blood, and verily, Sir, we think so too ; and therefore advised them to keep on the north side of the line, and not go to Philip to fight ; but if any did go, and were killed, they should keep an account of them, for what end I know not. The last words, about keeping an account, are to me enigmatical ; but in the whole, not one word of animating *Philip* and his Indians to fight against us ; and therefore that report cannot be rationally fathered upon that paper. For your readiness, with the rest of the honoured magistrates, to strengthen our weakness in case of need, we do and shall acknowledge it as a signal token of your brotherly love and care for us : and your sending messengers to see the ground or cause of all their hostile preparations, a high experiment of christian prudence, most acceptable to us, and owned of the Lord also, by the good success he was pleased to give to their endeavours and travel ; who have, I hope, so fully informed not only the honourable court that sent them, but all others,

that any scruples or jealousies on our part needlessly to interrupt the peace of the country, is, by that prudent act of yours, removed. And truly, Sir, what was mentioned in that note, was never so received by us; but upon your disowning it, we should readily reject it as a false report, without any of those several kinds of asseverations you please to express.

Sir, I hope you will still retain a charitable opinion of us, and your good affection towards us, notwithstanding what weakness you may apprehend in us. That must be owned on all hands to be a real truth, *in many things we offend all*, and need another manner of covering for our best actions from the pure eyes of the eternal Judge than our own righteousness, even the perfect righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, to whose grace I unfeignedly commend you, and rest, Sir, your friend and servant,

THOMAS PRINCE.

Plymouth, this 26th of April, 1671.

These for his very good friend, captain Daniel Gookin, at Cambridge, to be presented.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE CHURCH AT NATICK TO WILLIAM AND ANTHONY.

WE, the poor church of Natick, bearing that the honoured rulers and good people of Plymouth are pressing and arming of soldiers to go to war against the Missogkonnog Indians, (for what cause we know not), though they yet pray not to God, yet we hope they will; and we do mourn and pray for them, and desire greatly that they may not be destroyed; especially, because we have not heard that they have done any thing worthy of death. Therefore, we do send these our two brethren, Anthony and William, who were formerly our messengers to those parts, and we request John Sausiman to join them. And this trust we commit unto you, our dear brethren and beloved—

1. To go to the Missogkonnog Indians, or who else may be concerned in the quarrel; tell them the poor

church of Natick sends them two scriptures, which we intreat them to obey. The first is Deut. xx. 10, 11, where we see, as it is the duty of Plymouth to offer you peace before they war upon you; so it is your duty to offer, accept, and desire peace; and we pray you for God's sake, and for your soul's sake, obey this word of God. The second text is 1 Cor. vi. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, where God commandeth, that when difference arise among people, they ought to put their differences to arbitration of others; and therefore we do exhort you to obey this word of God; and whatever differences are betwixt you and the English of Aquidneck, or betwixt you and Plymouth, refer them all to the judgment of the rulers of the Massachusetts; and whatever they judge, do you obey; lay down your lives and all you have at their feet.

If they of Missogkonnog accept this our exhortation, tell them that the church hath also sent you to the governor, to tell him what the church hath done, and how acceptable it is to you, and that you do obey both those words of God. You desire peace, and desire to refer the whole matter to the judgment of the government of the Massachusetts.

2. When you come to the governor, tell him that the church hath sent you to be mediators of peace in the behalf of the Missogkonnog Indians, or any other of their neighbours; tell him that they yield willing obedience to both those texts of scripture, and therefore tell him that the poor church of Natick doth beseech him, and all the rest of the magistrates, for God's sake, who is the God of peace, and for Christ his sake, who is the King of peace, and our great Peace-Maker in heaven, that they would accept this offer and submission unto peace, and unto the instituted way of making and establishing of peace, and to cease pressing and arming of soldiers, and marching against them that are desirous of peace. We beseech you to consider what comfort it will be to kill or be killed, when no capital sin hath been committed or defended by them, (that we hear of.)

And we request you our beloved brethren to be speedy in your motions. We shall endeavour to follow you with our prayers, and long to hear of a happy peace, that may

open a clear door for the passage of the gospel among that people. Thus commending you to God in prayer, we do send you forth upon this great service of peace-making, which is eminently the flower and glory of Christ his kingdom.

JOHN ELIOT,

with the consent of the church.

Natick, August, or 6 mo. 1st, 1671.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM GOVERNOR PRINCE TO ROGER WILLIAMS.

LOVING SIR,

I RECEIVED your's ———, whereby you are pleased to remind me of the copy of your's to Major Mason, which, according to direction, I presented: which done, I know not what you expected more from us. In it you mention your great sufferings and sorrows in and for the country, in times past (which indeed should not be forgot) and of a present difference between your colony and Connecticut, which we are strangers to, and yet cannot but be grieved at (if so as you relate); which will indeed be ill resented not only to the savages, in whose land we sojourn, but others also, and to our own sovereign lord the king; doubtless displeasing to our gracious God. But we hope you will both of you labour to compose your differences, as becometh so near neighbours, fellow subjects to one king, professed servants to one holy, just and righteous God, at which we shall rejoice. In it, also, you offer a public dispute, in your three neighbour colonies; the ground thereof, I did not then well perceive; but in your last you seem to give it in, affirming that Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut have designed to oppress and undo your colony, and deprive you of that, which is by some cried up above all you call New-England's gods, viz. liberty for every one to worship God as he lists, or liketh best; and why not what God he liketh best also?

Sir, I will not say as Nehemiah vi. 8, when upon him and others of the people of God with him, a most grievous, but false charge was laid: but this I say in the words of truth, there is no such thing known to us, much less

intended by us, nor hath been here the least mention of any such thing but from yourself; and I have reason to conclude the same of the other two colonies, till I see or perceive any thing to the contrary. From what fountain this so foul and false a charge doth arise, I leave to yourself to examine and find out; but if from the same or like forementioned large principle of liberty, I shall like it the worse. But know assuredly, there is no such thing intended or imagined, except among yourselves, that I know of; and therefore the main ground of your dispute with us faileth, not having truth to bottom on, as to us. And you please to signify that major Mason will save you that labour as to that colony, being content to take up with a sight of your grounds and reasons: and truly, Sir, so I dare presume, shall we. So that except the gentlemen of the Bay will accept of the challenge, (who are wise enough to manage their own concerns) the dispute is at an end; not because we have not some, through the grace of God, both able and willing to maintain what truth we profess against gainsayers; nor because we judge ourselves perfect in knowledge, but desire and endeavour daily to grow in grace, and in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ. But who would expect to be any whit perfected or completed in matters appertaining to God's worship, by such as close not with any public worship upon earth that is known? Not I. Such worship, and a Samaritan religion are much alike to me. But if you judge it advantageous to your colony's interest, and what you account the only way of worship among you, who can hinder you to maintain the discussion of those propositions in any of our towns, and at what times you please? And all such as judge it worth their labour, either to do or receive good thereby, may have recourse thither. But I hope there is not many among us that have received Christ Jesus the Lord, but have so received him as not now to seek that way of worship, having of him been taught the truth as it is in Jesus.

Sir, not being willing to give you the least occasion to think your pains in writing was wholly disregarded, I was willing to scribble these few lines, having an opportunity of sending, and submit to your censure for what is amiss;

but doubt not you will rather impute it to my old age, than want of love to yourself, whose real happiness I do unfeignedly desire and pray for, and rest, Sir, yours in any office of love,

THOMAS PRINCE.

To his loving friend Mr. Roger Williams, at Providence, these present.

NOTE. This copy of a letter was found among the *Winslow papers*, at the family seat in Marshfield, and presented to a member of the Historical Society, with a number of other ancient papers, by Dr. *Isaac Winslow*. It is not dated. It was probably written soon after R. Williams's letter to major Mason, a copy of which was sent to Governor Prince, and which was published in the first volume, page 275, of the Collections of the Society.

JAMES QUANAPAU'S INFORMATION.

24th 11 mo. 1675.

James Quanapaug, an Indian, sent out with Job, as spies, to make discovery of the enemy ; returneth as followeth—

Saith,

THE first night after his departure from Natick, he came to Hessamesit, and from thence went to Manexit, where he met seven Indians of the enemy, who took Job and him. They were Quahmsit and Segunesit Indians. The next day we went to Quabaug pond, and met other Indians at Quabaug old fort, four men and two squaws. There we lay all night. Next day one Indian said he would carry us to the Indians; and we crossed over on this side Quabaug, and travelled one day; and in the night came to three Indian towns, the furthest not above three miles distant from the other, in which there was about 300 soldiers, besides women and children, and lie about thirty miles from Lancaster. The place is called Menemesseg, about twenty miles to the northward of Connecticut path. They have bark wigwams for shelter, and some mats; have pork, beef, and venison plenty. Their corn, he thinks, will fall short. The first night they asked us how we came from the island. We told them

we lived badly, had no firing, and run away. They said we were the English's brothers, and came as spies, and said they would kill us; but some of the chief would not yield to it. They were two Narragansets, would have had us killed. They inquired, what army was at Narraganset. We told them we knew not; we dare not go to Boston. One Indian would have borrowed my knife, another my hatchet. Then I spake to Job, saying, come let us go to their council. The first night we came, they took our snow-shoes from us; and one-eyed John told us, it was a great way, we could not come there by night; but we went, and found it but three miles. We came to the chief wigwam, where was about fifty men. They did not ask us many questions. Tuckup William told us, they had appointed to kill James Speen, Andrew Pitimy, captain Hunter, Thomas Quanapu, and Peter Ephraim, if they fell into their hands, and that Philip had hired them to do it; and said, I was one of the worst, and they would kill me, because I went up with the army to Swanzezy, where Pebe and one of Philip's counsellors were killed, and that I helped to cut off their heads, and bade me look to myself. Next morning I went to one-eyed John's wigwam. He said he was glad to see me; I had been his friend many years, and had helped him kill Mohaug; and said, nobody should meddle with me. I told him what was said to me. He said, if any body hurt me they should die. Then came Matoonus his company and others, and went to dancing; we painted our faces and went to dancing with them, and were very good friends. The dance continued two or three nights, after which they looked badly upon me again. I lay in the sagamore's wigwam; and he charged his gun, and threatened any man that should offer me hurt; and all those of his wigwam were of that mind, and sent a guard with me to the place whence I came. I went to another sachem, who told me, nobody should hurt me. I asked one-eyed John, how many men he lost; he said, but two. I asked him how many he lost up about Hatfield: he said, he lost one in the fight with captain Beers; another in fight with captain Lathrop. He hath about forty men under him. I asked him how many Philip and Northampton Indians

lost: he said, but two. I asked him how much ammunition he had: he said, half a peck of powder, and shewed me it. He said, he had it from the soldiers that were slain, some, and some *from the fort of Orania*. They have in these towns about twice so many women and children as are persons upon Deer island. He said, he expected help from the Wampaugs and Mohaugs, between this and planting time. The Mohaugs say, they will not kill the English, but they will kill the Mohegins. The Frenchmen, that went up from Boston to Norwuthick, were with the Indians, and shewed them some letters, and burnt some papers there, and bid them they should not burn mills nor meeting-houses, for there God was worshipped; and told them that they would come by land, and assist them, and would have Connecticut river, and that ships would come from France and stop up the bay, to hinder English ships and soldiers coming. And this Indian told me, they would fall upon Lancaster, Groton, Marlborough, Sudbury, and Medfield; and that the first thing they would do should be to cut down Lancaster bridge, so to hinder their flight, and assistance coming to them; and that they intended to fall upon them in about twenty days' time from Wednesday last.* The Narragansetts sent up one English head to them by two of their men; and they shot at the Narragansetts, told them they had been friends to the English, and that head was nothing. Afterwards they sent up two men more, with twelve scalps; then they received them, and hung the scalps on trees. Whilst I was there, another messenger came, brought nothing, but desired assistance, and said, they lost but forty fighting men, and three hundred old men, women, and children; and said, they had a great English captain among them, who had killed five Englishmen; that captain Mosely was killed, and that the Narragansetts were drawing to Quantisick; two hundred men were come then; that they are in three companies; Pomham is by himself, and Quananshet by himself; Ninegret is parted from them. They said Ninegret's men pretended to help the English, but were false, and did not shoot against the Indians; but that the Mohegins killed more

* They attacked Lancaster on the 10th of February, 1676.

than the English. They said, there is an Englishman called Williams about Mr. Stanton's, who, after the fight, came to the fort to the sachems to beg for his life, and the life of his wife and children, tendered them his cattle, corn, and goods, and to bring them what powder he could. Robert Pepper is a prisoner among the Indians where I was ; was wounded in the fight in the leg, and got into a tree and lay there, and Sam of Mashaway took him, and dragged him away, and abused him. After two days, Sam took him into his wigwam, and told him, if he did not die of his wound he should not be killed, and doth now use him kindly. Pepper told me, his master Sam said he should go home in the spring. Philip hath two prisoners of the English, one Greenleaf's man, a ship carpenter, and a Barbadoes boy. Philip is well, and within half a day's journey of the fort Orania on that side ; Hadley Indians are on this side, a little distant one from the other. Sancumucha, Hadley sachem, was ready to kill Philip ; told him, he had brought all this trouble on them. They lived very well by the English ; two Mo-haugs have been with them the last summer, and buy powder for them at Orania. Two Wampaugs are with them. The old men are weary of the war, but the young men are for the continuance of it. They say, they have good store of arms. Marlborough Indians are with them ; they say, they were fetched away by the other Indians ; some of them are very willing to come back. They had appointed a time to carry me with them to Philip, and Job to Narraganset, to tell what news we had brought ; but I put them off, that I would go out first with some Indians, and kill some English, and carry their heads to Philip ; but Job and I consulted to go a hunting, and borrowed Sampson's gun, and we found four deers, and killed them, and got into a swamp, and lay there all night. Next morning dressed our venison ; then I came away, and left Job ; he said, he would go to Narraganset ; and if he lived, would return in three weeks. We parted on Thursday last, about three o'clock in the morning. It is reported, there is seven hundred fighting men, well armed, left of the Narragansets.

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR STUYVESANT, OF NEW-YORK,
TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Right honourable Sirs,

THE engagement whereby I confessed myself obliged unto your honours, to your citizens, both horse and foot, for the large respects, honourable reception, and entertainment in the city and colony of Boston, doth provoke me, by this seasonable opportunity, to return all due and thankful acknowledgment, which should have been done sooner, if my sickness, and other intervening occasions, had not occasioned this neglect. But I hope it will be never too late to offer this tribute of thankfulness, and due engagement, unto your honours, in any occasion.

Further, right honourable sirs, I cannot omit to acquaint both your honours, and also, by these presents, the worshipful commissioners of your honour's colony, the irregular proceedings and writings, first of captain John Talcott's, and upon his animation, the very unlawful, seditious, and insupportable proceedings and actings of one Richard Pantom, before my departure from hence to Boston, upon the maine, at ———, and in my absence, upon the Long-Island, diverting and provoking, not only by subordinated means, but by the power of his pistol, and by the commission of his sword, drawing the good subjects off their oath and duty, which they stand engaged to the high and mighty States General of the United Belgick Provinces, the honourable Lords Bwinthebbers ———, of the West-India company; and these things passed in my absence. After my return, I did send three agents unto the General Court or Assembly of Hartford colony, acquainting them with the premises, as by the inclosed may appear; but nothing which was answerable could be attained. But since the return of our agents, and after the aforementioned general assembly of Hartford, whether with their cognizancy we forbear to assert, a greater company, under the command of one John Cee and Anthony Waters, did gather together, upon Long-Island, to the number (as I was informed) of fourscore, or thereabouts,

horse and foot ; went first to Gravesend, and afterwards to the other English towns, discharged the old magistrates of their oaths and places, and set up others ; threatened both Dutch and English to fire and to sword, if they would not yield unto their unlawful, irregular, and violent actings. We dare not imagine ourselves, that Hartford's general court had given any orders or commission in writing. What encouragement some, in particular, had given, I must leave for the present. Truly, right honourable sirs, if we had been so inconsult and ready in opposing such violent actings and irregular proceedings, as we justly might have done, great bloodshed and murder might be the result and event of it. But bearing more respect to the advice and proposals of the right honourable commissioners for the three other colonies, that the matters in controversy might be respited and attended at a next meeting of the commissioners at Hartford, A. D. 1664 ; and that the persons concerned in it may be acquitted from all damages and penalties ; our condescendency in these proposals, and for to prevent further troubles and bloodshed, we have hitherto forborne all these insupportable actings with patience, until I have acquainted your honours, and also the right honourable commissioners of the other colonies of these matters, and received their answer thereunto, if any means may be found, whereby these and further dissensions, troubles and bloodshed, may be prevented ; whereon I shall so speedy as is possible expect your honours' advice and answer ; and in the mean while, all kind salutations, my due respect and service promised, I shall remain

your honours' loving friend and neighbour,

(Was underwritten)

P. STUYVESANT.

*Amsterdam, in New-Netherland, this
20th November, A. D. 1663.*

The superscription,

*To the right honorable Governor, Commissioners,
and Court of Massachusetts colony, at Boston.*

DEPOSITION OF HUGH COLE, AT PLYMOUTH COURT,
A. D. 1670.

HUGH Cole, aged forty-three, or thereabouts, being deposed, saith;—That in February last past before the date hereof, he went to Shewamett, and two Englishmen more with him; and that their business was to persuade the Indians to go to Plymouth, to answer a complaint made by Hezekiah Luther. The Indians (saith he) seeing us, came out of the house towards us, being many of them; at the least twenty or thirty, with staves in their hands; and when the Indians saw there were but three of us, they laid down their staves again. Then we asked the Indians, what they did with those staves in their hands? they answered, that they looked for Englishmen to come from Plymouth to seek Indians, to carry them to Plymouth. But they said, they were not willing to go. And some time after, in the same morning, Philip, the chief sachem, sent for me to come to him; and I went to Mount Hope to him; and when I came to Mount Hope, I saw the most part of the Indians that I knew of Shewamett Indians, there at Mount Hope. And they were generally employed in making of bows and arrows and half pikes, and fixing up of guns. And I saw many Indians of several places repair toward Mount Hope. And some few days after I came from Mount Hope, I, with several others, saw one of captain Willet's rangers coming on post on horseback, who told us, that king Philip was marched up the neck with about three score men; and Zacary Eddy, on his report, went to see if he could find them; and he found them towards the upper part of the neck, in several companies. One Caleb Eddy further saith, that he saw many there in arms; and I was informed by John Padduck, that he saw two several guns loaded with bullets or slugs. And I further testify, that those Indians that I saw come towards Mount Hope, as aforesaid, came better armed than I usually have seen them. Further saith not.

The oath of Hugh Cole, taken in the court held at Plymouth, the eighth of March, 1670.

Attested by me,

NATHANIEL MORTON, Secretary.

A DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF SALEM, BY THE REV.
WILLIAM BENTLEY.

SALEM, the most ancient town of old Massachusetts, is in the county of Essex, and is situated in latitude 42° 35' N. and in long. 70° 47' W. It is upon Massachusetts bay, upon a point of land, projecting into the sea, having the shore of Beverly on the north, and Marblehead on the south. The town, or principal settlement, is above the utmost point of land, commonly called the neck, and an island called Winter island, lying south-easterly of the neck, and joined only by a narrow causeway. The town is upon a very regular and very level spot, rising from the shore about twenty feet, and all its inequalities are so inconsiderable, as to escape notice, when the town is viewed from the surrounding heights. The surface of the neck and of Winter island is very irregular, and the lands westward of the town are of considerable height, and in the rudest forms of nature. Excepting on the line of the sea, the town of Salem, as it now is a township, is separated from the adjacent towns, which were chiefly parts of itself, by artificial, rather than any natural boundaries. The longest line begins upon the sea between Marblehead and Lynn, on the beach, in a small gore, four rods wide. The line between Lynn and Salem runs from the sea N. 56 W. till it reach the road from Salem to Boston, above four miles from Salem court-house, the line being from the sea nearly three miles. The boundary between Salem and Danvers continues from this line on the Boston road, till it reaches the old road, which was open when the line was given. It pursues this old road near Strong-Water brook, and enters again the Boston road, at the place where this brook passed the road, and then continues with the road, till a line in the road intersects another line from North-fields below the mills on North river. It then continues over North-fields, till it reach the shore near Horse-pasture point, or the point of land in the river between Beverly and Salem. The boundary between Salem and Marblehead begins below the upper bridge on Forest river, and passing eastward of

Legge's hill, Coy and Deep ponds, goes to an acute angle in the road from Marblehead to Boston, and then proceeds to the sea, four rods from Lynn line.

The township includes five thousand four hundred and twenty-nine acres, in all its lands and islands. The part, called the Great pasture, or common and undivided proprietors' land, as it now is, lies westward of the town. It communicates with the town by a narrow lot of land, lying back of the lots on the mill pond, and is bounded on its northern side by a wall, in a south-westerly course, till it reach the summit of a hill, and then taking a more southerly course to Ash swamp in Lynn line. Its S. E. boundary are the lots beyond Great swamp and the Forest-river lots. These lots have, by consent, been separated from the pasture, and lay on the banks of the river, and on the sides of the Marblehead road. It is separated from the South-fields, by the Forest-river road. The part, which lays from Pine hill towards Marblehead road, now separated, was called Darling's neck, and that now in the pasture, between Clay brook and Forest river, Holmes's neck. The want of bridges formerly made that distinction more important, than it can now appear. The whole pasture contains one thousand and twenty-five acres.

The lands, which lay between the Great pasture and Boston road, including more than two thousand five hundred acres, are settled in distinct lots upon the road, and of the back lands, ten acres are appropriated for the ministers, and sixty for the poor. Such as remain undivided are held by proprietors, under the name of the Sheep pasture.

Of all the swamps, the Great swamp, so called, is most remarkable. It is half a mile long, nearly N. and S. and of a triangular figure, containing fifty-five acres. It was overflowed in 1786, and opened in 1790; but being in the common pasture, it is of little profit. It is passed at Chip bridge, near Lynn line, and empties at the northern and broader part, round Pine hill, into Forest river. Pine swamp and Blueberry swamp empty into it. It would be easy to bring these waters away from Forest river into Clay brook, to supply the mill near the town. Just below Cotton swamp, so called from its moss, and communicating with Forest river is Round swamp, which receives

Acorn brook. Acorn brook unites with Cold-Spring brook, and then forms Clay brook, and empties into South river, which is now obstructed by a mill bridge, near the town. Long swamp runs between ridges, on the west side, called the Timber hills, and on the east, the Spring hills. A high hill near the Great swamp is the head of the Timber hills. The springs from the Spring hills empty into Long swamp. The principal spring empties opposite to the run from Ash swamp. Near Ash swamp is a hill called Bellyhac ; on one side is the run from Ash swamp, and on the other from the Sheep pasture, emptying into Long swamp. On long swamp is Alister's run, on the west side of a high hill, called Lord's hill, where are remains of the garden, cellar, and inclosures of this primitive planter, upon a spot ever since deserted by man. The garden was eastward of the house, and higher upon the hill. Lord's hill is the highest land, and has a spring which runs into Long swamp. Rail and Thistle hills lay between Lord's hill, and the hill in the bend of the wall between the Sheep and Great pastures, now called Pickering's hill. All the waters below Long swamp, in these grounds, empty into Acorn brook. Split-Rock spring, and Flat-Rock spring, near the divisional wall of the pastures, empty into Acorn brook. There is a spring in Conconut hollow, near the Great swamp, and another from Monument hill. This hill is commonly distinguished by a pile of stones, and is in the divisional wall between the upper and lower part of the great pasture. The town bears from Great-monument N. 40. E. at the distance of two miles. There is a range of hills eastward of Boston road, with bald rocks upon them. The whole western lands are of the same description.

In the S. W. part of the township is a beautiful pond, called Spring pond, in extent about sixty acres, on the height of land, as the ponds beyond empty into Lynn bay. It is not far from Boston road, and on the eastern side ; and near it is a hill with a pine grove, upon a spot which exhibits the wildest scenery of nature. The pond is clear, and easy of approach on all sides. The land is high on the east and west sides, and its length is north and south. At its southern end it is divided by a conical hill, which

projects into it, and which could admit many artificial beauties. From this pond proceeds a brook, which is assisted by the neighbouring ponds, and which, half a mile from the northern end of Spring pond, receives the springs, which supply the aqueduct of the town. This brook proceeds at the foot of the high hills with naked rocks, which lay eastward of it. Between the brook and the Boston road is a plain. As the hills approach the road, the brook takes a more westerly direction, and in crossing Boston road, it obtains the name of Butt Brook. It passes into Danvers, and empties into North river. The wash of the range of hills, on their eastern side, forms a small run into Spring pond, and below they empty into Strong-Water brook, which passes not far from Boston road, and being joined with some eastern waters, it is led to a mill, and then passes Boston road into North river. The numerous hills and washes occasion several small runs of water, which empty into the Great pasture, and into Forest river, or by Acorn brook, or nearer the town, by Frost-Fish brook, into South river, now the town mill-pond.

Forest river is upon the boundary between Salem and Marblehead, and empties into Salem harbour, at the tide mills on the new road to Marblehead. Its course is northeasterly, and it forms a considerable bason of water. It has an arm, which enters it on the north side. Half a mile above the mills is the upper bridge, on the old road from Salem to Marblehead. Above this bridge it beautifully winds its course through a marsh, of high value to the original planters. As it passes below Pine hill from the Great swamp, it receives a stream from the meadows, and Coy and Deep ponds discharge into it at the foot of Legge's hill, and enter it just above the bridge. The causeway at the mills has been lately repaired, and affords a pleasant view of the river as far as the upper bridge. From the causeway the river is N. $285^{\circ} 50'$ to the head, and to the upper bridge N. $238^{\circ} 40'$.

South river has also mills and a bridge over it just above the wharves. It is nearly half a mile in a N. W. course, and then it peninsulates Castle-hill Farm, and at high tides surrounds it. Proceeding on each side for half

a mile further, it takes a southerly direction, towards the northern arm of Forest river, and so peninsulates South-fields. Opposite to Castle-hill it receives Frost-fish brook, and above, on its western side, Clay brook.

North river empties into Bass or Beverly river, between Orne's point on North-fields side, and a sandy point, called Horton's point, on Salem side. There is a bridge over it into the North fields, and some navigation. The northern side of North-fields is washed by Woolston, or Porter's river, just as it enters Bass river. The entrance of North river is one quarter of a mile above Essex bridge, between Beverly and Salem, and its course is winding, and channel narrow, and being almost empty at the ebb of the tide. Vessels use it as far as north bridge, and vessels are built above north bridge at the mills. It is three quarters of a mile from the mouth of the river to north bridge, and about half a mile to the place where it is obstructed by the mills, from the bridge. There is a beautiful view of the North river, between its mouth and north bridge, from Windmill point, on the town side, when the river is full.

The whole shore is indented so as to afford many coves for small boats. There is an inlet round Horse-pasture point, in North-fields, which communicates with Porter's river. There is a bridge over it above Goodale's spring, now so called. On North river there is a spacious cove within Windmill point.

Shallop cove is also large. It is entered from Beverly harbour, and includes all the waters, which are between the neck and Planter's marsh, near Essex bridge. There is also Spring cove below it, and a cove within the bar, called Beverly bar. The whole shore is indented from the bar, as far as the inlet between the neck and Winter island. The causeway between the neck and Winter island now forms two coves ; the outer, now Abbot's cove ; and the inner, now Cat cove, formerly Winter harbour, as the whole Salem harbour was called Summer harbour. Within the point of the neck projecting into Salem harbour, now called Point of rocks, is another cove, which probably will be of great importance.

On both sides of Stage point, or the point in South-

fields opposite to the wharves, are convenient coves, used by the inhabitants for careening their vessels. Within Long point is another deep cove ; and there are coves on each side of the southern point of South-fields, now called Pickering's point.

The Marblehead side of Salem harbour is much indented, and the principal coves are Beal's or Thrognorton's, opposite to Pickering's point, and Haskell's cove, under Naugus's head, which is a high hill, commanding the entrance of Salem harbour, and opposite to fort Pickering, on Winter island, about half a mile distant. Haskell's cove was formerly the landing of the ferry from Salem, and now is provided with a convenient wharf.

South-fields, so called, are the lands included between Forest and South rivers, and are divided from the Great pasture by Forest-river road. These lands are in good cultivation. Near the town are some settlements ; the rest remain in farms and lots, possessed by the inhabitants of the town. The most distinguished farm on the road to Marblehead is Fitch's farm, with a handsome farm-house. This is inherited, by marriage, by a son of E. H. Derby. On Forest-river road, is Col. Pickman's farm, with convenient buildings. Castle-hill farm belongs to the family of Lynde ; but the spacious building on the hill is suffered to decay. The lands towards the town are more level, and have more gentle slopes, than towards Forest river. Brown's hill is eastward of the road to Marblehead, and there is a beautiful hill near Col. Pickman's farm-house. The meadows are chiefly upon South river. Castle-hill farm lies in South river, and is above half a mile in length, nearly north and south, and terminating at its northern end in a high hill, bold on its south side, but gently sloping to the river. The South-fields contain six hundred acres. Darling's neck, beyond Legge's hill, the south side of Forest river, lies upon the west side of Marblehead road to Boston. Upon passing Forest river upper bridge, the road goes over the eastern part of Legge's hill, which is the highest land towards Marblehead, and is open to Salem harbour. South-westerly from Legge's hill, and at a small distance, are Coy and Deep ponds. The land lays in great hollows, called Dungeons, of which Deep pond

seems to be one, being of small circumference, and yet of 28 feet depth. Silver hole, near Legge's hill in Salem boundary line, is another; but dry during the greater part of the year. As Salem has continued the line between Lynn and Marblehead, there is a gore on the east side of the Marblehead road, containing forty-one acres, from the house lately occupied by general Glover. This gentleman thought a canal might be easily made from Forest river to Lynn beach, by Coy and Deep ponds, and the low lands on the eastern side of Marblehead road.

North-fields are the lands lying north of North river. The settlements in these fields were early, and more flourishing formerly, while the fishery was carried on in Salem. The principal street is well settled, about one quarter of a mile. On the eastern cross road, there is a beautiful seat belonging to Col. Foster, and the farm is the largest and best in North-fields. A new road has been opened from North bridge, around the shore, as far as the mills, and it will afford some excellent house lots. It passes at the foot of an hill called Paradise, from the delightful view of the western part of the town. The lands are in lots, and well cultivated. North-fields contain four hundred and ninety acres. The eastern part is of a more regular surface than the western, and gently sloping towards the river.

The neck, commonly so called, is an irregular point of land, lying below the town, extending one mile north-easterly. It was the place on which part of the first settlements were made; but there is but one house now remaining as private property, and it is upon a farm formed of the first lots purchased by colonel Higginson, and possessed by captain Ives, Derby, and now by captain Allen. The Neck contains one hundred and forty-six acres, of which the greater part are in a town pasture, annually rented to the inhabitants as a cow pasture. The lands belonging to the settlement, called Watertown, and lying in Salem harbour, on the Point of rocks, are still private property, and are inclosed, as are the lots purchased by colonel Higginson, and lying on Abbot's cove. About one hundred acres are in the common pasture. This land is level near the town, and then suddenly rises into rough hills, and then becomes level again toward the sea. The

inhabitants are supplied abundantly with rocks for building of cellars from the hills, which are not half a mile from the town. On the height of land a fort was erected in 1775, which has been suffered to decay.

Winter island lies upon the north side of the entrance into Salem harbour, being about half a mile long, and containing thirty-eight acres. It is high, but highest at the southern part, opposite to the Point of rocks on the neck. It was early improved in the fishery, and for ship-building, and had several houses upon it. It has now a store and wharf on the southern end, at the entrance of Cat cove. It had several wharves formerly. At its eastern point is a fort, erected for the defence of the harbour, which is now repaired and ceded to the United States. The fort is named *Fort Pickering*, in honour of the Secretary of State, who was born in Salem. Winter island is used as a common pasture, excepting a small part, lying upon Abbot's cove, which belongs to the neck farm. The ship *Essex*, of the American navy, was built upon this island. The adjacent islands are annexed to Salem, and may thus be described.

Baker's island was so called by the first settlers, and lays on the south side of the principal entrance into Salem harbour, bearing east from fort Pickering on Winter island, about four miles from the fort, which is a mile below the town. It contains fifty-five acres of land. A light-house was raised upon this island, by the United States in 1797, and the lights were first shewn on 3d of January, 1798. The lights, at the distance of forty feet, range N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. and S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. The south light is 95 feet high from the sea, and the north 78 feet. The building is of wood, and provided for a family. Ten acres of land belong to the United States. The water is deep near the island, but there is no convenient landing place. The Island, in its greatest length, is three-eighths of a mile, north and south. The outward or eastern side is high and rocky, the northern side highest. Upon the western side is a beach, from which stones have been supplied for pavements. There is a small channel between the southern rocks of the island and the Dry Breakers, but it can be safe only to those acquainted with it. As this is the most remarkable island,

the following bearings and distances, from a position near the light-house, may be useful.

Bearing of the eastern point of Cape Ann,	N. 74 E.
Gale's ledge,	N. 59 E.
W. part of House island,	N. 17 E.
E. part of Whale's Back,	N. 15 E.
E. part of Great Misery,	N. 14 W.
S. part of Little Misery,	N. 41 W.
Fennapoo, or Bowditch's ledge,	N. 68 W.
N. part of Hardy's rocks,	N. 81 W.
N. part of Haste with middle of second } Hardy's rocks,	N. 82 W.
S. part of Coney island,	W. 2 S.
Naugus Head on Marblehead shore,	W. 5 S.
N. part of Grey rock,	W. 16 S.
N. part of Eagle island,	W. 18 S.
S. part of Marblehead neck,	W. 31 S.
N. part of Cat island,	W. 33 S.
Middle of Pope's Head,	W. 35 S.
Middle of E. rock of Cat island over N. } part of Tinker's island,	W. 45 S.
N. part of Western Gooseberry,	W. 49 S.
Satan, or Black rock,	W. 58 S.
Middle of Eastern Gooseberry,	W. 64 S.
Halfway rock,	E. 88 S.
S. breaker of Baker's island,	E. 62 S.
E. breaker of Baker's island,	E. 55 S.

Distance of Gale's ledge from the } light-house,	nearly 2 miles,
Little Misery,	about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile,
Bowditch's ledge,	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ mile.
Hardy's rocks,	nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ mile.
Eagle island,	almost a mile.
Cat island,	above 2 miles.
Coney island,	above 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles.
Haste rock,	above 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles.
Eastern Gooseberry,	$\frac{3}{4}$ mile.
Black Rock, or Satan,	above 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ mile.
Southern Breaker,	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ mile.
Halfway rock,	above 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles.

Misery island contains eighty-two acres, and is joined to the Little Misery island of three acres, at half tide, by a bar, then above water. It was early called Moulton's Misery, from a shipwreck. The Little Misery island makes the northern side of the channel, opposite to Baker's island. The figure is more irregular than Baker's island, but it has a convenient harbour for small boats on its northern side. It formerly had an house upon it, but has had no building since 1782. It is used as a sheep pasture. Its surface is rough. It is walled. It has a convenient pond, but has not been so much cultivated as Baker's island. It is more sandy towards West beach on Beverly shore, from which it is not half a mile distant, and more rocky towards the sea. The island is forty-four chains in its greatest length, N. and S. and twenty-four chains in its greatest breadth, at its western part, nearest to the shore. The Little Misery is ten chains in length, having its most western its most projecting point into the channel.

House island, so called from the appearance of a rock, is of an oblong and irregular figure. It contains about five acres of land, about half a mile eastward of the Misery island, and lying near the Manchester shore. It is difficult of approach, but in steering for Baker's island well out of the course of navigation, being northerly about one mile's distance, N. 18 E. Its greatest length is ten chains, or half a quarter of a mile.

Cat island, containing about nine acres, lies $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile from Marblehead neck, and S. W. from Baker's island, and ranges from Baker's island clear of Marblehead neck. There was an hospital for the small-pox on the S. E. end of this island, which was burnt. The extent of the soil is 2167 links, about N. W. and S. E. but the rocks being included, the island is above 28 chains. At the N. W. end is a high beach, which forms a point directly opposite to the point of Marblehead, called Peach's point. The shore is irregular and rocky. There are springs on the S. E. end, which terminates in a high rocky head. Beyond, and on the line of the island, are two other heads of nearly the same projection; and on the southern side are three high rocks, but not so large as the former. Two of them are connected with the island, by bars of sand, out of

water at the ebb : the other stands boldly up within these two, but more southerly. Grey rock, which lies at nearly the same distance from Cat island as from Peach's point, is nearly twenty feet above high water mark, and is without any soil.

Halfway rock is above forty feet high, but the Black rock, bearing easterly from Cat island, is not so high as Grey rock. Marblehead rock, between Cat island and Marblehead neck, is not so high as Halfway rock. The Haste is a broken rock, lying near the channel, and about one mile and a quarter from Salem neck.

The Gooseberries are beds of high rocks, with a little soil upon their summits, lying S. W. from Baker's island, and within the Dry rocks, called Baker's island Dry Breakers. They are called the Pope's head, the western and Eastern Gooseberries ranging southeasterly, distant from one quarter to above half a mile from Baker's island.

Coney island lays off the mouth of Salem harbour, and does not contain one acre of soil. It is about one mile from the extreme point of Marblehead, northeasterly, and not two miles from fort Pickering, on Winter island, E. 4. S. It has a large body of rocks, which extend S. E. from it, leaving a small channel.

Eagle island is about one and a half mile from Peach's point. It has not one acre of ground ; but this spot is filled with a wild growth, in all the luxuriance of uncultivated nature. It lies nearly N. and S. A point from the S. end, tends westerly, from which is a bar. The southern end is a slate rock.

Tinker's island contains about two acres of soil, and lies off Marblehead neck, from its S. W. point ; distant about one quarter of a mile. It lies nearly north and south. The eastern or outer side is a ragged rock, much broken. The water is shoal within. In the middle of the island is a spot of good land, and there is a smaller spot on the southern head. The tops of the rocks are in the state called Rotten rock. The two heads are nearly separated. The southern end resembles a horn. It is about four miles from Baker's island, southwesterly.

Ram island lies W. 20 S. from Tinker's island, one and half mile distant ; and the divisional line between Salem

and Lynn passes over the southwestern rocks of this island. It lays three fourths of a mile from Lynn or Bartlet's beach. It has a rocky shore. On the western side it is not bold. On the southwest some rocks, not far from the island, are out of water. The deepest water is on the south side.

The town or settlement is one mile and a quarter in length, and of a very irregular figure, being in no place half a mile wide, and in the centre, it is not more than a quarter of a mile from North to South river. It does not occupy 300 acres, with its houses and gardens, if we exclude the lots near the neck, and above the town, towards the mill pond, and the lots upon Bridge-street, which is upon a tongue of land between Bass river and Shallop cove. The town lies nearly east and west, and with this line the North, and East, and Episcopal churches range. In 1678, the town had 85 houses in the township, and 300 polls. In 1732, it had 520 houses, 5000 inhabitants, and 1200 polls. In 1786, it had 730 houses, and by the census of 1790, 7921 inhabitants. By the continental valuation of 1799, it had 930 dwelling-houses, 645 out-houses, and 399 shops and stores. The increase of inhabitants is great since the census of 1790. The town is divided into four wards, two above and two below the court-house, lying on each side of Essex-street, which passes through the town. In ward 1, lying in the easterly part of the town, and upon South river, are 240 houses, 138 out-houses, 136 shops and stores, and 29 wharves. The whole number of wharves is 36. There are 56 streets in the town, for such are all the passages called, as there are no very narrow lanes, and no public alleys.

In entering the town from Boston, over Town bridge, we enter Boston-street, which communicates with Essex-street, and this is the main street, and the only street which passes through the whole length of the town. Essex-street is of great, but irregular width, till we reach the first pavement, between North and Court streets. This was the first pavement made in the town, and it was finished in 1773, being 740 feet in length, and nearly 60 in width. Below Court-street, in Essex-street, another

pavement was finished in 1792, of 3120 feet in length. And in 1799 a pavement was made in Neptune-street, and in Liberty-street. These are all the pavements at present in the town. In Essex-street are the principal houses of the town, and the first and second churches, and formerly the court-house stood in it.

The other streets, which are nearly parallel with Essex-street, are Federal-street, on North river, from Boston-street to North-street. This is the most straight street in town, is of more equal width, and it has a beautiful range of houses on its northern side. The other streets below North-street, passing eastward, are irregular.

Lynde and Marlborough streets go from North-street into Court-street. Church and County streets from Court-street into St. Peter's-street. And Brown's-street towards the Common.

On South river, towards the harbour, is Derby-street, which passes from Union wharf to the neck, and has been lately added to the town. The passage from Union wharf, into the western part of the town, is by Neptune-street to Vine-street, and from Vine-street to Charter-street, and then into Market-street. Or by the wharves, in Water-street and Fish-street, into Market-street. From Market-street, through Front and Short streets into Washington-street, so called from the place where Washington was received in Salem, and opposite to Court-street. There is then Norman-street in passing from Washington to Summer street opposite to North-street. From Norman-street is Mill-street, and from Mill-street we pass in High-street to Summer-street. From Summer-street we pass by Pickering-street to the pastures, and below by Chestnut-street to Flint-street. As we enter the town from Boston through Essex-street, we first find Flint-street, leading into Pickering-street; and Cambridge-street, leading into Pickering-street, near the duck factory; and then Dean-street, crossing Federal-street, towards North river. Then Bickford-street, crossing Federal-street, towards North river. Parallel to Bickford-street, and running from Federal-street, westward of it, is Lynn-street, and between them, parallel to Federal-street, are Andover-street, and below, on North river, River-street.

Beyond Bickford-street is North-street, opposite to Summer-street, and leading to North bridge. Summer-street is spacious, and rises to the top of Mill hill. We then pass Court-street, which runs to North river, and Washington, which goes towards South river. Below Court-street is Market-street, which goes towards South river, and beyond is St. Peter's-street, which goes to North river. Below is Liberty-street, lately paved, and leading from Essex-street to the wharves. Then is Elm-street, leading to Water-street, and Walnut-street, leading to Neptune-street. On the western side of the common, from Essex-street, is Newbury-street, leading into Brown-street and then into Winter-street, and from Winter-street into Bridge-street, and to Essex bridge. The Common is uninclosed land, left for public use, when the final settlement of the commoners was made. From Essex-street, Union-street leads to Union wharf, Herbert-street into Derby-street, Curtis-street, into Derby-street, Orange-street into Derby-street; and going eastward still, Daniel-street, Hardy-street, and Turner-street, passing Derby-street into South river, or the harbour. Becket-street passes from Essex-street into Derby-street, and then Blaney's-street goes below it. Then English and Ingersoll streets go into Derby-street from Essex-street. Below the Common, Pleasant-street passes from Essex-street into Bridge-street, and East-street passes from Pleasant-street into Essex-street. Williams-street passes from Brown-street, on the common, to North river, and Locust-street from Bridge-street to North river.

The new court-house, erected in 1785, is the first building, which engages notice. It stands near North river, at the north end of Court-street, and is viewed from Essex-street. It has a plain Tuscan portico, with a balustrade, surmounted by a pediment supported in the Ionic order. Its smallest front is to the town, to conform to the street. The lantern assists the appearance of the house, which is of brick. In this building the courts of justice are held, and the business of the town transacted.

The first quarter court was held in Salem in 1636, and the twenty-second in 1641. After 1660, this court was also held at Ipswich. In 1692 are the first records of gen-

eral sessions apart from the county court. The town repaired the court-house till 1699; and then half of the expense was defrayed by the county. In 1719, the court-house was ordered, which stood near the first church, and which was taken down in 1785.

The prison is a wooden building, in County-street, of three stories. The first was built in 1663, and £50 allowed by the county. A new one was raised in 1684, and in 1688 orders were given to add an house of correction, but not till 1722 were the orders regarded, and then the house of correction was provided for in the prison. The prison has had great repairs and great additions.

The churches in Salem are of wood. The old church is constructed with two galleries, was built in 1718, and has been lately decently repaired. It stands on the south side of Essex-street, near to Court-street. An unfinished building, of one story, was used occasionally for public worship in Salem, from 1629 to 1634. A proper house was then erected by Mr. Norton, who was to have £100 sterling for it. The old church now stands upon the same spot. The house was rebuilt in 1671, to be 60 feet by 50, not to cost above £1000 currency.

The second church, in Essex-street, and in the eastern part of the town, was first built in 1718, has been enlarged, and has, as well as the first church, a steeple. There are no other steeples in the town. The north meeting-house was built in 1773, after a separation from the old church, and is a handsome building, with a cupola. The first and second churches have public clocks.

The Tabernacle church was built in Court-street, on the corner of Marlborough-street, and near the court-house, after their first house, erected in Essex-street in 1735, had been burnt in 1774. It is a large building, in imitation of the Tabernacle, erected in London, by the friends of Mr. Whitefield. The third church was formed from a public building in Cambridge-street. The English church stands in St. Peter's-street, which has the name of the church, and fronts Church-street, coming from Court-street. It was built in 1733, and has been enlarged. The Friends have a decent house of worship on the north side of Essex-street, near its entrance.

Schools were established very early, and occasional buildings employed. In 1759 was the proposal for a new and convenient school-house, and a brick building of two stories, with a cupola, was erected, and was demolished to give place to the new court-house in 1785. The school-houses are plain wooden buildings. The school-house in the centre of the town, below the court-house, and near North river, is of two stories, to accommodate a grammar as well as writing school. The eastern school-house, on the Common, has a belfry ; and the western school-house is on North river, in Dean-street.

The town early felt the need of an alms-house ; and at length a work and alms-house was built in 1713, but in 1720 was leased as a dwelling-house by the town. In 1745 it was again applied to the public use, and in 1747 repaired. In 1749 a master was appointed, and in 1768 it was enlarged. It stands in Summer-street, and still belongs to the town. In 1770, the new work and alms-house was erected, on the north part of the Common, and has been considerably enlarged. It is a large, plain, wooden building, and under good regulations.

In 1747 a pest-house was built upon the N. W. point of the neck, which is now standing, and, like the old alms-house, is employed for such poor as require only house rent from the town. In 1773 a hospital was built in the Great pasture, particularly for inoculation in the small-pox, by the consent of the town ; and in 1798 it was purchased by the town. It has two wooden buildings, of two stories, disposed so as to accommodate the one with a south, and the other with a western front, and to inclose two sides of a square. The hospital is one mile westward of Marblehead lower road.

The health-house was erected in 1799, on the N. E. point of the neck, for the convenience of vessels coming from foreign ports, in all cases of infection.

In the town there are three large ropewalks, besides many places employed in small cordage, a duck manufactory, seven distilleries, and other buildings for manufactories, which are rather to be noticed in the history of the arts and trade.

A handsome building was erected for a market-house

at the bottom of Market-street, and over the South river, with every accommodation ; but no experiments could succeed, and it is now appropriated below for shops, and the hall above affords at present an assembly-room.

There is the same number of taverns in the town as was approved in 1681. The two taverns are the Ship, in Court-street, and the Sun, in Essex-street, opposite to Market-street. They are private buildings, improved only by an annual license, renewed at the pleasure of the county courts. There are many handsome houses, among which the new house of the late E. H. Derby, Esq. finished in 1799, is distinguished. It is of wood, but superior to any building in Essex. Its gardens reach to South river, and its decorations are superb. It fronts on Essex-street, in the centre of the town, has an open yard, and combines, within and without, great convenience, with elegance.

The style of the town is not uniform. There are few brick buildings, and few to attract particular notice.—Some have lately been built, or raised to three stories, but the buildings are generally of two upright stories. The prevalent neatness attracts the notice of strangers, and forms an evident characteristic of Salem.

The wharves, in the rivers, are without water at a common ebb of the tide, and are built of wood, and sunken by rocks. There are no stone piers. The stores, which are built upon them, are convenient buildings, without ornaments, but often painted. Mr. Derby's wharf, in the eastern part of the town, is above 600 feet long. Union wharf, being above 400 feet long, is built upon Giggle's island, and there are piers raised on its sides in unequal length, at the direction of the proprietors, who hold in common the main pier, or string, as it is called.

The first fort was on Beverly side, and erected by Conanant's men before Endicott arrived. It was called Darbie or Derby fort. In 1652, the town voted to build a fort on the S. E. point of Winter island, under the care of governor Endicott, W. Hathorne, and captain Traske ; and in 1652 the general court gave £ 100 towards it. In 1666 and 1667 the town expended upon it £ 320. In 1678 £ 254 were laid out in fortifications. In the last war, other fortifications were raised on Juniper point, or the

S. E. point of the neck ; and on the height of land above Beverly bar, fort Lee was built. These were suffered to decay. The fort on Winter island has been ceded to the United States, and is named "fort Pickering."

The best bridge is the Essex bridge, from Salem to Beverly, over Bass river. It was a long dispute, whether to obstruct the navigation of North river, as the distance was not much greater, into the centre of Salem, over Bass river, by Orne's point, in North-fields. A vote at length obtained, and a second bill in the house of representatives, in 1787. The bridge was begun by Mr. Cox, and the last pier raised 8th September, 1788, and it was passed on the 24th of September. From abutment to abutment it is 1484 feet long, and 32 feet broad, and consists of 93 piers. There are wharves constructed of piers on each side of the draw. It is altogether of wood.

Town bridge was built in 1647, at the entrance of the town from Boston, and is made of earth, of the width of the road, and secured with stone below, to receive the wash from the hills above it.

Mill bridge is over South river, and serves as a dam for the grist-mills, which are upon it.

Creek bridge is over the wash of a creek north of South river, and emptying into it. This creek ends at the foot of the height of land, over which Summer-street passes, between Norman and High streets, and has a court with several houses near the creek.

North bridge is upon North river, and passes from North-street to North-fields. It was repaired in 1796. It is constructed with a draw, and a causeway. Several wharves are on its eastern side. The whole length of the causeway and bridge is 860 feet. Essex bridge obstructs the navigation of this river. Its channel is narrow, and little trade is carried on, since the decay of the fishery.

The passage over Forest river, on the lower road to Marblehead, was on a narrow causeway of 200 feet in length, till it was made wider in 1798. The causeway and bridge are a dam to the grist-mills, which stand upon this river.

At the upper bridge, erected in 1648, the river is narrow, and the bridge and causeway are of stone, with a

passage for the tide. The bridge and causeway are covered with gravel.

In 1793, two piers were sunk below the wharves for the convenience of the shipping.

The aqueduct was undertaken early in 1797. The logs were bored by water works of 3, and 2½ inches. The ground was opened in May, and the waters are conveyed from living springs, below Spring pond, through Danvers, and are led through the town of Salem.

Such is Salem. The general and well-directed industry, the integrity, and the economy of Salem are its glory. In no town, is private virtue more esteemed, family friendship more sincere, or the police more happy. Poverty has a home, merit a friend, and every civil office is filled more by persuasion, than ambition. Wealth has all its resources, and it has all its blessings. The rich do not corrupt the poor by luxury; and the few, who are poor, are too strongly allied to the rich by kindred, to separate from them. Manners are the same in all. Business is pleasure.

The social hours are in the family. Riches are, without ostentation. Honest gains give every art respect; and he, who regards his employment with care and success, will be sure of the public confidence. No parties in the state disturb it, and its manners will always be favourable to subordination, while the laws triumph.

An inquiry into the settlement of Salem will not necessarily lead to examine the authority of the royal patent, granted to the Plymouth company, or to the dispute respecting its extent. The right of possession, in regard to particular natives of America, may be as unnecessary an inquiry, in regard to the matter of fact. The Indian deed, or, as it might be called, quitclaim, granted, at so late a year as 1686, to John Higginson, from the Indians of Chelmsford and Natick, and for a small consideration, could be nothing but an attempt to prevent future trouble, and must satisfy us that no proper settlement had been made by the consent of the Indians. For Salem, there is an apology, which is sufficient: The natives had forsaken this spot, before the English had reached it. On the soil, they found no natives, of whom we have any record. No

natives ever claimed it, and the possession was uninterrupted. Reverend John Higginson reports from tradition, that there had been an Indian town in North-fields, but no particular settlement, about the time of the infancy of the colony, appears. On several points of land, convenient for fishing, several graves have been found, which indicate the visits of the fishing Indians. But these are too few to agree with any settlements. Mr. Williams, who came to Salem, and settled within two years after Winthrop arrived, and who has given us the most early and best history of the Indians, does not mention them near Salem, and Gookin does not find them upon this spot. Williams speaks, as if the Indians, known to him, buried their dead, laying in their graves; but all the graves, which have been opened, shew that the dead were buried sitting at Neumkeage. Nowhere have Indian names obtained, but English names were immediately adopted. These facts are sufficient to satisfy that no Indian claims were regarded, in the first settlement of Salem.

When Francis Higginson arrived in 1629, there were only six houses, besides that of governor Endicott, and these were not on the land now called Salem. The two hundred planters, who joined, settled upon the banks of North and Bass river, and the branches, which communicate with them. A few were added in 1630, to supply the place of such as continued to remove westward, to the towns around Boston. Salem had a small proportion of such inhabitants as arrived in the first ships, and in 1632 had not more than forty families. But in 1633, when the inhabitants of the towns, in the vicinity of Boston, began to emigrate, such families as arrived at Salem were more easily persuaded to remain; and in 1634, Salem began to flourish; and in 1636, Endicott was able to go upon an expedition as far as Narraganset bay. Corn, which had been ten shillings in 1631, was in 1637 but at five shillings in winter, and the troops of Salem were then out in the Pequod war. In 1635, a plan for the fishery was adopted and pursued, and it greatly assisted the prosperity of the town. In 1636, they built at Marble harbour, then Salem, a vessel of 120 tons. This ship, called the *Desire*, was commanded by captain Pierce, who made the

first almanack ever published in America. This he was induced to perform, after the arrival of Glover's printing-press, which was afterwards established at Cambridge. 1640, in Salem, they built a ship of 300 tons, and in 1641 she was launched. Another ship of 200 tons was built in 1642, and 80 per cent. profit was made in this year. So great was the success, that, in commerce, Salem had no rival. Salem was now spoken of, as the proper seat of government; and as early as in 1636, they made a reserve of lands, upon the Marble harbour farms, for a college. This view of the early commerce of Salem is proper, to judge of the plan of settlement, and of the value of the lands. Successful commerce drew the inhabitants to the sea, and early care was taken that the wealth of commerce and of agriculture should not disagree. In settling lands, at first, the smallest families were entitled to ten-acre lots, with a reserve of such common lands for pasture as might accommodate them near their own houses. The road to the meeting-house was the first which had their common labour. Every farm was under the expense of the highway, which passed it, and no trees felled upon the commons, or uninclosed lauds, could be suffered to lay as an impediment. In 1635, they began to ascertain and record bounds. Such as petitioned for farms, obtained them upon condition of selling their houses in town, to accommodate more easily all who came for trade; and the refusal of the farm was reserved to the town, if ever it was to be sold. Unless they sold their houses in town, the lands were only leased for a term not exceeding three years. As the town held much common land, they could offer such inducements as could draw new and rich settlers. Such men as found the best grounds pre-occupied in other towns, could obtain great advantages in Salem. In 1637, they fully experienced that a division of the town into ten acres, was neither equal, nor beneficial to the town, and they began to calculate upon the value of the lands, and the prospects of the settlers. Subdivisions then obtained, and the tenure was often conditional, upon plowing the lands within a given time, or upon appropriating them to some useful purpose. In this manner the lands were cultivated in the neighbour-

hood, and in the town ; the less useful gave place to the more industrious citizens. The principal farms still bear the names of their original proprietors, as do all parts of the town. Lands were now granted upon special conditions, such as of raising hemp, establishing salt works, providing tan-vats, and of encouraging the profitable arts. In all these grants the utmost caution was used to secure convenient roads, and to command all privileges upon the shores. On the waters near the navigation, the width of the lots was at first small, for the greater accommodation of trade, and always in a degree under the authority of the town. Salem, considered as within its present bounds, was first settled upon North river. Shallop cove, open to Beverly harbour, was then much employed. As the town increased, Winter harbour became better known, and then our forsaken point of rocks was covered with houses, stores, and the shops of artificers. Trade then travelled up South river, and the town was moved westward, while it had extended itself in every direction. The early disposition to hold the right of disposing of lands contributed much to its prosperity ; and after the commencement of the eighteenth century, of the five thousand acres the town now possesses, not one thousand had become divided and private property.

As early as 1634, the settlers, who had left Salem for Agawam river, and not without opposition in the attempt, began a new town under the name of Ipswich. The town then adjoining, now called Wenham, followed their example in 1643. And Manchester, which lay between Wenham, Ipswich, and Salem, towards Cape-Ann, on the shore, became a town in 1645. In 1648, Salem consented that Marblehead should have separate town privileges ; and by this event, they were deprived of a valuable part of their population. Topsfield became a town in 1650, but its bounds were with difficulty ascertained. In 1668, the first settlements on the Bass river side became a town, under the name of Beverly, having had a meeting-house in 1657 ; but Salem held Ryal's neck on the east side of Walison's river, and north side of Bass river, till 1712, when it assisted to form the north parish in Beverly. Salem village continued almost a cen-

tury longer than Beverly in alliance with its parent town. It had a meeting-house, in 1672, and another parish, in 1710, and became a town, in 1757. This last separation reduced Salem to its present boundaries.

In 1642, Salem began to experience a check to its prosperity. It lost much by the absence of the best friend of its commerce, Mr. Peters. It had powerful rivals of its agriculture, on the farms of Ipswich. Marblehead was superior in the fishery, and claimed to be incorporated. Gloucester, Manchester, and the whole eastern shore of Massachusetts, enjoyed a full share of the fishery. Besides, all hopes were now renounced, that Salem would become the capital of New-England, which had been a favourite object. The college had been placed in the neighbourhood of Boston, and Boston had learnt to improve all the advantages, by which it had become the most flourishing town in New-England. Salem was reduced to narrow boundaries by the towns, which divided its ancient territory, and these towns were able to become its rivals. In the loss of captain Gardner, and of captain Lathrop, and of the flower of Essex, in the war of 1675, it suffered greatly. A real calamity arose from the unhappy trials for witchcraft, in 1692, which were encouraged in its courts, and by which it lost, in one year, a quarter of its whole population. At length, in 1695, deprived of Beverly, it did not pay, in taxes, but two-thirds of the sum assessed upon Ipswich, which, besides its fishery, and trade upon its rivers, held an extensive tract of excellent country. To add to its calamities, in 1698, it suffered a loss of £5,000 by a fire, which broke out in the most crowded part of the town. Salem still had its resources in its economy, which it could command in all circumstances. For many years the expenses of the town were below the taxes paid to the colony. Severe economy retrieved its affairs. Salem recovered from every calamity, and rose superior to all the obstructions of its prosperity. In 1732 it contained 5000 souls. It had wealth fully equal to its population, and could fear no comparison with any town in America, in regard to the best ends of civil society.

In 1663, it had been determined that grants of land should no longer be made by the selectmen, but in town-

meeting. This was a popular measure to command the lands under pretence of assisting the population. But under this resolution, encroachments were never prevented, as they who held the power, committed them. The evils were not intolerable, while the population had decreased ; but upon the return of prosperity, the value of lands returned, and the bounds and titles of land were more necessary. To recover the ancient privileges of the town officers was impracticable, the tenure of the property must be changed. In 1713 came on the final adjustment. The cottagers would not agree with the commoners. Agreeably then to the law of cottages in the 4th of William and Mary, and the province act of 1661, and the vote of the town in 1702, the town proceeded to settle all claims. They assigned as a training field, what is now called the Common, between Newbury and Pleasant streets. They fixed for town use, and in the right of the town, all highways, burying places, and common lands within Town bridge. They reserved the block-houses for the use of the town forever. They reserved sixty acres for the poor. For all families living in the town, and not privileged in common lands, they reserved for the pasture of cows, under the care of the selectmen, three acres. They reserved Winter island for the fishery, and twenty acres were reserved for the ministers of the churches, then formed, and their successors in office. All dwelling-houses had their rights established, and the respective claims of all parts of the township were decided. A committee from five towns were to settle conclusively, by their report, all lands in dispute between Salem and any other town ; and the business was accomplished. From Town bridge to Strong-water brook, lots were to be laid out upon the highway, not larger than one half of an acre, and the road was to be five poles broad. All who should purchase them, were to be obliged to build upon them within three years. From the Butt brook to Strong-water brook bridge, the lands reserved from the commons to be sold in lots, upon the great road, were to be disposed of by the purchasers at their own discretion. The event has been happy.

The police of Salem was rather from experience than

system. When Endicott arrived, he was directed to invest thirteen persons with the government of the plantation, and the persons were named. It does not appear that such a government was ever established in the town, but thirteen was afterwards the given number of town representatives in the general court at Boston. The neglect did not arise from opposition to the patent, but from want of mutual confidence, and the unexpected cares of settlement, as well as from regard to the English planters, already at Salem with Mr. Conant, and from the expectation of other planters from England. In the first year, they found that they could not hold their servants, of whom there was a great number, and that they were obliged to consent to the liberty their servants claimed. The freemen then chose all officers, even a governor.

In 1631, a test was invented, which required all freemen to be church members. This was upon the first appearance of a dissent in regard to religious opinions. But even this test, in the public opinion, required great caution, as in 1632, it was agreed that a civil magistrate should not be an elder in the church. In 1635, a committee was appointed to act in town affairs, and it was directed that town orders should be published after the meetings of the freemen. In 1637, twelve men were provided for the business of the town, and a clerk was appointed to attend them, and to record all transactions. In 1639, there were other regulations. A town-meeting should require a day's warning, and six persons must be present above an hour at such meeting. A constable also was appointed, and to be paid. In 1647, agents were appointed to settle town affairs, and surveyors were chosen and paid for labour on the highways. In 1649, the warning of town-meetings was to be on lecture day; and in 1651 a man was appointed to notify all the inhabitants. In 1654 a fine was to be paid for non-attendance on town-meetings, especially on colonial affairs, in general town-meetings, which were distinguished from those of the seven, or selectmen, which usually came after them. Affairs thus insensibly changed into that form, which is now retained in the laws. In 1668, the following charge was given to the selectmen. 1. To regard the county

laws. 2 Not to sell or exchange any lands belonging to the town, without the leave of the town. 3. Not to raise any money, or make rates, without a vote of the town. 4. Not to contract any debts, unless for the support of the poor. And, 5. To provide proper pastures for the accommodation of the inhabitants. In 1695, it was agreed that all things to be discussed in town-meetings should be inscribed in a town warrant; and all petitions for lands should be specified. In 1681, leave could not be obtained that any part of the town should have liberty to give orders, without the approbation of the town.

The first services of the town-officers were rewarded in lands. In 1639, the constable's fee for collecting rates was a penny upon every pound. In 1695, the town treasurer was to have six pence per cent. on all moneys, and in 1699, the town clerk was to have £5 per annum, and the benefit of the records, wheat being then at 5s.6d. per bushel. The occasional services were paid at the usual price of labour, whenever payment was required. Men of the first characters occasionally advised on town affairs, and held offices, but the actual duty devolved on faithful, but less wealthy citizens. In the infancy of the town, the services of Mr. Jeffry Massey were of great value, in surveying lands, keeping and copying records, and in retaining the memory of all transactions. His son John was the first-born of Massachusetts. The town book, which Jeffry Massey wrote till 1654, is the best part of our records. The cradle, in which his son John was nursed, is in the care of the Historical Society.*

Charity and economy began together in Salem, and as they were nursed, so they have grown up together. The pressing wants, which at first afflicted them, united these virtues. Governor Winthrop, at his arrival, made an equal distribution of the common stock, under circumstances encouraging to the poorer planters. When an inequality of condition was not only felt but fixed, care was taken that poverty should not be an inheritance, and in 1647, the children of the poor were put under masters, and into good families by the town. That the poor should not multiply, whose habits were obstinate, great care was taken that no strangers, or unknown foreigners, should in-

* Vid. Appendix, No. II.

trude upon the settlement, and that the selectmen should license all who were permitted to tarry in the town. No place was ever more free from foreigners of this description. This resolution, adopted in 1657, was in full force in 1695 and in 1700, and has been characteristic of the policy of Salem. Few strangers enter, who are not recommended by their industry, and few become a burden upon the town. Upon the complaints of the poor, lands, and other means, have been found, to employ their labour. In 1707, a proposal was made for an alms-house, and it obtained in 1719. The pest-house in 1747, and the hospital in 1773, were not works of charity, but were principally provided against the small-pox. In 1749, the regulations of Boston alms-house were accepted, but the charities were directed by the present convenience till 1770. In 1772, the following rules were adopted in the house, which is now sacred to charity.

1. The overseers are to meet once in every month.
2. One of them to visit weekly.
3. The master of the house is to be appointed annually by the overseers.
4. A register of the house is to be kept by the master for inspection.
5. The gate is to be kept, so that nothing can pass but by permission.
6. The house is to be shut at 10 o'clock in summer, and at 9 in winter.
7. The mistress to inspect the food and clothing, and to attend to the cleanliness and conveniences of the house.
8. The master to purchase provisions, materials for employment, and necessaries, as directed.
9. A book of accounts to be kept by the master, containing an inventory of all articles belonging to the house, a statement of all expenses, and an account of all stock and labour.
10. The overseers shall admit persons into the house, and they only.
11. They shall have a right to examine, to cleanse, and direct, at their own discretion.
12. They shall command to apartments, and assign them.
13. Shall direct the hours for the meals, and of what such meals shall consist.
14. Shall take care for the instruction especially of the children.
15. Shall prevent all idleness.
16. Shall permit all labour, which exceeds the expense of support to go to the poor families of persons in the house.
17. Shall judge of all misbehaviour.
18. Shall give the well behaved a part of the profit of their labour.
19. The physician shall judge of all excuses from labour.
20. No

person shall beg, or go abroad without leave. 21. No one shall smoke in bed. 22. All punishments shall be by clogs and confinement. 23. These rules shall be read.

In 1776, there were 120 poor in the house, and 50 assisted out of it. The number of the poor in 1800 does not exceed that of 1776. The public charities are defrayed by the votes of the town. No funds have been established, or large donations received. The town have reserved a pasture, and the family of Browne followed the example of their worthy ancestors, who, by will, gave £50, in 1688. Occasional contributions were encouraged in the religious assembly, and in 1680, two selectmen were appointed to join the deacons in the distribution. But such contributions were not fixed at Fasts and Thanksgivings till after 1703. When different religious societies were formed, these charities were appropriated to the special use of the respective assemblies, in which they were raised. The poor are well supported in Salem, when unfit for labour, and experience every care, which can lessen the evils of honest poverty.

Other charitable institutions and associations have increased, which indirectly encourage an attention to the wants of men in different conditions of life. There are several Fire Clubs. A Marine Society was formed in 1766, which has funds, real estate, and above one hundred members. The East-India Marine Society was formed in 1799. A lodge of masons was opened in 1779, and several friendly clubs have obtained. All these institutions have happily prevented the frequent occasions for public charity, and have answered the demands for that seasonable aid, which prevents distress from the necessity of publishing its evils. They have aided more the active, than the social character. They assist business, rather than pleasure. Economy calls on charity, and charity performs every good office, while she is not lavish of her stores. Charity is the friend of industry and virtue.

Of schools, Salem will deserve the praise of leading in the establishment. In 1637, Mr. John Fiske arrived. He was born in 1601, and descended from a family which early embraced the protestant cause. He was educated at Cambridge in England. He was possessed of a large pro-

perty, of which he made large loans to the province, after his arrival in America. He tarried at Salem four years, and prepared for the college in Cambridge, New-England, Sir George Downing, a graduate in 1642, the first year in which academic honours were conferred in British America. Sir George Downing was at first a chaplain in the army, and afterwards became proverbial for his politics under Cromwell and Charles II. and in the affairs of Holland. He died in 1684. Among his other pupils was Edward Norris, the son of the minister in Salem, who succeeded him. Mr. Fiske was frequently in the pulpit in Salem, and in 1644 was pastor of a part of Salem, called Ewon, since Wenham. But not preferring the soil, in 1656, he persuaded the greater part of his people to remove with him to the confluence of the Merrimac and Concord, now called Chelmsford; and he was, in this place, their pastor twenty years. He died in 1676. His son Moses, who graduated at Cambridge in 1662, was minister of Braintree, formerly part of Boston; and his grandson Samuel, who graduated in 1708, was afterwards minister in Salem. John, the son of the minister of Salem, and the great grandson of him whose name he bore, will deserve a place among the first citizens of Salem. Mr. Edward Norris succeeded John Fisk in the grammar-school of Salem in 1640, and continued in the character till 1682, and died in 1684, aged 70. He possessed an amiable disposition. In 1682, he was succeeded by Daniel Epes, who graduated at Cambridge in 1669, and continued as a school-master till 1698. He was a magistrate, and a counsellor for seven years. He died in 1722, aged 73. In 1699, he was succeeded by Samuel Whitman, who graduated in 1696, and afterwards settled in the ministry. Mr. Whitman continued but for a few months, and was succeeded by Mr. John Emerson, who graduated in 1689, and had been in the ministry. He continued in the office till he died, in 1712. The grammar-school was then supplied by Mr. Obadiah Ayres, who graduated in 1710, till Mr. John Nutting, of Cambridge, who graduated in 1712, was appointed in 1718. Mr. Nutting continued till 1749, and then was a magistrate, and in the customs. For several years he was the oldest man in the catalogue.

He was able to visit and to converse with his neighbours till he died, 20th May, 1790, in the 96th year of his age. After Mr. Nutting's death, the school afforded a temporary support to many young men, who accepted plans of life more pleasing to their ambition, perhaps not more useful to mankind.

Among the appropriations for the school, in 1677, we find that Baker's island (so called from Mr. Baker, the ship-carpenter) was rented to John Turner for £.3 annually, and the two Misery islands, for the same sum, to G. Curwin, and the income of Beverly ferry was applied to assist in the support of a grammar-school. In 1680, Mr. Norris was allowed £. 15, as was Mr. Epes in 1682. In 1680 there was a subscription in town for the college at Cambridge, and in 1681 provision made for the education of the children in the village. In 1699, it was provided that the children of the grammar-school should pay twelve shillings annually, and there were then twenty scholars. To secure proper respect to the schoolmaster, in placing the families in the meeting-house, the wife of the grammar schoolmaster was to be accommodated in the pew next to the wives of the magistrates. In 1700, a sum was given to encourage a writing-school; and in 1712 the deficient rents were to be made up by the scholars. In 1713, Mr. Francis Drake was schoolmaster for mathematics; and in 1723, a bell came for the school from England. In 1727, John Gerrish was writing master. In 1729, colonel Samuel Browne gave £.120 to the grammar school, £.60 to the writing school, and £.60 to a woman's school; and honourable Benjamin Lynde gave £.20 to the grammar school. In 1743, both schools were put under one master and usher, but they were again separated in 1752. In 1753, the school committee was chosen to be a distinct body from the selectmen; and in 1760 was given the plan of the new brick school-house, which was taken down when the new court-house was built. In 1785, was another and the present establishment of one grammar and three public writing schools. There are as many private as public schools, and an equal number for the best instruction of females. Females are also instructed, in the public schools, after the usual school terms for the males, for six months in the year,

at the public expense. At one visitation of the public schools, the number of males on the list was 486, exclusively of the females.

The colonists were from England; the history of their religion is therefore to be sought in that country. Mr. Francis Higginson arrived in Salem on 29th June, 1629. He was the son of a non-conformist minister in Leicestershire. He found Mr. Endicott at Salem, who had explained his intentions to the church already formed in Plymouth. Two articles were fixed by consent. That the church at Salem should not acknowledge any ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the church at Plymouth, if any assistance should be given at Salem; and that the authority of ordination should not exist in the clergy, as in the protestant churches, but, as in the unqualified sense of the reformed churches, should depend entirely upon the free election of the members of the church, and that there should be a representative of his power continually in the church. Mr. Higginson consented, and a day of religious preparation was appointed on 20th July. The public sense of these articles was then taken, for the establishment of a church. The consent was not unanimous, but the objections were not purely religious. The family of Browne led in the opposition. They had not adventured in the common stock, and disgust had arisen upon the voyage. The protection of the English laws, which they claimed, and which they understood, had no authority with the new colony. Endicott complains of the early opposition in the planters to every thing, which was contrary to their present convenience. The new church virtually disclaimed the authority of the church of England. The Brownes encouraged a separation; but no protest, or separation, could discourage the majority. The character of their elder, and of their pastor and teacher being defined, on the 6th of August, 1629, in the presence of the Plymouth delegates, who arrived during the solemnities, the elder as the representative of the people, having been qualified, as they directed, laid on hands. The right hand of fellowship, a Roman custom, was continued as a pledge of the mutual friendship of the churches.

In the choice of an elder to rule in the church, care

was taken not to accept a civil officer, and elder Houghton was appointed. He was a man of inoffensive ambition, and died in the next year after his appointment. Mr. Samuel Sharpe succeeded him, but he was frequently absent, and never possessed even the shadow of power. He died in 1658. The independence of Mr. Williams, and the sovereignty of Mr. Peters, rendered the office useless in their time, and it never obtained its influence. When Mr. John Higginson, the son, in 1660, returned to Salem, and attempted to revive the form of government, which his father had adopted, Mr. John Browne was elected elder, but we find no other services but of attending, for a short time, the private instructions of the pastor, who had secured all the power. The office never existed but in name, and did not survive the first generation.—The titles of pastor and teacher were distinct at ordination, but age gave the only privileges which are found to have existed. A covenant,* or religious obligation, was formed, and publicly signed, at the institution of the church, and it is recorded in every history of New-England. It may be esteemed, if not for its theology, for its simplicity. If it speak not the language of a sect, it breathes the spirit of christian union. It never could be intended so much to display opinions, as by written obligation to fasten men together. It is the inartificial range of thought, forgetting the eyes of posterity, and without polemic, or scholastic refinement. It was more an act of piety, than of study. And it was recollected afterwards more from devotion and patriotism, than religious prejudice. It did all the good, which was intended, and from its peculiar character it could not live for the purposes of superstition. It was revived and signed again in 1660, when Mr. John Higginson was established in Salem, rather as a grateful memorial, than as an innovation upon any practices, which had obtained. Had its spirit been regarded, an attempt would not have been made to change the language of reproof, in general, into an unmanly invective against a particular denomination of christians. But the abuse of this instrument consigned it to the sole care of the historian, who has preserved it for us, as a precious relick of antiquity.

* Vid. Appendix, No. IV.

Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton are the pastor and teacher belonging to Salem church. From other places, we hear of the ministers who arrived, but did not live in Salem. Mr. Higginson's doctrines were mild. While he freely adopted the common language of divines in his own age, he did not insist upon such distinctions as embitter and divide. His discipline was formed upon the manners of the people; and if severe to us, could not have been severe to them. As it was a guard upon morals, it was safe. He died on 15th March, 1630. He was grave in his deportment, and pure in his morals. In person he was slender, not tall: not easily changed from his purposes, but not rash in declaring them. He held the hearts of his people, and his memory was dear to their posterity. The eagerness, with which they embraced an opportunity to fix his son, thirty years afterwards, in the same church, and the renewal of his covenant, are full evidence of their sincere affections. He left a widow and eight children. Two sons were educated. John was born at Claybrook, Leicestershire, England, 6th August, 1616, and was seventy years in the ministry, and died in Salem. Francis was a minister in Westmoreland, England, and died about the time his brother John settled in Salem, in 1660, above 50 years of age. Mr. Francis Higginson gave a general account of Salem, which the Historical Society has preserved among its papers. He did not live long enough to receive correct information, or to explore the country around him. His isle of slate, and his marble, and his three miles of good soil without trees, his reports of lions, have diminished in the value he would teach us to assign to them, or have never appeared. The account of the fish is just, as all he mentions yet visit our shores, though not in equal plenty. The salt works did not succeed after many attempts. But his account has as many truths as are to be found from the narratives of unexplored countries. He lived to secure the foundation of his church, to deserve the esteem of the colony, and to provide himself a name among the worthies of New England. When he died, he left in the colony the most sacred guards upon the public manners. Cards, dice, and all such amusements, had no share of favour. Family devotions were

inculcated and established, and the most constant attendance on public worship. The ministers visited families to assist in their devotions. Constant care of the poor was required; the Indians were not permitted to trade in private houses; all the inhabitants were instructed to unite in the labours, which promoted their common interest; and the greatest confidence was required in all who were appointed in civil trusts. Mr. Skelton survived him. He had been appointed, as the minister to whom Mr. Endicott had been indebted for his religious instruction in early life, and for whom he had a sincere friendship. By real favours, Mr. Endicott had gained a great influence over him. A state of health also, ever uncertain, had favoured a natural propensity to reserved manners, very different from the early deportment of Higginson. Posterity have been candid enough to charge all his errors to Endicott. Endicott had been the cause of all the rash proceedings against the Brownes. He was determined to execute his plan of church government. Unexperienced in the passions of men, and unaccustomed to consult even his friends, he was resolved to admit no oppositions. They, who could not be terrified into silence, were not commanded to withdraw, but they were seized and transported as criminals. The fear of injury to the colony induced its friends in England to give private satisfaction, and then to write a reproof to him, who had been the cause of such outrages, and Endicott never recovered his reputation in England. Not a year had elapsed from the death of Higginson, when Mr. Roger Williams arrived in the colony on 5th February, 1631. He was embraced with joy at Salem, and throughout all his life, supported a high place in their affections, as a truly godly man. Before his arrival, Endicott had embraced the doctrine of veils for the women in the church; and if he worshipped in the beauty of holiness, he was determined that human beauty should form no part of his pleasure. An assembly from various parts of England, produced a great variety in the appearance of the people. Men are as abhorrent of the customs of each other, as of the opinions they find in the world. A uniformity of dress might be favourable to a uniformity of manners,

but though encouraged, could not be enforced. The veils might produce the best effect on the public solemnities, and be liable to no serious objections. Endicott's heart was upon the practice. This zeal for a false modesty, which has been betrayed in many infant sects, and has been established in the forms of many prevalent religions, seized this good father of the colony, now confined to good offices in his own neighborhood. The practice had been so common, that it would have been innocent, had it only been recommended, and not enjoined. But authority was more powerful than truth. Mr. Williams did not refuse his assent to the practice, provided he should not be obliged to enforce the injunction. This office, painful to him, was the choice of Mr. Skelton.—The example of Skelton was followed soon by Mr. Endicott in a more serious affair. Mr. Williams had not only blamed private customs, but the public administration of the government. He blamed, yet he did not oppose it. He disapproved the connexion of the churches in Old and New England; yet he was prudent enough not to offer violence to the established forms. But all his hearers could not make the same distinctions. Endicott ventured to apply his doctrine, and cut the cross from the military standard. Endicott did it without advice; but the resentment of the magistrate spent itself upon Williams, who, though the innocent, was the real cause of it.

Mr. Williams, whom they received upon his arrival in February, became their minister on the 12th of April. Embittered by the controversy of the puritans in England, he had expressed himself with great warmth upon the language of affection to the church of England, which was still heard in America. He considered the event in the settlement of America as the separation almost of worlds. Nothing that reminded him of political connexion, pleased him. The patent, the freeman's oath, the power of the magistrate in religion, and the laws for the worship of God, were all derived, in his judgment, from the errors of the country they had forsaken. He could be persuaded, but not compelled, to renounce his opinions. Persecution, instead of calm expostulation, instantly commenced, and Williams, before the close of summer, was

obliged to retire to Plymouth. He there occasionally assisted Mr. Ralph Smith, their pastor, and inspired the same convictions of his piety, but he still fixed his eyes upon Salem, where he had received proofs of undissembled friendship. On the next year he had an opportunity, in August, of joining in the communion of the church at Plymouth with governor Winthrop, who had uniformly opposed him, and before the close of 1632 he was again in Salem. A child was born to him at Salem in August, 1633, but he retained a private character without any offence. Mr. Skelton's sickness gave him an opportunity to renew his public labours in the pulpit, for the pastoral relation had not been dissolved; and before 1633 was finished, his former difficulties returned. On this occasion, he displayed real modesty. He declared that the books, which gave the offence, had been written only to gratify some select friends, and that he would burn them with his own hands, if such an act would quiet the public fears. Cotton, the minister at Boston, a pious man, but fond enough of being dictator, was honest to confess that such a concession was sufficient, and that if he would take the oath of allegiance, the guilt might be forgiven. Williams then had rest, till the death of Mr. Skelton, 2d August, 1634. Mr. Skelton, the friend of Endicott, died when his benefactor was out of favour. No particular records were kept of his services. He was more advanced in life than Mr. Higginson. He was a rigid disciplinarian, but inclined to the utmost equality of privileges in church and state. His opinions made him no personal enemies; but as he never acted alone, he yielded to others all the praise of his best actions.

Mr. Williams was now at the head of the Salem church. Mr. Winthrop, by the public voice, had been removed from the chair of the governor, and Mr. Williams hoped the public opinion would be more favourable to him. His friends now joined him from Plymouth, and Salem began to enjoy unrivalled prosperity, and to entertain the proudest hopes. Unfortunately for Mr. Williams, the apostle Eliot, immortal by his services in the conversion of the Indians, had taken liberty to speak against the Indian treaty, though being brought to confess before the

magistrate, he published afterwards his recantation. Williams had observed, how unwilling the magistrates of Boston were, from jealousy, to grant the claims of Salem to lands, which they intended to appropriate to public uses, and he now thought himself safe in joining in a remonstrance with the unanimous voice of the town. He forgot what had passed to incense the ministers against him. Mr. Skelton and Williams did not view with indifference the frequent meetings of the ministers; and Williams did not appear at their tribunal, even under the authority of a magistrate, without disgust. But what he suppressed, Skelton freely declared, and both of them dreaded a power, of which they expected to be the victims. Skelton thought he foresaw the power of Presbyteries, and he had spirit to express a fear of it, though exercised under another name. Competition had an ample share in Williams's troubles, and his opinions were oftener repeated to lessen his influence, than to reform him. Skelton and Williams sought opportunities to retaliate upon the churches, which so freely remonstrated against their errors. They admitted the justice of some accusations, that they might require the same confessions. The church under their care justified them. The anathemas in turn would soon have created violence, had Cotton's advice to decide by ecclesiastical censures been accepted. But the magistrates refused a remedy so uncertain, when they had an effectual remedy in their power. These contentions were not without their evils upon the government, and three new governors in each succeeding year were elected to remove an evil, which they falsely imputed to Winthrop's mild administration. It so happened, while every opportunity was sought to remove Williams, that he was sick, and being unable to perform the duties of his pulpit, the old controversy of communion was revived. His opinions were again demanded, and his answers were not employed for the most generous purposes. Every hateful tale was reported. He had asked, whether it was not absurd to give an oath to a man, whom the church, by exclusion, had declared to be a man of no religion; and this was to condemn the magistrate. He held some opinions in common with the Anabaptists, and

this was the ground of a charge that he had fallen into all their errors, though there are no traditions or records of any divisions in regard to the mode and time of administering baptism. The Anabaptists were in the condition of their neighbours. Their theory of government did not enable them to find the point, at which civil and religious liberty meet. They did not consider, that theory might not determine this question. They struggled to fix it by power, and then they fixed it in favour of themselves. They all fell into the same error, and equally claim our forgiveness, excepting that sympathy may incline us to the injured and to the weakest. In short, Williams was declared to be opposed, not to men or measures, but to the authority of that power, under which the colony existed, and his existence in the colony was now judged insufferable. Williams was now, for the third time, under censure for the same offences. He could no longer enjoy his church, and therefore, with a few private friends, he retired to a separate worship. This was a separation against the laws. Besides, he had given intimations of an intended settlement at Narraganset. The popular opinion still remained kind towards him, and upon that account measures were taken to seize him privately, and to transport him; but he had friends to inform him, and he left the colony in January, 1636. The select friends, who joined him, were not of the Salem church, but united to him from sympathy, interest, and a love of that independence, at which they aspired. Mr. Williams would have appeared again in his own justification, but the privilege was denied to him. He had liberty to remain till spring; but this was only a snare laid for him. In September, 1635, before Mr. Williams left Salem, Mr. Peters arrived, and occasionally preached in Salem with great reputation, and he was suspected of an unkind influence upon the affairs of Mr. Williams.

In Salem, every person loved Mr. Williams. He had no personal enemies under any pretence. All valued his friendship. Kind treatment could win him, but opposition could not conquer him. He was not afraid to stand alone for truth against the world; and he had always address enough, with his firmness, never to be forsaken by

the friends he had ever gained. He had always a tenderness of conscience, and feared every offence against moral truth. He breathed the purest devotion. He was ready in thoughts and words, and defied all his vaunting adversaries to public disputation. He had a familiar imagery of style, which suited his times, and he indulged even in the titles of his controversial papers to wit upon names, especially upon the Quakers. He knew man, better than he did civil government. He was a friend of human nature, forgiving, upright, and pious. He understood the Indians better than any man of the age. He made not so many converts, but he made more sincere friends. He knew their passions, and the restraints they could endure. He was betrayed into no wild or expensive projects respecting them. He studied their manners and their customs and passions together. His vocabulary also proves that he was familiar with the words of their language, if not with its principles. It is an happy relief in contemplating so eccentric a character, that no sufferings induced any purposes of revenge, for which he afterwards had great opportunities; that great social virtues corrected the first errors of his opinions; and that he lived to exhibit to the natives, a noble example of generous goodness, and to be the parent of the independent state of Rhode-Island. He died in his colony, in 1683, in the 84th year of his age.

Respecting no man has the public opinion been more divided than Mr. Hugh Peters. The part he took in the Commonwealth of England, and in the death of king Charles, occasioned this division. That he was unfit to be joined with Shaftesbury and Rushworth, may be confessed. That he could not be ranked with Owen, Bates, or Howe. But a weak man could not maintain the popularity he gained, and an ignorant man could not execute what he undertook. He was born 1599, in Foy, in Cornwall. His father was a merchant. He was educated at Cambridge, in England, and was licensed by the bishop of London, and preached, with uncommon popularity, in the city. His independence soon raised him enemies, and he fled, as a non-conformist, to Holland. After six years, he came from Rotterdam to America. The subscription he raised for the Irish, in Holland, was great. Unkind re-

ports have been connected with the early part of his life, but they never reached, or had no influence in New-England. In September, 1635, he arrived in America. Sir Ferdinando Gorges says of his arrival, "this year came over that famous servant of Christ, Mr. Hugh Peters, whose courage was not inferior to any of the servants of Christ." This appears to have been the prevalent opinion. Having been accustomed to visit every part of a country, to which he went, he did not, as Mr. Williams, immediately accept the pastoral office. He visited all the settlements, and then settled in the Salem church, by agreement, on 21st day of December, 1636. He disclaimed all the errors of Mr. Williams, and in his zeal, as he tells Dorchester church, he excommunicated all his adherents upon the reports about them.* He interested himself in reforming the police of the town. He encouraged commerce, and brought some of the most wealthy men into the town. Emanuel Downing and John Humphries joined his church. Mr. William Browne came into the town from England, and William Harthorne from Dorchester. Salem never saw greater peace, prosperity, or increase, in so short a period. In the five years of his ministry, eighty male members joined his communion, and an equal number of females. In the town, the best regulations obtained. Lands were granted in just regard to their value, and to the purchasers; twelve men were appointed to direct the police, and the language of the town-business underwent an entire change. The arts were introduced. A water-mill was erected; a glass-house; salt works; the planting of hemp was encouraged, and a regular market was established. An almanack was introduced to direct their affairs. Commerce had unexampled glory. He formed the plan of the fishery, of the coasting voyages, of the foreign voyages; and among many other vessels, one of 300 tons was undertaken under his influence. He provided the carpenters, and entered largely into trade, with great success. In his church, he provided for quarterly contributions, and accepted of 200 acres of land in the North-fields 20 acres of marsh near Endicott's, and 10 acres in the great marsh, and his farm still bears the name of Peters'

* Might not this letter be referred to, in Hutch. vol. i. p. 321. 2d ed.

neck. Ever active and engaged in business, at home and abroad, he did not forget his church. He was the first to object to the unreasonable avocations from business, by the numerous weekly and occasional lectures, which he suppressed. He was open with Vane upon the necessity of uniting the ministers against the extravagant opinions of Mrs. Hutchinson, and he despised the uncertain conduct of Mr. Cotton. In the synod of 1637, he expressed his mind with freedom; and he had the greatest success in prevailing on Endicott to declare that he was satisfied with the proceedings of the synod. After this time, Endicott never engaged in any new scheme of doctrine or discipline in the church.

At an execution of a woman for the murder of a child, under pretence of a revelation from heaven, he indulged all his severity against the abuse of private revelations. By a character so well defined, he preserved his own church from the convulsions of the colony. Only three were tinctured, and one of them, the son of a deputy, was soon recovered. This liberal behaviour excluded the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson and Cotton from any influence in Salem, and incurred the danger of an opposite extreme. A Mrs. Oliver, better informed, and of a more easy address than Mrs. Hutchinson, openly claimed her right to the communion without a covenant, and claimed it in the time of public service. She was committed to prison, but had her liberty after four days, upon the confession of her fault in disturbing the congregation. She did not retract her opinions; she still insisted, that all who professed the christian religion ought to be admitted without examination, except into their good behaviour. Not only was Mr. Peters employed in the duties of his pastoral office, but he interested himself in the establishment of the college, in 1639. He convinced the inhabitants of Salem, that the college would not be a great aid to their commerce. He interested himself in the restoration of governor Winthrop to the public favour, and the governor paid a just tribute to Mr. Peters's activity and public spirit.

In 1637, governor Winthrop was restored to the office of governor, and visited Salem. He found such cordial reception that he visited the town again in 1638, and received

unusual public honours. The military ardour of Salem also awoke. Mr. Endicott was out in 1636, and in 1637, captain Traske was out in the Pequod war. Not only did Mr. Peters promote peace at home, but abroad. A traveller, in 1640, mentions this part of his character, and he was able to quiet the long troubles at Dover. Being frequently absent, he did not neglect the cares of his pulpit. Mr. John Fiske then resided in Salem, and assisted him in his pulpit. On 29th Dec. 1639, Mr. Edward Norris joined his church, and was on the next year ordained the teacher. In the same year, Francis Higginson, the son of the former minister, was a member of his church, but afterwards went and settled, in the ministry, in England.

As Mr. Hugh Peters was much engaged in trade, he knew all its embarrassments. As he had often done the business of the colony, and, as Winthrop says, with success, he was thought a proper person to return to England, and to represent the sense of the colony upon the laws of excise and trade. Such was the affection of his people, that every remonstrance appeared against the proposition. The court pressed, then solicited, and at length entreated, that he might be in the commission. The mercantile interest consented, and approved, and Mr. Humphries pressed it. Mr. Endicott, who had less interest in trade, opposed with great warmth. At length it was agreed; and as it met the warmest wishes of Mr. Peters, he left the colony on the 3d of Aug. 1641.* To follow him into England, or to pronounce upon his conduct after his arrival, is no part of the present design. It was a melancholy separation to the people, and it was awful in its consequences to him, as he suffered among the regicides after the restoration. The whole appointment was by his own consent, and he never insinuated that any blame was due to the colony, or to any men in it. He continued to trade with Salem, and made great profit, and he was consulted upon all important occasions. He was not friendly to the charities for propagating the gospel among the Indians. He had no hopes of any success while in America. His opposition, though imputed to his pride, as he was not at first consulted in England, perfectly agrees with his opinions, when at Salem. No man ever possessed more sincerely the affections of his people.

* Vid. Appendix, No. V.

Mr. Hugh Peters, in his person, was tall and thin. He was active and sprightly. In speech, he was ready, but his language was peculiar to himself. He had a power of associating his thoughts in such a manner, as to be sure to leave them upon the memory. If his images were coarse, they were familiar, and never failed to answer his purposes. Wherever he went, whatever he said, it was sure to be remembered. This talent gave him his thousands at London, his fame in Holland, his success in raising moneys every where. It gave him influence in America, and the power to command the people of every name, in defiance of a chaster eloquence employed against him. Colonel Lockhart, after a victory Mr. Peters gained in Ireland, said, he was a fit minister for soldiers. He preached the first sermon at Wenham, near Salem. He chose a small conical hill, near the pond. His text was, "At Enon, near Salim, because there was much water there." The town held the name till it was incorporated. It is still remembered, and Peters's hill is not yet forgotten. By this singular talent, he succeeded with the merchant and the divine, with the enthusiast in the state, and the church. By it he gained the favour of Cromwell. And by the success of it, he purchased the sentence of death upon the restoration. Specimens of his curious sermons are to be found in the trials of the regicides. A sermon before both houses, April, 1646, his "*last reports*," of the same year, his "*word for the army*," on the next year, and his "*short cut to quiet*," in 1651, were printed in London. His speech in the last is proverbial. In a revolution, "burn the whole, and begin anew." * His legacy to his daughter was kindly received by the public.—Whatever may be thought of him in the world, Salem ought to be grateful to him.

Mr. Edward Norris, who joined Salem church in 1639, and had been a minister in England, was ordained in a general meeting of the elders, and before a large concourse of people, as the teacher, on the 18th March, 1640. This is the first ordination, which was performed with great public ceremonies, in Salem. He received, upon his settlement, one hundred acres of upland, not far from Moul-

* Cardinal de Retz expressed it, "Law cannot be reformed by Law."

ton's brook, and sixteen acres of meadow. He entered the church in the time of its greatest tranquillity and prosperity. Mr. Peters had led Mr. Endicott to oppose the errors of Mrs. Hutchinson; but the increase of his power did not add to his discretion. Mr. Endicott began to be as sovereign against all the sects, and as a magistrate did not bear his sword in vain. In 1643, Mrs. Oliver again openly declared her right to the communion, and the unlawful interference of the magistrate, and she was publicly disgraced. Some women also, of reputable families, were excommunicated. Persons addicted to the tenets of the Anabaptists were deprived of personal liberty, by being confined to town, or by being under severe prohibitions. The whole number did not exceed nine. Mr. Norris never appeared active in such proceedings; and the comparative tranquillity of the town, during his ministry, is an evidence of his moderation. The alarm against the Anabaptists had been so great, that, in 1644, a law was made against them, charging them with the denial of the ordinance of magistracy, and of the lawfulness of war, and with the breach of the duties of the first table. Banishment was the penalty. The spirit of this law was retained in the law against heresy, in 1646, which condemned all who denied the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, or any sin in the regenerate. Thus inoffensive opinions were united in the same charge with errors generally held detestable. The Quakers were not well known, in England, till 1652, and did not reach Salem till 1657. The first law against them, under the penalty of death, was in October, 1658, and Endicott was in its favour, but Mr. Norris died before it was enacted. This sect paid no regard to age, to customs, or any prevalent opinions. Its vindication is drawn from the severity it felt upon its first appearance, being obliged to submission or death. A majority of one person obtained this cruel law. Mr. Norris escaped its operation, and the distracted times it occasioned. As early as 1644, the spirit for emigration ceased. The affairs in England promised to the Puritans the liberty they hoped; and such were the persons expected in New-England.

In Salem, the extent of settlements required that new

townships should be formed ; and without any contention with Mr. Norris, in 1643, Wenham had consent to a separation, and afterwards Manchester, Marblehead, and Topsfield. In 1657, a meeting-house was built on Beverly side. Peace still remained, and Mr. Norris was the sole pastor of the Salem church for eighteen years. Till 1645, the baptisms were nearly equal to the number of weeks in a year, but they did not represent the population. From 1636 to 1659, the number of males and females is exactly equal, and nearly two-thirds of them administered by Mr. Norris. But the increase of the church was not in the same proportion. Mr. Peters obtained more members in five years, than Mr. Norris in eighteen years. Still the conclusion is not against Mr. Norris. Towns were forming, and he was obliged to check the growth of every sect, which could arise from the swarms of the Commonwealth of England. He held his office, in these troublesome times, without assistance.

In 1644, Mr. Humphries left Salem, and Endicott's influence increased, and he was elected governor. Mr. Harthorne was often opposed to his political opinions, but Endicott was on the popular side. In 1641, some rights of territory had been granted, and these led to hope for a more permanent government. The interest of Salem assisted to restore Winthrop to the chair, in 1646. Harthorne had already declared, that he thought no man qualified for the chief offices of state without property, and in this he was supported by Mr. Norris, but opposed by Endicott, who still favored the gifts of grace above those of common providence, even in elections. But Harthorne ventured further in 1642. He intended that the council should be permanent ; and introduced into court, a book written by Saltonstall, one of the assistants, on this subject. In opposition to this, as an unnecessary and dangerous innovation, Mr. Norris appeared, not knowing from whom the book came. Winthrop was pleased with his reply, and says that this grave and judicious elder treated it with that just severity it deserved. The convictions, from the arguments of Mr. Norris, were abundantly supported by the measures in England, in favor of a republic.

In 1644, an assembly of the magistrates and ministers

was held at Salem. In it prudence prevailed. It was deliberated, whether they should admit, as lawful prize, a vessel taken under a commission to capture vessels belonging to certain English ports in hostility with the king and parliament. It was permitted to claim private property on board, but the case was not left to a jury. In 1642, the elders had been convened to give their judgment on the just power of the magistrate. The result was in favour of the magistrate.

In 1643, Salem accomplished a change of its magistrates, agreeably to the wishes of Mr. Harthorne; and in 1644, discovered the full extent of its ambition. It had multiplied its representatives, had drawn the greater part of the stock into its own hands, and had obtained the chair for Endicott, and hoped to establish the seat of government in Salem. But the removal of Humphries, the loss of Downing by fire, the divisions in the country, the troubles in England, and the majority in the vicinity of Boston, overruled a project, which was ever afterwards abandoned, and Salem was contented to take that place, which its industry and independence can assign, without the emoluments of courts, or the name of the capital. In the mean time, the plans of persecution were preparing; but as Salem had renounced the first object of its ambition, the church felt no struggles in the separation and incorporation of neighbouring towns. The lands were the only subject of any contention. In 1643, was an assembly of elders at Cambridge, on the affairs of Gorton and of Newbury; but Mr. Norris prevented Salem from any interference with its neighbours. In 1648, a platform was proposed to the churches; but Norris found it easy to persuade Endicott to persevere in a platform he judged to be his own, and the result of this measure was without the least effect in Salem. In 1646, a bell was used at funerals; and in 1647, care was taken of the education of poor children. In the same year, a law was published against the Jesuits, who were held up, in Europe, as the terror of the whole protestant world. We hear nothing of their visits to Salem. But the alarm was favourable to the union of the people, and greatly quieted their divisions. In 1649, the lectures were so regular, as to be-

come the time of giving public notice of town-meetings. In 1650, a great mortality, near Boston, spread alarm. Sumptuary laws came of course in 1651 ; and in addition to the laws of 1646 and 1647, laws were enacted respecting apparel, which produced some whimsical effects ; and there was a law against dancing on ordinary occasions. In 1649, Gov. Winthrop died. In 1652, Mr. Cotton, and in 1653, Gov. Dudley. The first generation seemed ready to depart. The subject was common from the pulpit. And the most melancholy reflections prepared the public mind for the greatest frenzy, which soon appeared. They were not pure before God, and they forgot their charity, in establishing their faith. At this critical time, in 1653, Mr. Norris again appeared. He saw the religious, as well as political dangers, from the general perturbation. He expressed the evil consequences from the general anxiety respecting the Dutch in the neighborhood of New-England ; for the public fears, easily excited, had taken hold of this subject. He declared, that it would no longer be prudent to remain neutral in national affairs ; that no motives should induce them to submit to continued insults, and to increase the general terror ; that the cries for help, against the Dutch and Indians, should be heard ; and that it was his own, and the prevalent opinion of thinking men, that a decisive part ought to be taken. But the public mind was not soon tranquil. Trials had been allowed for witchcraft, and the commissioners were indiscreet enough to forbid the Pequots the use of the act, in 1654. Such a sanction to a dangerous prejudice soon wrought the worst effects. Several persons were executed in the neighborhood of Boston, and in the colony, and one at Boston, in 1655. Accusations were common in all parts of New-England. Mr. Norris was happy in his resistance to all such prejudices in Salem ; and to employ the public mind, in 1655, he encouraged spinning in families, with great success ; and the employment was aided by a most happy enthusiasm.

Soon another evil threatened him from the Quakers. In 1656, and 1657, by the laws they had been called a cursed sect, and they had entered Salem. Now many would have embraced the opportunity, offered by Crom-

well, to remove with great advantages to Jamaica ; but the reports of an unhealthy country forbid their concurrence, and this important work was left for Charles II. to accomplish. The fear of such necessity suppressed the zeal of many persecutors. In 1657, it appeared, from the behaviour of Providence, that the Quakers did shun a place, in which there was no opposition. But at Plymouth, it was pretended, in 1658, that the mildest measures were of no avail. The prevailing opinion was afterwards, not to employ them. The court and people were incensed. Five were banished from Ipswich prison. In 1659, the heads of a family, belonging to Salem, were ordered to be sold ; and in the same year there were executions at Boston. In Plymouth, in 1660, there were orders to seize them ; and in 1662, a warrant was given to apprehend them in eleven towns, but Salem is not among them. Mr. Norris slept with his fathers in March, 1658, the year in which Cromwell died, and escaped the troubles, which were prepared for the town he loved, and which he most faithfully served. With Mr. Norris we close the history of the ministers of the first generation. The consistent politicks, the religious moderation, and the ardent patriotism of Mr. Norris entitled him to the grateful memory of Salem. He diverted the fury of fanaticism by industry, he quieted alarms by inspiring a military courage, and in the public morals, and a well directed charity, with a timely consent to the incorporation of towns around him, he finished in peace, the longest life in the ministry, which had been enjoyed in Salem, and died in his charge. The doctrines of these primitive preachers were chiefly derived from Calvin, are in substance represented in the confession and the catechisms of the assembly of divines at Westminster, and as ratified by parliament in 1649. Members were admitted by a covenant, which obtained as a form, while much was left to the discretion of the ministers.

Mr. John Higginson, son of the first minister in Salem, preached for several years in the garrison at Saybrook fort, near the mouth of Connecticut river, and afterwards became an assistant to Mr. Whitefield at Guilford, and his successor in that church, and he continued till he determined to go for England. On his way, he stopped at Sa-

lem, and having been urged, he consented to tarry one year. At the close of the year, he was solicited to accept the charge, and in August, 1660, he was ordained. Brother major Harthorne imposed hands with the deacons, in the presence of the neighbouring churches and elders. No regard was paid to any former ordination, and Mr. Norton of Boston gave the fellowship of the churches. Upon his settlement, it was agreed to use Cotton's catechism for the children; to administer the communion monthly, and to defray the expenses by the more wealthy members; to make a contribution for the poor upon all public fasts and thanksgivings; to expunge all personal reflections from the church book; and only the church covenant and the baptisms, from 1736, have been preserved, and the church members of the same years. Also to record only such things as had been read and approved publicly by the church. This was a good beginning. But as the Quakers were troublesome at the ordination, Mr. Higginson suffered his zeal to be inflamed; and at length he put into the covenant, to avoid, not the leaven of the Pharisees, but of the Quakers, and in their own language retorted, that the Quakers' light was a stinking vapour from hell. In 1660, the old law of 1631 was again enforced by authority, making church members the only freemen. In 1661, Quakers were executed in Boston, and eighteen were publicly punished in Salem. No discretion was used. In 1662, it was moderation to obtain that these unhappy persons should be whipped only in three towns. The statute of Charles II. in September, 1661, forbidding the persecution of the Quakers, was most happy for New-England, and it was effectual to restrain the violence of the public rage. But enmity did not cease with power. When persecution, in its most oppressive forms, left the church, other subjects engaged the church, and a synod was called, by the General Court, in 1662, on baptism and consociation. The first had become a political question from the freeman's law, and the last was judged necessary for the existence of the New-England churches. The synod continued a fortnight, and then adjourned to the 10th of June, and was then again adjourned till September. Nothing resulted from

it in the church of Salem, excepting a recommendation to avoid expensive cloathing, and several excommunications of those, who denied any power in the church, unaccompanied with any corporal punishments.

In 1663, a new cause of fear arose. Days of humiliation were appointed, to deprecate Episcopal usurpation, which the brethren in England told them to expect from the triumph of the established church over the Puritans, who were stigmatized with the most odious names, from the pulpit and the press. But the deadly wound was given to ecclesiastical usurpation in New-England in 1664. Four commissioners were appointed to settle all affairs, and they refused the law, obliging the freemen to be church members. From this measure, many feared for the church, and many hoped to end great troubles in the state. The admission of members into churches being now a matter purely ecclesiastical, it was left to all the freedom of debate, and each church had its own injunctions. Children born in the church, or baptized, claimed a right of admission, and all the forms, in which the controversy could be conducted, were innocent. The result in the mind of Mr. Higginson was happy, that every claim should be heard, and regarded so far as it could be done peaceably. In this year, Gov. Endicott, who had ruled so long, was dismissed from the church in Salem, to be a member of the church in Boston, as it was more convenient to his public employments. He died, and was interred at Boston, on 23d March, 1665, in the 77th year of his age. A sincere Puritan. After his removal, the synod's propositions were read to the church in Salem, with such observations as the pastor judged proper. A directory for public profession was afterwards published by the pastor, in which, lamenting that so many were kept from baptism, he recommended an examination, without the renewal of a public profession. As the king's commissioners did not readily agree with the General Court, another subject of religious concern arose, which engaged greater attention than the propositions of the synod. In 1665, there were great fears of invasion from the Dutch squadron. Other subjects of public fasts were taken from the request of the farmers for a meeting-house in the village, and for

another minister at Beverly ; from some predictions at the time, of the coming in of the Jews, and from the destructive plague of London. In 1667, the Bay psalm books were proposed to be used ; and as Ainsworth's tunes did not include all the psalms, that they should be used together. But not till 1675, could leave be granted to introduce them for a trial of six months. In 1668, the death of many ministers was a subject of general lamentation. In 1665, the Anabaptists had formed a church in Boston ; and in 1668, Mr. Higginson was invited to join at Boston in a conference with them. But Mr. Higginson had been so greatly betrayed by his zeal in the affairs of the Quakers, that he had determined never to be embittered again by controversy ; and he derived, in the latter part of his life, great advantages from his experience, and by his prudent resolutions. Dr. Owen, who had been invited, in 1665 and 1667, into New-England, and had prepared to go, wrote to his friends, that their prejudices were unreasonable, and ought not to be indulged. This pious man died two months before the ordination of Mr. Noyes, in 1683, and was expected by the people, who had every inducement to bring him to America. In 1669, part of the church in Boston determined to form a new church, and a council was called. Mr. Higginson went to give his advice, and remonstrated against the unreasonable prejudices he discovered, and he was one of the seven, who protested against the conduct to Mr. Davenport. The new church, now called the Old South, obtained a separation. It was confessed, that no provision had been made in the constitution of the New-England churches for such cases, and the elders from the first church in Boston wrote an apology for their proceedings to the church in Salem. Affairs were also settled at Newbury, and Mr. Higginson assisted. He was very often upon ecclesiastical councils. In 1670, the practice of receiving members on the Lord's-day evening, after the service, and not in church meetings, was adopted for the first time. In 1671, the farmers having been discharged from the support of the minister, his subsistence for some time was not well provided, and great expenses arose from a large and incumbered family ; but as the new order of the town began to obtain, in 1672,

Mr. Charles Nicholet, from Virginia, came to Salem, and he was invited to tarry for a year, as an assistant minister. After two years, he was chosen to continue for life, and was to be supported by a voluntary contribution. The vote was taken in the congregation, and not in the church. The church remonstrated, and in 1685, the General Court, by governor Leverett and others, declare their disapprobation of a vote taken contrary to a law of the jurisdiction, and the established usages of the church. The objections of the pastor were asked, and he gave them; that in his judgment the doctrine was inconsistent in terms, the measures unfriendly to peace, and the duty without any mutual assistance. Mr. Nicholet explained himself, corrected his expressions, and promised caution, and a council was called. But the animosity could not be removed. A new meeting-house was raised on the northern part of the common. Mr. Nicholet saw no prospect of peace. And after many farewell sermons, in 1676, he departed from America forever. The pastor gave him candidly a recommendation to his friends in England, in all points of civility; and the dismissal from the church was such as Mr. Nicholet would have chosen. These troubles were vexatious to Mr. Higginson, and they arose from the long expectation that some good man would appear to take the charge of the church before their pastor deceased. He was obliged to great exertions, to prevent and heal divisions; and his support had been partly withheld, and his enemies, made by persecution, now had power to distress him. The wars of Philip soon withdrew the public thoughts from these divisions. In 1677, thirteen Salem ketches were taken by the Indians, and some of them returned, with nineteen wounded men. Forty men were sent in a ketch, to recover their friends and property. In 1678, Mr. Higginson condescended to permit a woman, from the island of Jersey, to give her confession to the church in the French language, of which he had acquired some knowledge, and it was translated by a friend present. Mr. Higginson had also informed himself, in early life, of the Indian language, as the apostle Eliot testifies. In 1679, a synod was appointed to meet at Boston, to revise the platform of discipline agreed upon in 1647, and William

and John Browne attended with the pastor, and the platform was accepted and printed, and read. In 1680, deacon Orne requested that two deacons might be added to assist him, as he had been in that office above fifty years. In 1681, Mary English was received into the church, who afterwards received so many injuries under the pretence of witchcraft. In 1682, the pastor advised the church to invite another minister, and Mr. Nicholas Noyes was ordained 14th November, 1683. He was ordained with the greatest unanimity; and Mr. Hubbard, of Ipswich, observed at the ordination, that as Enoch was the seventh from Adam, so Mr. Noyes was the seventh ordained minister in Salem. Mr. Nicholas Noyes graduated at Cambridge, New-England, in 1667, and was the nephew of James Noyes, the first minister of Newbury. Mr. Higginson continued twenty-five years longer in the ministry; but his confidence in Mr. Noyes was so sincere, and their consent so constant, that from this time we may consider Mr. Noyes as leading in the affairs of the church. Mr. John Higginson died on 9th December, 1708, at the great age of ninety-three years, having been forty-nine years in the ministry at Salem, and above seventy years in the duties of a minister. In 1684, immediately after the ordination of Mr. Noyes, Marblehead, which had been an incorporation from 1648, formed a church. The controversy of baptism was yet unsettled, in regard to the conditions of administering it, and the final sense of the church was given in the following vote. "The pastors representing the cases of baptism to multiply, unprovided for in any former vote, such as of religious former scruples, the children of other churches, of members deceased, and of Christians not members of any particular church, beg leave to exercise their discretion, not by baptizing the ignorant and scandalous, but to act freely, baptizing according to their own judgments; and it passed at length, without opposition, that the pastor and teacher had liberty to baptize, as they held themselves bound by virtue of their office." So ended a most tedious controversy of the church. In 1685, it was proposed, that the officers and members of the church should renew the covenant, as at Mr. Higginson's ordination, but it was put off for consideration. In Sep-

tember, 1686, twenty-six pounds were contributed for the relief of the French protestants, who came to New-England. Whole families associated in Boston, but not any families at Salem. The greater part went to the southern states, particularly to South-Carolina. In 1687, agreeably to the vote of 1684, the children of other churches were baptized, if the parents resided in Salem, and the precedent was established. In 1688, the Quakers were associated for their worship, and admonitions to such as attended at their meetings was the only opposition. The Village had a separate church in 1690. In 1691, a contribution of thirty-two pounds was obtained for the relief of prisoners taken by the Indians.

Such was the order of events before the most melancholy part of the history of Salem, when trials for witchcraft were admitted in the forms of public justice, and the innocent were sacrificed to a cruel superstition. Many of the facts are already before the public; the present history will not relate them, but only such circumstances as may explain this most astonishing fanaticism. The event did not arise in ignorance, but error. The torrent of opinion was irresistible. They, who thought they saw the delusion, did not expose it. They, who were deluded, were terrified into distraction. For a time, no life was safe. But the scene was like a torrent, sudden, irresistible, and momentary. The folly began about five miles from Salem, in that part of Danvers, then called Salem Village, in the upper parish, and very few of the victims belonged to the present town of Salem. In 1677, Mr. Bayley, a preacher on these farms, was received into the church at Salem, recommended from the church at Newbury, but he did not cordially unite them. In 1681, Mr. Bayley agreed to remove, and notice was given that Mr. Burroughs was come to preach during the winter. After the winter, his continuance was asked; and after some debate, it was agreed that no objections should be made, provided it should not be considered as a final settlement, and liberty of choice should still remain, when the church should be a distinct church. Mr. Burroughs continued several years, and eventually did not settle among them, but left his family, and went eastward into Maine. This

man was a victim of the prejudices he had excited. In 1686, in September, the village having heard Mr. Lawson for two years, begged leave of Salem church, that they might agree with him for a settlement; but in this attempt they did not succeed. In 1689, the village applied to be a separate church, and were better agreed in Mr. Paris. It was granted, and Mr. Paris was ordained in November, and the whole business was left with Mr. Noyes. It was in this place of contention, and in the minister's house, the mischief began. If we turn our eyes to Salem, we shall see how ill it was provided to resist this torrent. In 1681, Salem was deprived of major William Harthorne, who had been in the town from 1636. In 1685, it lost another eminent man, captain George Curwin, who came into Salem in 1638. In 1688, it was deprived of the honorable W. Browne, who arrived in 1635. These were the distinguished characters of the town. Captains Lathrop and Gardner had been killed in 1674, and 1675. A more unhappy time could not have been found, when a town was deprived of all its fathers, who had governed it for half a century, with unbounded confidence.* Unhappily the opinion of the learning of Mr. Noyes assisted the prejudices he had adopted. He believed in witchcraft, and so did every other person. Many had different opinions about trials, and statutes on the subject; but the doctrine of invisible agency, no one was bold enough utterly to deny. The dispute could not be opened upon just grounds. Doubtless many saw the danger from such licentious proceedings, but none had courage to apply or propose relief. Saltonstall left the bench, but ought he not, as a friend of justice, to have been upon it? Four judges of the five belonging to Suffolk, were from Boston; why were they not present, to resist the influence of the Salem judges, who were overruled by the madness, which was universal around them? There is no plea from what governor Bradstreet and deputy-governor Danforth knew. Increase Mather did not oppose Cotton Mather; and while posterity are grateful to Willard for private generosity, they would have thanked him more sincerely for the lives of the innocent. The ministers were free

* For their offices, see the Appendix, No. VII.

enough to condemn Noyes, Hale, and Paris, after the fury was over, and many justices, like Pilate, did not do these things, when they suffered others to do them by their authority. Hale, Noyes, and Paris will stand in higher esteem with posterity, than all the elders, who were too timid to speak, or perhaps too weak to think, till the destruction was sure. Hale wrote when it was too late, and with too much pride for a man, who had done so much harm. Paris suffered, and was pitied. But Noyes came out, and publicly confessed his error; never concealed a circumstance; never excused himself; visited, loved, and blessed the survivors, whom he had injured; asked forgiveness always, and consecrated the residue of life to bless mankind. He never thought, in all these things, that he made the least compensation, but all the world believed him sincere. The historian, when he reviews such scenes, while he forgives fanaticism, must hate religious pride, when it sacrifices mankind.

The agency of invisible beings, if not a part of every religion, is not contrary to any one. It may be found in all ages, and in the most remote countries. It is not disputed, that the serious belief prevailed among the primitive christians, and that they claimed a power over them. No fact of ecclesiastical history is more plain or more perplexing. It is then no just subject for our admiration, that a belief, so alarming to our fears, so natural to our prejudices, and so easily abused by superstition, should obtain among our fathers, when it had not been rejected, in the ages of philosophy, letters, and even of revelation. In a place like Salem Village, vexed with prejudices, the physician agreed with the minister, that, in a singular case, there was an evil hand, as there often is when a matter is too hard for us. The minister was convinced, and applied to prayer and fasting. An Indian, in his house, who thought he had driven invisible beings away, ventured upon his experiments. He prepared unleavened bread with the vilest excrements. In some cases, this would have been a subject of ridicule. But the public mind was prepared for a more serious explanation. There had been great political revolutions, many prophecies of future events, alarming Indian wars, and great losses in the town.

But all these did not, in the least, contribute to the effect. The invisible agency was nothing more than the familiar tales of spirits, which supplied every winter evening with new fears. The spark fell upon this inflammable substance, and behold how great a matter a little fire kindled. Infection never was so sudden, for all were filled with the most painful apprehensions. All recollected the wonderful terrors, which had already distressed their imaginations. The evidence produced, may convince us. Children, below twelve years of age, obtained a hearing before magistrates. Indians came and related their own knowledge of invisible beings. Tender females told every fright, but not one man of reputation ventured to offer a single report. Nothing could be more ridiculous, than a mere narrative of the evidence. It would be an affront to the sober world. The terror of imagination was so great, that, at the hazard of life, they who were charged with guilt, confessed it. They knew it to be true, that they had experienced strange apprehensions of mind. The confessions blinded the judges. The public clamours urged them on, and the novelty of the calamity deprived them of all ability to investigate its true causes, till nineteen innocent persons were victims of the public credulity. An example of each kind may be produced. Perhaps not a single person suffered, or was accused, that had not been brought into view in some painful circumstances. Some evil of private life was the uniform ground, upon which mad suspicion proceeded. This perplexed the judges, who examined with critical care the spectral evidence, and the precedents in the English courts. Mr. Burroughs, who had preached in the Village, and had returned to his family, was the candidate, about whom they were divided, and of whom they had different opinions. He was known by his feats, and great bodily strength, which he preserved at fourscore years. The accusers made this the subject. He died with fervent prayers, that the delusion might cease. It was said, that the bodies were not properly buried; but upon an examination of the ground, the graves were found of the usual depth, and remains of the bodies, and of the wood, in which they were interred. The evidence related to his presence at the communion, and to

his wonderful exertions of strength. No notice was taken of his profession at his trial, and he offered no special plea. He was left in prison, and carried out in rags to his execution. Giles Corey, who was pressed to death, because he would not implead, had, in the preceding year, acknowledged himself a scandalous person, and was received upon repentance, at eighty years. Mr. English was the only man of property, who was arrested in Salem. He came to his friends in America from the isle of Jersey, and lived with Mr. Hollingsworth, and married their only child Mary. The grandfather, Richard Hollingsworth, came to Salem in 1635, and the family were wealthy. Mr. Philip English had a great estate, but held no office in town. He had been engaged in several disputes with the town about lands, which he claimed, but did not recover. He built a large house, in the best style of the day, and it is now standing. He possessed fourteen buildings, besides a wharf, in the eastern part of the town. Mrs. English was a woman of a superior mind, and of the best education; but, from the indulgence of her education, was not condescending to all the poor around her, and from them the accusations came. The officer came to her house in the evening of 21st of April, 1692. The officer had been admitted by the servants, and read his warrant in her bed-chamber, but she refused to rise. Guards were placed around the house. In the morning she attended the devotions of her family, kissed her children with great composure, proposed her plan of their education, took leave of them, and then told the officer she was ready to die. She was examined, and committed, by indulgence, to custody in a public house, at which her husband visited her. On the 21st of March, the magistrates met in the town, and Mr. Noyes opened with prayer. On the 24th, they met in the Village, and Mr. Hale prayed. On the 26th, they met again in town, and the day was kept as a day of fasting by consent, and completed the terror and the outcries. Mr. Higginson was present at an examination on this day, but he declined any service, excusing himself from his age, on a subject he did not understand. The frequent visits of Mr. English, to his wife, brought accusations against him, but he obtained leave to be confined

with his wife in Arnold gaol in Boston, till the time of trial. In this situation, they were relieved by the generous favour of Messrs. Willard and Moody, ministers in Boston. The frank declarations of Mr. Moody occasioned his removal from Boston. They assisted Mr. English and his wife in removing to New-York, and recommended them to governor Fletcher, who paid them every attention. In the ensuing winter, Mr. English sent generous relief to the suffering poor of Salem; and in 1693, returned to Salem, as papers of business indicate. From March till August, 1692, was the most distressing time Salem ever knew. Business was interrupted. The town deserted. Terror was in every countenance, and distress in every heart. Mr. Noyes welcomed Mr. English to Salem, and was constant in his visits till death. The town expressed their joy publicly at his return. But, though generous to the poor, Mr. English seized the body of sheriff Curwin, after it was prepared for interment, for a large book debt, which he had contracted, and detained the body till some satisfaction was made to him. Many things, formerly belonging to Mr. Curwin, are held still by the posterity of Mr. English, in memory of this transaction. As soon as Mr. English was apprehended, his house was opened, and every thing movable became free plunder to the multitude. So surely will licentiousness beget its likeness, whatever may be its pretence. The court made some allowance to Mr. English; but he refused it, as not being, in a just degree, adequate to his losses from his houses, stores, and other buildings. After his death, his heirs accepted £.200 which they obtained by the family of Sewall. Every place was the subject of some direful tale. Fear haunted every street. Melancholy dwelt in silence, in every place, after the sun retired. The population was diminished. Business could not, for some time, recover its former channels, and the innocent suffered with the guilty,

Witchcraft soon proved itself to be an evil to be corrected in the public opinion, and not in a court of justice. Necessity imposed an end to all forms of laws, and the accusations were refused with the worst apprehensions. As soon as the judges ceased to condemn, the people ceased

to accuse. Just as, after a storm, the people were astonished to see the light at once break out bright again. Terror, at the violence and the guilt of the proceedings, succeeded instantly to the conviction of blind zeal; and what every man had encouraged, all professed to abhor. Few dared to blame other men, because few were innocent. They, who had been most active, remembered that they had been applauded. The guilt and the shame became the portion of the country, while Salem had the infamy of being the place of the transactions. Every expression of sorrow was found in Salem. And after the death of Mr. Higginson, whose only fault was his silent consent, the church, before the choice of another minister, publicly erased all the ignominy, they had attached to the dead, by recording a most humble acknowledgment of their error. After the public mind became quiet, few things were done to disturb it. But a diminished population, the injury done to religion, and the distress of the aggrieved, were seen and felt with the greatest sorrow. The Quakers, who had now a house of worship in the town, took their turn to triumph, as they had uniformly refused to aid in such affairs, upon the principle of justice, not from denial of invisible agency. Their invectives still had power to enrage, and in 1695 there was a warrant from the council to apprehend Thomas Maule, for a book he had written. The public resentment was so great in Salem, that common justice was refused. When brought to his trial, the jury would not convict him; an event, which put an end to such prosecutions. Thomas Maule became afterwards a quiet and useful citizen.

In the church, a few simple rules were adopted. Members were admitted at the time of the communion. The confession was more a form, and principally confined to a breach of the seventh commandment. The deacon's office was defined to be such as it now remains, an office of charity. In 1696, the town began to flourish again. A liberal contribution was sent to the island of St. Christopher. The peace of Ryswick, in 1697, gave great joy, and opened a new scene of public affairs. The colonies began to defy their enemies. In this year, Salem lost the last governor that ever resided in it. Simon Bradstreet, the

late governor, died on 27th March, 1697. He was born in England, in 1603, came into America with his father-in-law, governor Thomas Dudley. He was appointed a magistrate on the voyage, and secretary of the colony. From governor Leverett's death, in 1678, he was governor till the charter was lost, in 1686. In 1689, he was re-elected by the people, upon the revolution, and was the last governor of their choice. He continued till governor Phips came with the new charter, in 1692, and died at 94 years of age. A Latin inscription is upon his tomb in Salem.*

Uncommon attention was now paid to the schools, and the church received rich donations from Benjamin and colonel Samuel Browne. The ministers found their reputation would not admit, that they should be active in placing the congregation at their seats in the meeting-house; and they declined an office, which the want of power rendered unhappy to them. Their virtues now were their only recommendation and support. In 1702, the town had greatly recovered its former prosperity, and persevered till all property was defined, and all town lands were inclosed. In 1713, this excellent work was accomplished. In 1708, Mr. Higginson died. He was useful in councils; and being of good reputation, he wrote several prefaces to useful books of devotion, and published several sermons and other works in his profession. He was precipitate in his first persecution of the Quakers; and became more moderate afterwards. He was free from all blame, in the infatuation of the witchcraft. He was often embarrassed in his worldly affairs, and in all his children he was not blessed. He was a venerable man. In 1709, Mr. Noyes proposed Mr. George Curwin; and he would have been immediately ordained, if all who live beyond the Town-bridge had not hoped to become a separate church. One hundred and nine subscribers were obtained for the present encouragement of Mr. Curwin. In 1713, another church was formed, which is the lower parish in Danvers, as it was called at its incorporation, in 1757. In 1715, another church was formed on Ryal's side, which is now the upper parish in Beverly. Mr. George Curwin graduated at Cambridge in 1701, and was

* See Appendix, No. VIII.

ordained 19th May, 1714. He died, from a sudden cold, on 23d November, 1717, aged 35. He left a reputation, in the church, of great philanthropy, good address, and excellent pulpit talents. His friend and colleague, Mr. Nicholas Noyes, soon followed him. He died 13th December, 1717, aged 69. Mr. Noyes was the nephew of Mr. James Noyes, the minister of Newbury. His uncle Parker, from whom he received his education, was in the same charge with his uncle Noyes, who was among the most enlightened men of his times, and his writings are an honour to his memory. His knowledge of civil and religious liberty was displayed in the free use he gave to all the good citizens of the privileges of the church, though they might be freemen under the old law. His life is to be found, from the pen of his nephew, among Mather's worthies. If the nephew had not the same regard to dreams, as his uncle Noyes, he certainly followed his uncle Parker in an uncautious use of the prophecies. And to this error he may charge the delusion, which is the greatest blot upon his memory. Mr. Noyes was a very corpulent man. Not gloomy, but sanguine in his temperament. He delivered the election sermon in 1698. He was a scholar in all the literature of his times.

The town was now divided into two parishes, and two new meeting-houses were erected. The First Church held the ancient ground, and the Second Church was raised in the same street, not quite half a mile eastward of it.

On 8th of October, 1718, Samuel Fiske, who graduated at Cambridge in 1708, was ordained in the First Church. He was a man of real abilities; but his high thoughts of church authority prevented his usefulness, and he was dismissed from the First Church in 1735, and accepted a new house, provided by his friends, in the same street, westward, on the north side of the street. He was succeeded in the Old Church by Mr. John Sparhawk, who graduated at Cambridge in 1731. Mr. Sparhawk was ordained on 6th December, 1736, and died April 30, 1755, aged 42. He was much esteemed. He was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Barnard, who graduated at Cambridge in 1732, had been ordained at Newbury, and was installed at Salem on 17th September, 1755. He died in

1776, aged 62. He has left several sermons, and had an high reputation. Mr. Asa Dunbar, who graduated at Cambridge in 1767, was ordained 22d July, 1772, resigned in 1779, and died December, 1788. He was a man of genius, and died in the profession of law, in New-Hampshire. John Prince, L.L. D, who graduated, in 1776, at Cambridge, was ordained on 10th November, 1779, and is now minister of the First Church.

There was another Friends meeting-house before that built in 1716.

The Second Church was formed in 1718. Mr. Robert Staunton, graduated at Cambridge in 1712, was ordained, in the Second Church, 8th April, 1719, and died 2d May, 1727, aged 35 years. William Jennison, who graduated in 1724, succeeded him, and was ordained 22d May, 1728, and resigned in 1736. He died, aged 55, in 1750. James Diman, graduated at Cambridge in 1730, and was ordained 11th May, 1737. He died 8th October, 1788, aged 81. William Bentley was ordained colleague minister 24th September, 1783, and was graduated at Cambridge, in 1777.

An Episcopal Protestant Church, agreeably to the constitutions and canons of the church of England, was opened in 1733, upon land given by Philip English. It was soon enlarged, and wings were added in 1771. Several clergymen occasionally performed public service, and Rev. Charles Brockwell was with them very much from 1738 to 1746, when he went to the King's chapel in Boston. William Macgilcrist was the incumbent from 1747. He died 19th April, 1780, aged 73. Rev. Mr. Nichols was assistant from 1771, till December, 1774, and Rev. Robert Boucher Nichols had officiated early in this church. No records were kept till Mr. Brockwell. The present rector, Rev. Nathaniel Fisher, was ordained by Robert Lowth, Bishop of London, in 1777, graduated at Cambridge, New-England, 1763, and came to Salem 25th February, 1782.

Upon Mr. Fiske's dismissal from the First Church, another house of worship was raised, and it may be called the Third Church, though it refused the name. Samuel Fiske was installed in 1736, and dismissed in 1745. He died at Salem, 7th April, 1770, aged 81. Dudley Leavitt was ordained 24th October, 1745, and died 7th February,

1762, aged 42. John Huntington was ordained in 1763, and died 30th May, 1766, aged 30. Nathaniel Whitaker, D. D. who had been in the ministry at Norwich, Connecticut, was installed 28th July, in 1769; and removed in 1783. The meeting-house, erected in 1735, was burnt down in the great fire of 1774, 6th October, and the congregation then divided. They, who separated from the ministry of Mr. Whitaker, purchased an assembly room, built in 1766, and took the name of the Third Church. The deed was given on 25th November, 1774, and it was prepared for public worship on the 18th December following. Dr. Whitaker had claimed to be under presbyterian government, since 1769. Mr. Daniel Hopkins preached with them, and was ordained 18th November, 1778.

Dr. Whitaker, with his friends, erected a new house, called the Tabernacle, in 1776; but divisions arising, he removed in 1783, and died in Virginia. Mr. Joshua Spaulding was ordained in the Tabernacle 26th October, 1785.

The North Church was formed from the First Church, in 1773, and Thomas Barnard, D. D. son of the pastor of the First Church, was ordained January 13th, 1773. He graduated at Cambridge in 1766.

There is an half-length painting of Francis Higginson in the council chamber, at Boston, in the old state-house.

There are several engravings of Mr. Hugh Peters, taken by his political enemies.

There is a good half-length painting of Mr. George Curwin in the possession of his son.

The ring of Mr. Norris yet remains in the family, but no picture.

There is a good engraving of Rev. Charles Brockwell, taken in Boston.

The baptisms stand in the following proportions :

From 1636 to 1659, 24 years,	387 males,	387 fem.	tot. 774
From 1660 to 1684, 25 years,	476 ———	468 ———	tot. 944
From 1685 to 1699, 15 years,	350 ———	355 ———	tot. 705

1213	1210	2423
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By these tables, it appears that the males of particular families were equal to the females for the first 24 years: that the males exceeded the females by eight in the next

25 years; that the females exceeded the males by five in the next fifteen years: and that for the seventeenth century, the excess of males was three.

Till 1618, the present town was in one religious society. From 1700 to 1718, 19 years, 413 males, 501 fem. Tot. 914. Here is at once a difference as of 6 to 7, which must be accounted for in the examples of adult female baptisms, to obtain privileges unknown in the preceding period. And in the excess of female adults, the difference is to be found.

The First Church, while separated from the Second Church, from 1718 to 1743, in the table, gives in these 26 years, 629 males, 643 females. Total 1272. An excess of 14 females.

The table of the Second Church, from 1719 to 1743, in the same time, gives 663; 321 males, and 342 females, an excess of 21 females.

The table of the Second Church, from 1719 to 1799, inclusively, gives, for 81 years, 1282 males, 1370 females, total 2652.

In these years, 34 times the males exceed the females; 43 times the females exceed the males; and 5 times they are equal. The second church is formed almost from the families of mariners, and more adult females are baptised. Regular bills of mortality, for Salem, have not been kept till lately. From bills kept from 1762 to 1773, inclusively, excepting 1766, and 67, for ten years, the deaths were found to be 1045. In this number, 90 died above 70 years of age, and included in this number, are 20 above 80 years, and 10 above 90 years of age. For the year 1769, the males and females were kept, and were 59 males, and 55 females; total 114. In 1762, there was a great mortality among children; 118 died, and 50 were children. For the four last years of the term for 1770, 71, 72, and 73, an account of diseases was kept; and in 1770, 18 died of consumptions, and 8 of throat-distemper. In 1771, 25 of consumptions, and 25 of fevers. In 1772, 24 of consumptions, and 17 of fevers. In 1773, in which the bill of mortality is doubled, 27 died of consumptions, 28 of fevers, 14 of the cholera, 25 of the dysentery, and 17 of the small-pox.

From the bills kept with care in the Eastern, or Second Church, from 1785 to 1799, there were 480 deaths, of

which 94 were abroad ; and of the 94, 61 of fevers taken abroad, the other part by casualties : 66 were under 30 years of age, and 28 above 30 years. Of those who died at home and abroad, 117 died under two years : 172 between two years and thirty : 108 between thirty and sixty years : between sixty and ninety years, 78 persons : and between ninety and one hundred and three, 5 persons ; which is a loss of 32 annually. At the state census, in 1785, the whole society was 1097. At the United States census, in 1790, 1277. In voluntary associations, and in great towns, in which society forms, changes, and multiplies continually, a precise number cannot be fixed. There are seven religious societies in the town, of unequal numbers ; the eastern society will amount to a seventh part of the population, or at least to 1300 souls. Exclusively of those who died abroad, the whole number will stand at the respective months in the following proportion :

January, 27 ; February, 24 ; March, 24 ; April, 23 ; May, 21 ; June, 28 ; July, 39 ; August, 38 ; September, 40 ; October, 48 ; November, 38 ; December, 36.

In the year 1800, 278 were males, and 212 were females. As great a number of males did not die at home, as females. Deducting the 93, and 27 will be left for the waste of life at home. In the whole number, there were 91 male heads of families, 17 persons were born abroad, and 28 persons in other parts of the United States ; 24 died by casualties, only 3 at home. Of the diseases, which have prevailed, 74 have died in consumptions, and 94 of fevers of different names ; 12 have died of the dysentery ; and no other malady has occasioned the last number of victims. The consumptions prevail most among the young. Of the throat-distemper, we have lost 3 ; of the small-pox, 6 ; of the measles, 1. No blacks are included in these accounts, as none are in the society. In the same society, the number of marriages, from 1785 to 1799, is exactly 200, which is equal to the number lost at home. The part of the town was, till 1783, a parish ; and the people of the society live very much together. In no place are they far from the level of the sea, upon a sandy plain, narrow, and washed by the salt water on each side, at every tide.*

[*To be continued.*]

* See Appendix, No. IX.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

COPY OF SALEM INDIAN DEED.

TO all people to whom this present deed of sale shall come. David Nonnupanohow, Sam Wuttaannoh, and John Tontohgunne, Cicely's son, grand children of George Sagamore, Cicely Petaghuncksq, Sarah Wuttaquatinnusk, both daughters of George Sagamore aforesaid, Thomas Ukqueakussennum, alias Captain Tom, all of Waymessick, alias Chelmsford, in the county of Middlesex, within his majesty's territory and dominion of New-England in America : James Quanophkownatt, alias James Rumneymarsh, Israel Quanophkownatt, son of said James, Joanna Quanophkownatt, relict, widow of old John Quanophkownatt, Yacoataw, relict, widow of John Oonsumog, Wattacotinnusk, wife of Peter Ephraim, all of Natick, in the county of Middlesex, within his majesty's territory and dominion of New-England in America, aforesaid, Send Greeting.

Know ye, that we the abovesaid, [here the names are repeated] for and in consideration of the full and just sum of forty pounds, current money of New-England, to them in hand, at and before the ensealing and delivery of these presents by John Ruck, John Higginson, Samuel Gardner, Timothy Lindall, William Hirst, Israel Porter, selectmen and trustees for the town of Salem, in the county of Essex, within his majesty's territory and dominion of New-England in America, well and truly paid, the receipt whereof, they do hereby acknowledge, and themselves therewith fully satisfied and contented, and thereof, and of every part thereof, do hereby acquit, exonerate, and discharge the said [here follow the names of the selectmen of Salem] trustees abovesaid, their heirs, executors, and administrators, as also all the rest of the purchasers and proprietors of the township of Salem, and each and every of them forever, by these presents, have given, granted, bargained, sold, aliened, enfeoffed, and confirmed, and by these presents, do fully, freely, clearly, and absolutely give,

grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeoff, and confirm unto them the said [here the names] trustees aforesaid, and to the proprietors in, and purchasers of the township of Salem aforesaid, all the said township of Salem, viz. all that tract and parcel of land lying to the westward of Neumkeage river, alias Bass river, whereupon the town of Salem is built, so proceeding along to the head of Neumkeage river, called, by the English, Bass river, so comprehending all the land, belonging to the township of Salem, according as it is butted and bounded with and upon the towns of Beverly, Wenham, Topsfield, Reading, Lynn, and Marblehead, down to the sea, which said land is a part of what belonged to the ancestors of the grantors, and is their proper inheritance : or howsoever the said township, or any part or parcel thereof, is butted and bounded, or reputed to be bounded : together with all houses, edifices, buildings, lands, yards, orchards, gardens, meadows, marshes, feeding grounds, rocks, stones, beach, flats, pastures, fences, commons, commons of pasture, woods, underwoods, swamps, waters, watercourses, dams, ponds, head wares, fishing, fowling, ways, easements, profits, privileges, rights, commodities, emoluments, royalties, hereditaments, and appurtenances, mires, metals, minerals, whatsoever ; as also with all islands and privileges of Neumkeage river, alias Bass river, which the ancestors of the said grantees heretofore rightfully possessed, with all and singular their appurtenances, to the said township of Salem, and other the premises, belonging, or in any case appertaining, or therewith now used, occupied, or enjoyed, as part, parcel, or member thereof ; and also all rents, arrearages of rents, quit-rents, rights of all things above named, as also all rivers, creeks, and coves whatever, with all their privileges and appurtenances, nothing excepted, or reserved ; and also all deeds, writings, and evidences whatever, touching and concerning the premises, or any part or parcel thereof.

To have and to hold all the said township of Salem, butted and bounded as abovesaid, with all other the above granted premises, with their, and every of their rights, members, and appurtenances, and every part and parcel thereof, hereby granted, bargained, and sold, or meant,

mentioned, or intended to be, to and for the sole use, benefit, and behoof of the proprietors in, and purchasers of the said township of Salem. And the said [here the Indian names] for themselves, their heirs, executors, and administrators, jointly, severally, and respectively, do hereby covenant, promise, and grant to and with the said [here the names] trustees as abovesaid, their heirs, and assigns, on behalf of the said proprietors and purchasers of the said town of Salem, in manner and form following, (that is to say), that at the time of this present bargain and sale, and until the ensealing and delivery of these presents, they and their ancestors were the true, sole, and lawful owners of all the aforesaid bargained premises, and were lawfully seized of and in the same, and in every part thereof, in their own proper right, and have in themselves full power, good right, and lawful authority to grant, sell, convey, and assure the same unto the said [here the names] trustees abovesaid, their heirs and assigns, for the use abovesaid, as a good, perfect, and absolute estate of inheritance in fee simple, without any manner of condition, reversion, or limitation whatever, so as to alter, change, defeat, or make void the same: and that the said John Ruck, &c. [here the names] as trustees aforesaid, and their heirs and assigns, for the use and benefit of the purchasers and proprietors of the aforesaid township of Salem, shall and may, by force and virtue of these presents, from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, lawfully, peacefully, and quietly have, hold, use, occupy, possess, and enjoy the above-granted premises, with their appurtenances, and every part and parcel thereof, free and clear, and clearly acquitted and discharged of and from all and all manner of former and other gifts, grants, bargains, sales, leases, mortgages, jointures, dowers, judgments, executions, forfeitures, and of and from all other titles, troubles, charges, and incumbrances whatever, had, made, committed, done, or suffered to be done by the said David, &c. [here the names] or either or any of them, their, or either, or any of their heirs, or assigns, or by their, or either, or any of their ancestors, at any time or times before the ensealing hereof. And further, that the said David, &c. [here the names] their heirs, executors,

and administrators, jointly and severally, shall and will, from time to time, and all times forever hereafter, warrant and defend the above granted premises, with their appurtenances, and every part and parcel thereof, unto the said [here the names] trustees as abovesaid, and to their heirs and assigns forever, to and for the sole use and benefit of the proprietors and purchasers in and of the said township of Salem, against all and every person and persons whatever, any ways lawfully claiming or demanding the same, or any part or parcel thereof. And lastly, that they the said David, [here the names] or either or any of them, their or any of their heirs, executors, or administrators, shall and will, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, when thereunto required, at the cost and charges of said John Ruck, &c. [here the names], their heirs or assigns, or the purchasers and proprietors of said township of Salem, do, make, acknowledge, execute, and suffer, all and every such further act and acts, thing and things, assurances and conveyances in the law whatever, for the further and better surety and suremaking of the abovesaid township of Salem, with the rights, hereditaments, and appurtenances above, by these presents, mentioned, to be bargained and sold under the said [here the names] trustees as abovesaid, their heirs or assigns, for the use aforesaid, as by the said [here the names] trustees aforesaid, their heirs and assigns, or the said proprietors, or by their counsel, learned in the law, shall be reasonably devised, advised, or required.

In witness whereof, the said David, &c. [here the names] have hereunto set their hands and seals, the eleventh day of October, anno Domini one thousand six hundred eighty-six, anno regni regis Jacobi II. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hybernæ, fidei defensoris, secundo.

*David. Sam. John. John. Cicely. Sarah.
Thomas. James. Jama. Israel. Joanna.
Yacoataw. Wattacotinnusk.*

Signed, sealed, and delivered by David, &c. [here the names] as their act and deed, in the presence of us, after the same was read to them,

ANDREW ELIOT, senior.
THOMAS HUNT.
JOHN HILL, senior.
SAMUEL HARDY.
WILLIAM WOODBERRY.

*{ This instrument acknowledged by David, &c.
[here the names] to be their act and deed, this
eleventh day of October, 1686, before me, BAR-
THOLEMEW GIDNEY, one of his majesty's
council for his territory and dominions of
New-England in America.*

No. II.

Jeffrey Massey came into Salem with Roger Conant, and was active in the service of the town. His integrity, perseverance, and useful information gained him the public confidence. He was early employed in surveying land ; and, in 1635, was on a committee of land appointed by the town. In 1636, he sold his ten-acre lot, and took land in Mackarel cove, now in Beverly. In 1637, he obtained more land, as his fifty acres were rocky. In 1637, he was chosen one of the seven men, or selectmen, and continued in that office till 1654. At the expiration of that term, he received a gift of land for transcribing the town book ; and from that time it ceases to be regular. He had several compensations, for services, in land. He was joined with the committee of Marblehead, in disposing of their lands. He was employed, in 1643, to run the line between Salem and Ipswich. In 1648, he was overseer in the building of Town bridge. In 1653 and 54, he was empowered to fix the bounds of Topsfield. He returned to the board of selectmen in 1657 ; and in 1665, assisted again in laying out lands. He accepted of different town offices, and was on the grand jury in 1667. When Darby fort was disused, the lot was put into his hands. He died in 1676, aged 84 years. In towns, such men deserve every honour. His son John was born in Salem in 1629, and was the first town-born child. He married in 1658, and died in 1709, aged 80 years. From this circumstance of his birth, the evidence may be acceptable to the public. In 1697, he was called to testify of the position of certain houses formerly in the town, being aged about 66. In 1703, at the church meeting, the old great church bible, being injured by use, was presented to John Massey, as an aged person, "AND THE FIRST TOWN-BORN CHILD." In 1694, he petitioned for the ferry, calling himself, in the petition, now on record, "*the ancientest planter, and the oldest man now living in Salem, that was born here.*" Miles Ward, a grandson by female descent, was at the funeral, and Ward died in 1796, aged above 92 years. John Symonds, who died in 1791, aged 100, knew him well, and lived in the next house. Massey's house is yet standing. The family is not now in Sa-

lem, in the family name. Abigail was born of John, in 1671, and lived within the memory of the present generation. She preserved and delivered the cradle to the survivors.

No. III.

At the head of Shallop cove, now filled up, upon plowing for the first time, were found, in 1790, two pieces of money, one a coin of Louis XIII. of France, and the other a coin of Charles I. of England. They are in the cabinet of the Hon. James Winthrop, Esq. at Cambridge.

No. IV.

COPY FROM SALEM CHURCH BOOK.

Sixth of 6th month. This covenant was publicly signed and declared. *Gather my saints together unto me, that have made a COVENANT with me.* Ps. l. 5.

WE, whose names are here-under-written, members of the present church of Christ in Salem, having found, by sad experience, how dangerous it is to set loose to the Covenant we make with our God, and how apt we are to wander into bye paths, even to the loosing of our first aims in entering into church-fellowship; Do therefore, solemnly, in the presence of the eternal God, both for our own comfort, and those, which shall or may be joined unto us, RENEW that church covenant, we find this church bound unto at their first beginning, viz.

“We covenant with the Lord and with one another, and do bind ourselves, in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his blessed word of truth. And do more explicitly, in the name and fear of God, profess and protest to walk as followeth, through the power and goodness of the Lord Jesus.

I. We avow the Lord to be our God, and ourselves his people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits.

II. We promise to give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the word of his grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying of us, in matters of worship and conversation; resolving to cleave to him alone for life and glory, and to oppose all contrary ways, canons, and constitutions of men in his worship.

III. We promise to walk with our brethren and sisters, in this congregation, with all watchfulness and tenderness ; avoiding all jealousies, suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them ; but in all offences, to follow the rule of the Lord Jesus, and to bear, and forbear, give and forgive, as he has taught us.

IV. In public or private, we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the church ; but will be willing to take advice for ourselves and ours, as occasion shall be presented.

V. We will not, in the congregation, be forward, either to shew our own gifts or parts in speaking, or scrupling ; or there discover the failings of our brethren and sisters ; but attend an orderly call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and his gospel, in the profession of it, slighted, by our distempers and weaknesses in public.

VI. We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the gospel, in all truth and peace, both in regard to those that are within, or without ; no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel as need shall be ; nor laying a stumbling block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote ; and so to converse, that we may avoid even the very appearance of evil.

VII. We hereby promise to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those, that are over us in church or commonwealth, knowing how well-pleasing it will be to the Lord, that they should have encouragement in their places, by not grieving their spirits, through our irregularities.

VIII. We resolve to approve ourselves to the Lord, in our particular callings, shunning idleness as the bane of any state ; nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's rewards.

IX. Also promising, to our best abilities, to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God, and his will, that they may serve him also. And all this, not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Christ, whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our covenant made in his name."

This covenant was renewed by the church on a solemn day of humiliation, 6th of 1st month, 1660 ; when also, considering the power of temptation among us by reason of the Quakers' doctrine, to the leavening of some in the place where we are, and endangering of others, Do see

cause to remember the admonition of our Saviour Christ to his disciples, Matth. xvi. *Take heed, and beware of the leaven of the doctrine of the Pharisees*; and do judge, so far as we understand it, that the Quakers' doctrine is as bad, or worse, than that of the Pharisees. Therefore, we do COVENANT, by the help of Jesus Christ, to take heed, and beware of the leaven of the doctrine of the *Quakers*.

No. V.

It may be proper to vindicate the town of Salem against the unkind reports of an anonymous writer, in an History of Connecticut, published, 2d edition, 1782, in regard to Mr. Hugh Peters. The writer imputes the return of Mr. Peters to England, to the plans of his enemies; and he mentions Mather and Cotton. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, came with him, and never was in any competition with him. The oldest of the political Mathers was but just born. As to Cotton, Peters flattered him at first; and when Peters left America, Cotton was friendly to him; but the affairs of Mrs. Hutchinson had taken away the influence of Cotton. But what influence had he upon merchants? As to what he says of the yard paved with English flints, and the great house; Mr. Peters was known to get the favour of the people by his simple manner of living, travelling on foot, and freedom of conversation; and about thirty years ago, these English flints were discovered. The yard proved to be an hearth, which he used in the side of a knoll, and over which his building stood. The hearth was made of round pebbles, and had a flat stone in the back of it. As to the foundation of Dr. Cooper's church, it was not laid till sixty years after he left America. As to any wrongs, Mr. Peters continued to trade with Salem; and in 1642, he had a joint stock of £. 500, on which he made eighty per cent. profit. The merchants, who are said to have wronged him, never had any part of his estate, which, in Salem, was only his church settlement; and they were the persons who freely contributed to assist his widow, for many years after his death. The town had no concern in any of these transactions.

No. VI.

The characters of Mr. Nicholas Noyes, and Mr. George

Curwin, as given by persons well acquainted with them, and which were published in the public news-letters in Boston, and recorded in the church book.

Salem, November 23, 1717. Died, the reverend George Curwin, in the 35th year of his age, and the fourth of his ordained ministry in Salem.

He was highly esteemed in his life, and very deservedly lamented at his death; having been very eminent for his early improvements in learning and piety, his singular abilities, and great labours, his remarkable zeal and faithfulness in the service of his master. A great benefactor to our poor. The reverend Mr. Noyes his life was much bound up in him.

Salem, December 13, 1717. Died, the very reverend and famous Mr. Nicholas Noyes, near 70 years of age, and in the 35th year of his ordained ministry in Salem.

He was extraordinarily accomplished for the work of the ministry, whereunto he was called, and wherein he found mercy to be faithful; and was made a rich, extensive, and long continued blessing. Considering his superior genius; his pregnant wit; strong memory; solid judgment; his great acquisitions in human learning and knowledge; his conversation among men, especially with his friends, so very pleasant, entertaining, and profitable: his uncommon attainments in the study of divinity; his eminent sanctity, gravity and virtue; his serious, learned, and pious performances in the pulpit; his more than ordinary skill in the prophetic parts of scripture; his wisdom and usefulness in human affairs; and his constant solicitude for the public good: it is no wonder, that Salem, and the adjacent part of the country, as also the churches, university, and people of New-England, justly esteem him, as a principal part of their glory. He was born at Newbury, 22d Dec. 1647, and died a bachelor.

No. VII.

Major William Harthorne came from Dorchester to Salem, in 1636, and received every favour in the town lands. In 1637, was a justice of the sessions, and held all the town offices, when particular services required. In 1643, with Emanuel Downing, he was chosen representa-

tive, and was much in the General Court; was the first speaker of the House of Representatives till 1662; was afterwards a counsellor; was captain in the militia in 1644, and was appointed major in 1665, in which office he commanded the regiment. He died in 1681.

Captain George Curwin was born in England, in 1610, and came to Salem in 1633, with his wife and family, and was rich. He was often engaged in town affairs, and in 1666 commanded a troop of horse. He also was a representative in the General Court. There is a three-quarter portrait of him in the hands of Samuel Curwin, Esq. and son of reverend George Curwin, of Salem, and his great grand son. He had a full, round forehead, large nostrils, high cheek bones, grey eyes. His dress was a wrought flowing neckcloth, a sash covered with lace, a coat with short cuffs, and reaching half way between the wrist and elbow, the shirt in plaits below, a cane, and an octagon ring, which still remains. The dress was preserved till the present generation, and then stolen. He died 5th January, 1685.

Hon. William Browne was born in England, in 1607, and was the youngest son of Francis Browne, of Brandon, in Suffolk; was with a merchant in Southold, and married the daughter of the reverend S. Smith, of North-Yarmouth, and came with his wife to America in 1635. He was a merchant, and acquired a great estate. He was employed in offices of trust in town and county. He was a commissioner for small causes, for many years; and in 1659, a representative, for the first time, with Major Harthorne. In 1680, he was in the council, and justice of the county court. He contributed liberally to all public works. He paid one-tenth for the new meeting-house in 1673, and left considerable sums for pious uses. He left a donation of £.150 to Harvard college, and gave £.100 at its foundation. He gave, besides, £.100 for poor scholars. He gave £.50 to the grammar-school in Salem, £.50 to the poor, besides £.50 to the school in Charlestown, and other sums to pious uses. Two sons survived him, the Hon. major W. Browne, and B. Browne, Esq. His daughter Mary married the Hon. Wait Winthrop, Esq. His son Joseph Browne, minister at Charlestown, died there in 1678. Hon. William Browne died at Salem, January 20, 1688.

No. VIII.

The monumental inscription upon Simon Bradstreet in Salem is,

SIMON BRADSTREET,

Armiger, ex ordine Senatoris, in colonia Massachusettensi ab anno 1630, usque ad annum 1673. Deinde ad annum 1679, Vice-Gubernator. Denique ad annum 1686, ejusdem coloniae, communi et constanti populi suffragio, Gubernator.

Vir, judicio Lynceario peditus: quem nec numma, nec honos allexit. Regis auctoritatem, et populi libertatem, æqua lance libravit. Religione cordatus, vita innocuus, mundum et vicit, et deferuit,

27 die Martii, A. D. 1697.

Annoq: Guliel: 3ⁱ IX. et Æt. 94.

No. IX.

The following are bills of mortality in Salem, given to the public.

1773. 208. Small-pox, &c. in town.							Total.
1788.	under 2 yrs. 47. fr. 2 to 30, 36. 30 to 60, 29. abo. 60, 23.						135.
1789	males 62	fem. 67.	39.	35	30.	25.	129.
1790.	106.	90.	67.	61.	34.	34.	196.
1791.	68.	50.	52.	53.	28.	15.	148.
1792.	69.	79.	49.	35.	39.	25.	148.
1793.	70.	77.	53.	37.	37.	20.	147.
1796.	97.	119.	48.	82.	47.	39.	216.

No. X.

In the four last years of the East Society, 62 persons died, having been in married life; and 11, who had been twice in the married state, not included in the foregoing number; and two besides, who had been three times married. The whole number of deaths, in that term, was 159. Of the 62, who had been in married life, the mean term was 19 years, the highest number being 54 years, and the lowest 7 months. They, who had been twice in marriage, had the mean of 16 years to each marriage, the highest number being 47 years. But the terms of life in marriage, to each, were greatly disproportioned. They, who had been thrice in marriage, had the mean of 10 years, the highest number being 25 years. Of the 19 last marriages, the age, at the time of marriage, was, to one at 15, two at 18, one at 19, one at 20, two at 21, one at 22, four at 23, three at 24, one at 29, one at 30, one at 31, one at 34 years of age. Of these, ten were males.

END OF SIXTH VOLUME.

